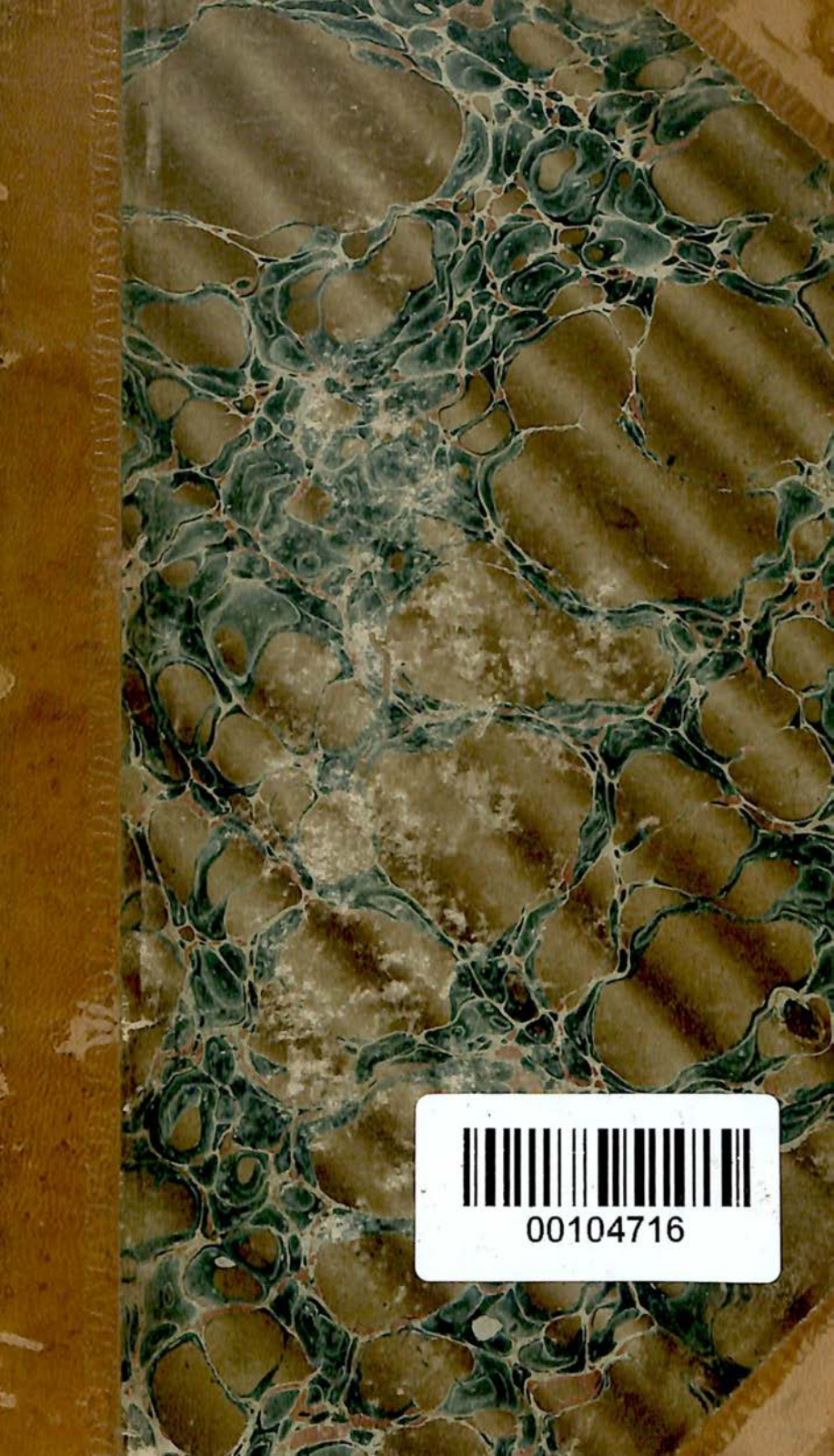
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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF

THE ROMAN EMPIRE;

AND A VIEW OF THE

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,

FROM THE

RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE OF PARIS IN 1763,

IN A SERIES OF

LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH

A CONTINUATION,

EXTENDING TO THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

FRANCIS, EARL OF MOIRA,

WHOSE ATTACHMENT TO LITERATURE

IS WELL KNOWN,

THIS CONTINUATION OF A POPULAR WORK

IS

INSCRIBED WITH DUE RESPECT

BY

CHARLES COOTE, LL.D.

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THE distance of the period at which Dr. Russell closed his History, would naturally excite among his readers, a wish for a continuation of the work; and that desire, it might be supposed, would be invigorated by the extraordinary importance of many of the events and transactions of recent times. The difficulty of compressing, within the narrow limits of one volume, the History of Modern Europe for thirty-nine years, did not deter me from undertaking the task. It cannot be expected that an exact uniformity should prevail between the continuation and the preceding work; for such an idea would border on the visionary doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* or transmigration of souls. Such a general resemblance, in sentiment, manner, and arrangement, as may not exclude particular discrepancy or occasional variance, will be sufficient for every reasonable purpose.

C. COOTE.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

CONTENTS,

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PART III.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763, TO THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

LETTER I.

A general View of the Affairs and Politics of the Western Division of the European Continent, from the Treaty of Paris to the Close of the Reign of Louis XV.

A. D.		Page
	An introductory remark - - - -	1
1763	State of France - - -	ibid.
	Contest between Louis XV. and some of the parliaments	2
1764	Character of the king and the dauphin -	3
1765	Party divisions - - -	4
1766	Case of Lally - - -	5
	Affairs of Spain - - -	6
	And of Portugal - - -	8
	The ministers of the three crowns are hostile to the Jesuits - - - -	9

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1767	Who are exiled from Spain - -	9
	Survey of the politics and concerns of Italy	10
	Conduct of the king of Sardinia -	ibid.
	——— of the archduke Ferdinand -	11
	——— of the Venetian government -	12
1768	Contest between the pope and various states	13
	Enlightened administration of Leopold in Tuscany	14
	Cession of Corsica by the Genoese to the French	15
	War in that island - - -	ibid.
1769	Partial subjugation of the inhabitants -	17
	Internal state of France - -	ibid.
	The king is enslaved by Madame Du-Barri -	18
1770	Case of the duke d'Aiguillon - -	ibid.
	Matrimonial alliance between the French and Austrian courts - - - -	19
	Rivalry between the duke de Choiseul and the chancellor Maupeou - - -	20
	Disgrace of the former - -	21
	His character - - -	22
	Banishment of the magistracy - -	ibid.
	New judicial arrangements - -	23
1771 and 1772	Unpopular administration of the duke d'Aiguillon and the royal mistress - -	24
1773	Louis prevails on pope Ganganelli to dissolve the order of Jesuits - - - -	28
	Easy expiration of that once powerful society	ibid.
	Government of Naples and Sicily -	29
	Insurrection at Palermo - -	ibid.
	Suppression of the disturbances - -	31
	Discontent in France - - -	32
1774	Death of Louis - - -	33
	Decease and character of Ganganelli -	ibid.

LETTER II.

A Sketch of the History of Great-Britain and it's Dependencies, from the Peace of 1763 to the Rupture with the Colonial Subjects of that Kingdom.

1763	The earl of Bute retires from the cabinet -	36
	His character - - -	ibid.
	Grenville's administration . -	ibid.
	Case of John Wilkes - - -	37
	Hostilities in North-America - -	38
1764	And in India - - - -	ibid.
1765	Scheme of American taxation - -	39
	The provincials remonstrate against the stamp-act	ibid.
	Sway of the Rockingham party - -	40

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1766	Repeal of the stamp-act	40
	Grafton administration, formed by the earl of Chatham	41
	Impolicy of the minister Townshend	ibid.
1767	Annihilation of the earl's influence	ibid.
1768	Punishment of Wilkes	42
1769	Middlesex election	ibid.
1770	Lord North is placed at the head of the treasury	43
	Dispute respecting the Falkland islands	ibid.
1771	A compromise	44
	Variance between the court and the city	ibid.
1772	Irritation of the Americans	46
1773	New settlement of the affairs of India	47
	Trans-Atlantic commotions	48
1774	A congress at Philadelphia	49
	Bold spirit of the provincials	50

LETTER III.

A Survey of the Affairs of the Northern States of Europe, of Poland and Turkey, and also of Germany and Holland, from the Treaty of Hubertsburg to the Peace of Kainargi, concluded in 1774.

1763	Catharine II., the czarina, reigns with spirit and wisdom	52
	Frederic III., of Prussia, allays the evils of war	ibid.
	Augustus II., of Poland, dies	53
1764	Stanislaus Poniatowski is chosen to succeed him	54
	State of the court of Warsaw	56
1765	Religious disputes	57
1766	Intestine war	ibid.
1767	Russian violence	58
1768	The progress of the war leads to a rupture between Russia and the Porte	59
	Character and conduct of Mustapha III.	60
	The king of Prussia aids the czarina with a subsidy	61
1769	The Turks are repeatedly routed	62
1770	The Russians make their way into the Mediterranean,	ibid.
	And reduce some towns in the Morea	ibid.
	A remarkable engagement occurs near the isle of Scio	63
	Massacre at Smyrna	64
	General Romanzoff twice defeats the Turks	65
1771	Farther victories grace the Russian arms	66
	And excite the jealousy of the Austrian court	ibid.
	State of that court	ibid.
	Death of Francis I. [1765]	67
	His son Joseph becomes emperor	ibid.
	Maria Theresa courts the friendship of Prussia	ibid.

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1771	Affairs of Denmark	68
	Decease of Frederic V. [1766]	ibid.
	Accession and marriage of Christian VII. [1766]	ibid.
	Sway of Struensee	69
	Conspiracy against him	70
1772	Imprisonment of queen Matilda	71
	Decapitation of Struensee and Brandt	73
	Administration of the queen-dowager and count Bernstorff	ibid.
	Agitations of Sweden	74
	Death of Adolphus Frederic [1771]	76
	Artful practices of Gustavus III.	77
	He subverts the constitution	79
	Continuance of disorder in Poland	81
	Scheme of dismemberment	ibid.
	Treaty for that purpose between Catharine and Frederic	83
	The German empress accedes to it	ibid.
	Remarks on the partition	ibid.
	Manifesto of the three confederates	85
	Answer to it	86
1773	The senate and the nuncios are over-awed into acquiescence	87
	A third part of Poland is subtracted from the kingdom	ibid.
	And the remaining portion is enslaved	88
	Frederic and Joseph endeavour to put an end to the war with the Turks	90
	Ali Bey, the ruler of Egypt, courts the friendship of the Russians	91
	But he is defeated in a civil war	ibid.
	The Turks are not so unsuccessful as before	92
1774	Their sovereign dies	93
	Abdul-hamed commences his reign	ibid.
	The Moslems are unfortunate in the next campaign	ibid.
	Peace of Kainargi	94
	Account of Pugatcheff's rebellion against the czarina	95
	Extinction of it	97
	Retrospect of the affairs of Holland	98
	Character of William V. prince of Orange	ibid.
	Colonial concerns of the Dutch	99

CONTENTS.

LETTER IV.

History of Great-Britain, including an Account of the American War; with a general View of the Affairs of Europe, to the Commencement of the War with France, in 1778.

A. D.		Page
1775	A war with North-America is pronounced by zealots to be just and necessary	102
	Restrictive bills are enacted by the parliament	103
	A CIVIL WAR breaks out	104
	The works at Bunker's hill are forced by the English	105
	Proceedings of a new congress	106
	Appointment of Washington to the command of the colonial army	ibid.
	Montgomery's expedition to Canada	ibid.
	Sentiments of the chief European powers respecting the war	107
	Commencement of the reign of Louis XVI. of France	ibid.
	Recall of the magistracy	110
	The national joy is followed by commotions arising from a scarcity of provision	111
	The Spaniards engage in a war with the Moors and Algerines	113
1776	And are also embroiled with the Portuguese	115
	The French are unwilling at first to support the Americans	ibid.
	Expulsion of Turgot from the cabinet	ibid.
	Account of the philosophical administration	116
	Second campaign in North-America	117
	Declaration of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE	118
	Flight of Washington and the congress	119
1777	War in South-America	ibid.
	Peace, between Spain and Portugal, soon follows the death of his most Faithful majesty	120
	Characters of Joseph and Maria	ibid.
	Third North-American campaign	121
	Disastrous capitulation at Saratoga	122
1778	The French openly encourage the Americans	ibid.
	The Austrians witness, without regret, the misfortunes of Britain	123
	The northern courts are disposed to be neutral	ibid.
	Sketch of the Russian laws and government	124
	Hints respecting the Porte, the Italian states, and the Swiss	125

LETTER V.

History of Great-Britain and it's American Colonies, also of France and Spain, and of Europe in general, to the Death of Maria Theresa, in 1780.

A. D.		Page
1778	An attempt is made, when too late, to conciliate the Americans	126
	Foresight of the earl of Chatham	ibid.
	His death and character	127
	A fleet is sent out against the French	128
	The campaign beyond the Atlantic is indecisive	129
	A war is excited in Europe by the ambition of Joseph	131
	The king of Prussia vigorously opposes the views of that prince	132
1779	The czarina also counter-acts the aims of the emperor	134
	Treaty of Teschen	ibid.
	The Spanish monarch joins the French king against the English	135
	The French reduce some islands in the West-Indies	136
	The Dutch are unwilling to assist our court	138
1780	An uncourtly spirit prevails in England	ibid.
	Riots disgrace the metropolis	140
	War in India	141
	American campaign	142
	Naval success of Rodney against the Spaniards	144
	Armed neutrality	145
	Renewal of connexion between the courts of Vienna and Petersburg	146
	Maria Theresa dies after a long reign	ibid.
	Her character	ibid.

LETTER VI.

A Continuation of the History of Europe, to the Peace of 1783.

	Great-Britain detects the mal-practices of the Dutch	147
	And declares war against them	148
1781	They are punished by territorial deprivations	149
	They are menaced with hostilities from the emperor	150
	Internal administration and foreign politics of that potentate	ibid.
	He dismantles the barrier-towns	151
	The English lose Minorca	ibid.
	And are unfortunate in North-America	153
1782	The war is at length condemned by the house of commons	154

A. D.		Page
1782	The marquis of Rockingham supersedes lord North	154
	Ireland is declared independent of the British parliament	ibid.
	The earl of Shelburne is the next prime minister	ibid.
	Rodney defeats the French in a memorable engagement	155
	Eliot defends Gibraltar with undaunted perseverance	156
	Progress of the war in the East-Indies	157
	The emperor and the czarina mediate between the English and their adversaries	ibid.
	The French find time to attend to the affairs of Geneva	158
	Their troops concur with those of Berne, and the king of Sardinia, in strengthening the aristocracy of that republic	159
	State of the cantons	160
	Necker's plans of reform in France	161
	Character of the minister Maurepas	162
	Removal of Necker	ibid.
	The count de Vergennes promotes peace	163
1783	Treaties are signed between Great-Britain and the various enemies of that power	ibid.
	Chief articles of those agreements	ibid.
	Washington is elected president of the American republic. after an improvement of it's constitution	164
	Subsequent history of the new state	165
	Character of the president	ibid.

LETTER VII.

History of the Continent of Europe, from the Peace of 1783, *to the Settlement of the Affairs of Holland, in* 1787.

	A spirit of reform prevails in France	166
	A freedom of thought is also observable in Germany	167
	Remarks on the different governments in that country	ibid.
	Innovating career of Joseph	168
	He is at variance with pope Pius VI.	ibid.
	Who repairs to Vienna to soothe and conciliate him	169
	The emperor visits the pontiff in return	170
	The northern empress and Frederic support the Jesuits	171
	Views of that princess upon the Crimea	ibid.
	Her troops seise the principality	172
1784	Which is ceded to her by the grand signor	173
	Joseph is checked in his views of aggrandisement	ibid.
1785	A Germanic league is formed under the auspices of Prussia	174
	The Dutch resist the emperor's aims upon the Schelde	ibid.
	He agrees to an accommodation with them	175

A. D.		Page
1785	The French enter into a close alliance with that republic	175
	The king of Prussia declines in health	176
	Account of his mode of life	ibid.
1786	His death	177
	His will	ibid.
	View of his character and government	178
	Frederic William mounts the throne	179
	And governs well at first	ibid.
	But soon neglects his duty	180
	He interferes in the contest for power between the Dutch pensionaries and the prince of Orange	ibid.
	Survey of the state of the United Provinces	181
	Zeal of reform	182
	French intrigues	183
1787	Vigor of the pensionaries	187
	The flame bursts into a war	188
	Manœuvres of the British ambassador	189
	Stoppage of the princess of Orange in a journey	ibid.
	Indecision of the French court	190
	The Prussians invade Holland	191
	The republican chiefs are humbled	ibid.
	Amsterdam is taken by the invaders	192
	And the stadt-holder's power is extended	193
	A resumption of the history of France	ibid.
	Disorder of the finances	ibid.
	M. de Calonne increases the embarrassment thence arising	194
	Affair of the necklace	195
	Death of Vergennes	197
	His character	ibid.
	The count de Montmorin supplies his place	198
	The *notables* meet	ibid.
	Calonne is dismissed	ibid.
	The archbishop of Toulouse dissolves the assembly	199
	Government of Spain	ibid.
	——— of Portugal	200
	The connexion is cemented between those courts	ibid.
	A cursory reference to some of the Italian communities	201
	Celebrated code of Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany	ibid.
	Remarks on the emperor's new code	202
	And on the policy of Catharine	203
	Change of administration in Denmark	ibid.

LETTER VIII.

History of France, from the Dismission of the Notables *to the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, in* 1791.

A. D.		Page
1787	Symptoms of a serious change are visible in France	203
	The archbishop of Toulouse rules without wisdom	204
	The king orders a transfer of the incompliant parliament of Paris to Troyes	205
	The parliament, nobility, and clergy, call for a meeting of the states-general	ibid.
1788	Arbitrary schemes are formed by the prelate	206
	And enforced	207
	He is induced, by a dread of disturbance, to retire from the cabinet	ibid.
	Necker is re-called to the administration	ibid.
	The *notables* are again convoked	208
	Arrangements are made for the meeting of the great national council	209
1789	State of parties	210
	Disposition of the Duke of Orleans	ibid.
	The states-general meet at Versailles	211
	The commons usurp the power of the aggregate assembly	213
	Disregard the orders and will of the king	ibid.
	And overwhelm the opposition of the higher orders	215
	Louis calls troops around him	216
	And discards Necker on suspicion of his concurring with the democratic party	ibid.
	Loud clamors indicate the agitation of Paris	ibid.
	The electors of the *tiers etat* assume inordinate authority	217
	The popular leaders confound the court by planning an attack of the Bastille	218
	That prison is stormed and demolished	ibid.
	Louis yields to the torrent	219
	Thus the FRENCH REVOLUTION commences	ibid.
	Necker is reinstated in the cabinet	ibid.
	The privileges of the nobles and ecclesiastics are suppressed	220
	The democratic chiefs, by a riot, draw the king and the assembly to Paris	224
	Many alterations are made in every department of policy	225
	The church lands are seised	ibid.
	Inconsiderate proceedings of the assembly	226
	Outrageous violence of the rabble	ibid.
1790	Louis gives good advice to the reformers	227
	A national *confederation* takes place	228

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1790	Origin of the JACOBIN club - -	229
	Mischievous effects of that association -	ibid.
	Intrigues of the duke of Orleans -	ibid.
	Disturbances at Nanci - -	230
	——— at Angers - - -	231
	Emigration of Necker - -	ibid.
	Discontent of the clergy - -	232
1791	Appointment of constitutional bishops and priests instead of nonjurors - - -	ibid.
	Mirabeau is gained over by the court -	233
	His schemes - - -	ibid.
	His death - - -	235
	Suggestions for the king's benefit -	236
	Conference at Mantua between M. d'Artois and the emperor - - -	237
	Scheme for the removal of the royal family	238
	The fugitives are stopped in their course -	239
	The Jacobins and Cordeliers demand the punishment of the king, as an enemy of the nation -	240
	Riot in the Champ de Mars - -	ibid.
	A constitutional code is completed -	241
	And the assembly is dissolved - -	243
	Substance of the new system - -	ibid.
	Observations upon it - -	246

LETTER IX.

History of France, continued to the Trial and Death of Louis XVI. and the Commencement of the War with Great-Britain and Holland.

	Three parties appear in the legislative assembly	247
	Whose proceedings are not temperate, wise, or judicious	248
	The aristocrats who had left the kingdom, and also the nonjuring clergy, are the objects of severe laws	ibid.
	Rise of Brissot - - -	249
1792	Who promotes a war with Austria -	250
	Ministerial changes in favour of the Brissotin party	251
	Promotion of Dumouriez - -	ibid.
	War is declared against Francis king of Hungary and Bohemia - - -	252
	M. de la Fayette acts as commander in chief	ibid.
	But he is unsuccessful - -	253
	The king discards three of the ministers -	254
	La Fayette in vain endeavours to rouse the nation against the Jacobins - - -	ibid.

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1792	Danton and Brissot concert schemes of sedition	255
	Fortitude of the menaced king - -	256
	The Prussian monarch sends an army into France	ibid.
	Manifesto of his general, the duke of Brunswick	ibid.
	Other declarations - - -	257
	Atrocious machinations against the king -	258
	Attack of the palace - - -	260
	Accomplishment of the republican revolution	261
	Imprisonment of the royal family -	ibid.
	Triumph of the Parisian municipality -	ibid.
	Nugatory efforts of La Fayette - -	262
	He quits his country - - -	ibid.
	Advance of the Prussians and Austrians -	ibid.
	Critical state of France - - -	ibid.
	Prudence of the new general, Dumouriez -	263
	Alarm at Paris - - -	ibid.
	Horrible assassinations of prisoners -	264
	Dissolution of the legislative assembly -	265
	Abolition of royalty by a national convention	266
	Contest between the Brissotins (or Girondists) and the more violent party - - -	ibid.
	Distress of the Prussian invaders - -	267
	Frederic William negotiates with Dumouriez	268
	And orders a retreat - - -	ibid.
	The Austrians also retire - -	269
	Dumouriez invades Brabant - -	270
	And obtains a great victory - -	ibid.
	Which is followed by a seisure of the Netherlands	271
	Arrogant decrees of the convention -	ibid.
	Conquest of Savoy - - -	272
	Invasion of Germany - - -	ibid.
	Reduction of Mentz - - -	273
	Progress of the contest for power at Paris -	274
	Robespierre baffles a bold attack from Louvet	275
	And prepares for an act of regicide -	ibid.
	Louis is impeached as a criminal -	ibid.
	He defends himself with spirit - -	276
	And is ably defended by others - -	277
1793	The question of guilt is debated - - -	278
	And decided against him - -	279
	Various speeches in favor of an appeal to the people	280
	Violent harangues against such a reference	ibid.
	Rejection of the appeal - -	283
	The mode of punishment is discussed -	ibid.
	Speech of Brissot on the subject -	285
	——— Robespierre - -	286
	Death is decreed - - -	288
	A respite is demanded - -	289

A. D. Page
1793 But not allowed - - - 289
The iniquitous sentence is carried into effect 292
Character of Louis - - - 293
Declaration of war against George III. and the stadtholder - - - - 294
And also against the king of Spain - ibid.
Revolutionary tribunal - - 295

LETTER X.

A View of the Affairs of Great-Britain, from the Peace of 1783, to the Commencement of the War, in 1793, between that Kingdom and the French Republic.

1783 Coalition between Mr. Fox and lord North 296
Appointment of the duke of Portland to the direction of the treasury - - - ibid.
Insufficient attention of Mr. Fox to reform - 297
He proposes, however, a reformation in the government of India, and in the management of the company's concerns - - - - ibid.
Failure of his grand scheme - - 298
He is driven from the cabinet - - ibid.
And Mr. Pitt is fully invested with the ministerial dignity ibid.
1784 A dissolution of parliament is ordered, with a view of baffling the pertinacious opposition of the ex-ministers 299
A new bill passes for a settlement of the affairs of India 301
1785 A scheme of commerce for Ireland is rendered abortive by the jealousy of the popular leaders in that country . 302
A commercial treaty is proposed to the French court ibid.
1786 The commons reject the fortification schemes of the duke of Richmond - - - 303
A fund is provided for the gradual redemption of the national debt - - - 304
Warren Hastings is impeached for the misgovernment of India - - - - ibid.
The treaty of commerce is completed - . 305
1787 And confirmed by parliament - - 306
1788 Mr. Pitt abridges the power of the India company ibid.
The trial of Hastings commences - 307
The king contracts a new alliance with Holland ibid.
He becomes incapable of exercising the functions of royalty - - - - 308
A regency is proposed - - 309
1789 But, at length, it ceases to be requisite - 310
The slave trade, being opposed as unjust, is regulated 313

A. D.		Page
1790	Dispute with Spain - - -	313
	British mediation between the Turks and their enemies	314
1791	Armament against Russia - -	ibid.
	Relief of the catholics - - -	ibid.
	Canadian constitution - - -	315
1792	Schemes of reform - - -	316
	Various societies - - -	ibid.
	War in India [from 1790 to 1792] -	317
	Act against aliens - - -	318
1793	Dismission of the French envoy - -	319
	Inquiry into the question, whether Great-Britain provoked a war, or France unjustly rushed into it -	320

LETTER XI.

History of Europe in general, with an Exception of Great-Britain and France, from the Year 1787 *to* 1793.

1787	Prospect of peace delusive - -	324
	A war is excited by artful ministers between Russia and Turkey - - - -	ibid.
	Manifesto of the czarina - -	325
	Disaster of the Turks at Kinburn -	326
	The emperor enters into the war - -	ibid.
	Austrian treachery - - -	ibid.
1788	Personal campaign of Joseph - -	327
	He acts on the defensive - -	328
	Disgraceful retreat of his troops - -	329
	Reduction of Choczim - - -	ibid.
	Gustavus III. attacks the Russians -	330
	Who gain the advantage at sea - -	331
	The Danes menace Sweden - -	ibid.
	Neutrality of Spain - - -	ibid.
	Death of his catholic majesty - -	ibid.
	Accession of Charles IV. - -	332
	Sea-fight near Oczakoff - -	ibid.
	Conquest of that town - -	333
	Progress of the Danes in Sweden -	ibid.
	Interposition of Great-Britain, Prussia, and Holland	334
	Truce between Denmark and Sweden -	ibid.
1789	Arbitrary conduct of Gustavus - -	ibid.
	Death and character of the grand signor -	335
	Selim II. begins his reign with cruelty -	ibid.
	Battle of Focksani - - -	336
	——— of Martinesti, or the Rymna -	337
	Siege of Belgrade - - -	338
	Campaign in Finland - -	ibid.
	Disordered state of affairs in the Netherlands	339

A. D.		Page
1789	The people take arms - - -	339
	They meet with success - -	341
	The provinces assume independence -	342
	The Hungarians are discontented -	343
1790	Joseph dies of disease and chagrin -	ibid.
	His character - - -	344
	Conduct of his successor, Leopold -	345
	Peace between him and Selim - -	346
	Progress of the other branch of the war -	347
	Siege of Ismael - - -	ibid.
	Dreadful massacre - - -	348
	Naval engagements in the north - -	349
	Peace between Russia and Sweden -	350
	Leopold recovers the Netherlands -	ibid.
	Character of prince Kaunitz - -	351
	Resolute deportment of the czarina -	ibid.
1791	A revolution in Poland - -	352
	Success of the Russians - -	353
	Death of prince Potemkin - -	ibid.
1792	Treaty of Yassi - - -	355
	The empress declares war against the Polanders	356
	This war soon terminates - -	357
	Conference at Pilnitz [1791] - -	359
	Death of Leopold - - -	ibid.
	Gustavus III. is assassinated - -	360
	His character - - -	361
	Conduct of various powers with regard to France	ibid.
	Contest between the king of Naples and the pope	363

LETTER XII.

A Survey of the Affairs of Europe, to the Revolution effected by the French in Holland, in 1795.

1793	War on the frontiers of Holland - -	365
	Success of the Austrians - -	ibid.
	Battle of Neer-Winden - -	366
	Schemes of general Dumouriez - -	368
	He arrests the French deputies - -	369
	Joins the enemy - - -	370
	His successor, Dampierre, falls in battle -	371
	Engagement at the camp of Famars -	ibid.
	The allies take Valenciennes and Condé -	372
	Mentz is re-taken - - -	373
	The duke of York fails at Dunkirk -	374
	Battle of Birlemont - - -	ibid.
	Success of the duke of Brunswick -	375
	And of general Wurmser - -	ibid.

A. D.		Page
1793	Exploits of the French under Hoche	375
	Pyrenean campaign	376
	War in St. Domingo	377
	Contests of party in France	379
	Fall of the Girondists	381
	War of La Vendée	382
	Revolt in the southern parts of France	ibid.
	Havock at Lyons	383
	Trial and death of the queen	384
	Execution of Brissot and his friends	385
	New constitution	386
	Progress of the war	387
	Rise of Bonapartè	ibid.
	Anti-Gallican treaties	389
1794	Various conflicts	390
	Battle of Fleurus	392
	The French subdue the Netherlands	393
	Campaign in Germany	ibid.
	Enormities of Robespierre	394
	Ruin of his party	400
	His death and character	402
	Effect of this revolution, not pacific	404
	Naval engagement	ibid.
	British acquisition of Corsica	405
	Campaign near the Pyrenees	406
	———— in Holland	408
1795	Revolution in that country	409
	Supposed conspiracy in England [1794.]	412

LETTER XIII.

A Continuation of European History to the Treaty of Campo-Formio, in 1797.

	Page
Poland is again dismembered [1793.]	413
A patriotic confederacy is formed [1794.]	414
The confederates are unfortunate	415
Kosciuszko is defeated and made prisoner	416
The Russians reduce Warsaw	417
And, with the Prussians and Austrians, finally divide Poland	418
The king of Prussia concludes peace with France	ibid.
Commotions at Paris	420
Re-action in the south of France	421
Campaign against the Spaniards	422
War in Italy and Germany	423
Death of Louis XVII.	424

A. D.		Page
1795	Affair of Quiberon - - -	425
	Peace between France and Spain -	ibid.
	Naval operations - - -	426
	Colonial incidents - - -	427
	Reduction of the Cape - -	428
	Insurrection at Paris - - -	429
	New French constitution - -	ibid.
	State of parties - - -	432
1796	An attempt to negotiate - -	433
	Campaign in Germany - -	434
	Defeat of Jourdan - - -	436
	Retreat of Moreau - - - -	438
	Bonaparte obtains signal victories in Italy -	440
	Compels the king of Sardinia to quit the confederacy	441
	Reduces the Milanese - - -	443
	Forms two republics - - -	446
	The English are dispossessed of Corsica -	447
	Affairs of the North of Europe - -	448
	Death of the empress of Russia [Nov.] -	449
	Accession of her son Paul - -	ibid.
	War between Spain and Great-Britain -	ibid.
1797	Mutiny in the British navy - -	450
	Military transactions in Italy - -	452
	Humiliation of the pope - -	453
	Contest between Bonaparte and the archduke Charles	454
	Preliminaries of Leoben - -	456
	Success of general Hoche - -	ibid.
	——————— Moreau - -	457
	Retrospect of the affairs of Venice -	458
	Commotions at Verona - -	461
	French treachery - - -	463
	Subversion of the old Venetian government	464
	Revolution in Genoa - - -	465
	Cis-Alpine republic - - -	466
	Naval chastisement of Spain - -	ibid.
	——————— of Holland - -	467
	Divisions in France - - -	469
	Violence of the directory - -	470
	An abortive negotiation - -	472
	Treaty of Campo-Formio - -	ibid.
	Death of the king of Prussia - -	473

LETTER XIV.

History of Europe, to the Usurpation of the chief Power in France by Bonaparte, in 1799.

	Incidental observations - -	474
	The French menace Britain with an invasion	475

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1798	The English premier introduces financial novelties	475
	The Dutch are rendered more subservient to France	478
	The pope is totally deprived of his power	480
	Rome is shamefully pillaged	481
	A republic is formed	482
	Switzerland is agitated by the new doctrines	ibid.
	French emissaries promote a revolution	484
	A war breaks out	486
	The Bernese troops mutiny	ibid.
	Berne is reduced	487
	A new constitution is framed	ibid.
	The republic of Geneva is united to France	488
	The democratic cantons take arms	ibid.
	But their confederacy is dissolved by French arts and hostilities	489
	New commotions arise	490
	The French are finally victorious	491
	Malta is attacked by the restless republicans	ibid.
	And soon reduced	494
	Bonapartè invades Egypt	495
	Fills Alexandria with slaughter	ibid.
	Is repeatedly victorious	496
	And takes the capital	ibid.
	Nelson triumphs over the French in the bay of Aboukir	497
	A rebellion arises in Ireland	498
	But it is soon quelled by the vigor of the royalists	499
	The Russians and Turks unite against the French	ibid.
1799	The emperor and the king of Naples renew the war	500
	The French reduce Naples	501
	Contest for the Grison territory	ibid.
	Campaign in Germany	ibid.
	——— in Italy	502
	Battle of Cassano	ibid.
	Piedmont is wrested from the new king of Sardinia	503
	Victories of general Kray	504
	Battle of San-Giovanni	505
	Assault of the works at Zurich	506
	Battle of Novi	507
	Actions in Switzerland	508
	Farther operations in Germany	509
	——— in Italy	510
	Syrian campaign	511
	Disgrace of Bonapartè at Acre	513
	Exploits of general Desaix	514
	Defeat of the Turks by the commander-in-chief	515
	Who privately returns to Europe	ibid.
	A new war in India	ibid.
	Reduction of Tippoo's capital	516

A. D.		Page
1799	His death - - -	516
	Partition of Mysore - -	517
	Predicament of the French directory -	ibid.
	Recovery of Rome by the allies -	ibid.
	Election of a pope - - -	518
	The English and Russians invade Holland -	ibid.
	And are for a time successful - -	519
	But they are at length constrained to quit the country	520
	Bonaparté subverts the directorial constitution, and obtains the dignity of first consul of the republic	ibid.

LETTER XV.

Continuation of the History to the Treaty of Amiens, 1802.

	Remarks on the new revolution in France -	521
1800	Bonaparté proposes peace to the British court	522
	The overture is fruitless - -	ibid.
	A legislative union with Ireland is proposed by Mr. Pitt	523
	And is carried into effect - -	526
	The French again invade Italy - -	527
	And make great progress - -	ibid.
	Genoa is reduced by the Austrians -	ibid.
	The republicans gain the battle of Montebello	528
	And are victorious at Marengo - -	529
	Fall of Desaix in the recovery of the honor of the day	ibid.
	Genoa and other towns and fortresses are surrendered to the French - - -	530
	Various battles in Germany - -	ibid.
	A renewed negotiation - -	ibid.
	The battle of Hohenlinden follows the resumption of arms	ibid.
1801	Treaty of Luneville - - -	ibid.
	Reduction of Malta - - -	531
	Rupture between the Russian and British courts	ibid.
	Retreat of Mr. Pitt from the helm -	ibid.
	Sketch of his character - -	532
	Appointment of Mr. Addington - -	ibid.
	Proceedings in the Baltic - -	533
	Attack of the Danish fleet by lord Nelson -	534
	Murder of the czar Paul - -	ibid.
	His character - - -	ibid.
	His successor Alexander acts, at first, with prudence and policy - - - -	535

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1801	A convention is adjusted with Russia, Sweden, and Denmark	536
	Continuance of the war in Egypt	537
	Three sanguinary conflicts	ibid.
	Reduction of Cairo and Alexandria	538
1802	TREATY OF AMIENS	ibid.

LETTER XVI.

A View of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonisation, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Treaty of Amiens.

	Voyage of Ulloa to Peru	540
	Ascertainment of the figure of the earth	ibid.
	Russian voyages	ibid.
	Exploratory expeditions of British navigators	ibid.
1765	Discoveries by Byron	541
	Account of Harrison's time-piece and other chronometers	ibid.
1766	Voyages of Wallis and Carteret	542
	The first circumnavigation of the globe by a French ship	543
1768	Cook's first voyage	544
1772	His second voyage	545
	Massacre of a part of captain Furneaux' crew by the canibals of New-Zealand	546
	Spanish surveys and colonisations	547
1776	Cook's third voyage	ibid.
	Prosecution of the fur trade	548
1785	Voyage of Portlock	549
	——— of Dixon	ibid.
	——— of M. de la Pérouse	550
1787	British colonial project	552
1788	Occupancy of New South-Wales	553
	Slow progress of the colony	554
1790	Voyage of Malaspina	ibid.
	——— of Vancouver	ibid.
	——— of Colnett [1793.]	557
	——— of M. Marchand	ibid.
1792	Embassy to China	560
1796	Voyage of British missionaries to some of the South-Sea islands	563
	Survey of the commerce of Great-Britain	564
	Inland trade	565
	Multiplication of canals	ibid.
	Colonial improvements	566
	Great increase of commerce	ibid.

A. D.		Page
1796	Chief manufactures - - -	567
	Trade of France - - -	569
	—— of Spain - - -	570
	Philippine company - - -	572
	Commerce of Portugal - -	573
	——— of Italy - - -	ibid.
	——— of the Levant - -	574
	——— of Russia - -	ibid.
	——— of Sweden - -	575
	——— of Denmark - -	ibid.
	——— of Holland - -	576
	——— of Prussia - -	ibid.
	——— of Germany in general -	577
	——— of Switzerland - -	578

LETTER XVII.

A Survey of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Year 1763 *to* 1802.

Remarks on the manners of the French -		579
The revolution deteriorates their character -		ibid.
They chiefly cultivate the arts of ordinary life, and that of war - - - -		580
They improve field-pieces - -		ibid.
Invent air-balloons - -		581
Introduce telegraphs - -		ibid.
Enumeration of men of science and literature, who flourished before the revolution - -		ibid.
New system of chemistry - -		582
Painters and sculptors - -		583
Theatrical performers - -		584
State of religion in France - -		ibid.
The protestants recover their rights -		585
Christianity is for a time nearly exploded -		ibid.
Catholicism is restored - -		ibid.
Eminent persons who flourished during or after the revolutionary convulsions - -		586
Cultivators of science in Great-Britain -		587
Royal Institution - - -		588
Other societies - - -		ibid.
Distinguished divines - -		589
Able physicians - - -		ibid.
Discovery of vaccination, as a preservative against the small-pox - - -		590
Systems of Cullen, Brown, and Darwin -		ibid.
Historians and other literary men -		591

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
	Eminent poets - - -	592
	——— dramatists - - -	593
	Ornaments of the theatre - -	ibid.
	Royal academy of arts - -	594
	Spirit of political reform - -	595
	Religious controversies - -	ibid.
	State of the church - -	596
	View of the attainments of the Dutch -	597
	State of science in Switzerland - -	ibid.
	Manners of the Swiss - -	598
	Character of the Germans - -	ibid.
	Their scientific progress - -	599
	Their success in the *belles lettres* -	601
	View of arts, literature, and society, in Sweden and Denmark - - - -	602
	Also in Russia - - -	604
	And in Poland - - -	605
	Account of the Turks and Greeks -	606
	Survey of art and science in Italy -	607
	View of manners - - -	608
	Progress of the arts in Spain - -	609
	Character of the people - -	610
	State of Portugal - - -	611
	Concluding observations - -	612

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART III.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763, TO THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

LETTER I.

A general View of the Affairs and Politics of the Western Division of the European Continent, from the Treaty of Paris to the Close of the Reign of Louis XV.

THE grand outlines of human nature, my dear son, are nearly the same in all ages and nations. But the lights and shades of the picture vary considerably at different periods and in distant regions. The political scenes of one division of the globe exhibit aspects very different from those which are presented in another part of the world; and modern history materially differs from that of ancient times. It bears a less abstract and more relative form; and the feelings of the actors who pass in review before us are more in unison with our own sensations.

A respite from war was more urgently required by the financial distresses of France, and the disorders of her government, than by any embarrassment in the affairs of

Great-Britain. Louis XV., therefore, considered peace as a desirable acquisition; and he had no wish to break off the negotiation, when he found the British cabinet so ready to smooth the way by concession. Soon after the ratification of the treaty, while he was immersed in sensual pleasures, he was involved in a new contest with some of the parliaments of his kingdom, on the subject of those taxes which the war had rendered necessary or expedient. When he had ordered the continuance of several imposts which had been professedly confined to the duration of the war, and had also demanded new contributions, the parliament of Paris remonstrated against these exactions: that of Rouen declared, that no tax could justly be imposed on the people of Normandy by any other authority than that of the three estates; and from Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Grenoble, and other provincial capitals, similar remonstrances were sent to the throne. The duke Fitz-James, governor of Languedoc, punished the unyielding spirit of some of the members of the parliament of Toulouse by restrictions of their personal liberty, which so incensed the majority, that a vote passed for his imprisonment. After warm debates at a meeting of the nobles in Paris, the offensive vote was annulled.

In this contest, the people encouraged the zeal of the members, because they considered them as patriots. For a different reason, the duke de Choiseul, the chief minister of Louis, secretly supported them against his sovereign, whom he wished to intimidate, by these and other arts, into an adherence to the league with the house of Austria, and a subserviency to that domineering family.

While the marchioness de Pompadour lived, the aspiring duke had not that paramount influence at court which he wished to enjoy. The death of that intriguing favorite was, therefore, an agreeable event

A. D. 1764.

to the minister; but it did not appear, though it was openly asserted, that she had been poisoned at his instigation.

Like Charles II. of England, Louis was immoderately and disgracefully addicted to amorous gratifications. Like that prince, he was too frequently governed by females; and, amidst the indulgence of a gross appetite, he forgot the duties of a king, and neglected the interest of his country. Influenced by the dissolute and corrupt marchioness, he had concluded an impolitic treaty, and had thrown himself into the arms of Austria. His inclinations were good, and he was not destitute of sense or judgement; but he had not the spirit to follow the suggestions of his own mind or the dictates of his own heart. He was hurried into acts of folly, rapacity, and tyranny; he connived at flagrant abuses in every department of state, and multiplied the grievances of a people by whom he was formerly beloved.

His son (of the same name) was a prince of a more manly spirit, and of a more respectable character. He lamented the king's weakness, and opposed the misgovernment of the realm, as far as his situation and circumstances would allow. He was unable, however, to check the career of courtly profligacy or ministerial misconduct; and his efforts only served to render him odious to the prevailing party.

The cause of the Jesuits had been favored by the dauphin, who thought that they were unjustly persecuted. Undoubtedly, that order of ecclesiastics had a greater share of learning than the generality of their brethren possessed; and many of them had evinced political ability; but their intriguing spirit, and their pernicious principles, gradually ruined their credit, and at length deprived them of the good opinion of mankind. The prince wished for a reform rather than an extinction of the society: but the former course was perhaps impracticable.

After the dissolution of this community in France[1], the parliaments of the realm zealously prosecuted their exertions, for the repression of the tyranny of their misguided sovereign. That of Paris evinced great firmness, and supported the magistracy of Rennes, or the Breton parliament, in a contest which inflamed the zeal of party. Choiseul had encouraged the latter to attack his powerful adversary, the duke d'Aiguillon, who was accused by M. de la Chalotais and his son of rapacity and other acts of delinquency, committed in his administration of Bretagne.

A. D. 1765. The two accusers were sent to prison by the advice of the duke de la Vrillère, who, though a member of the cabinet, did not in this business concur with Choiseul. The king ordered three commissioners to take cognisance of the cause; but the Parisian magistracy so strongly remonstrated against the appointment of these delegates, whose characters were not the most honorable, that the commission was revoked, and the affair left to the decision of the parliament. That body being garbled, the remaining members disputed it's competency; and the inquiry was suspended.

Amidst these occurrences, the dauphin, whose health had been for some years declining, died at the age of thirty-six years. His wife, a princess of the house of Saxony, who was unfriendly to the administration of Choiseul, did not survive him above fifteen months. The duke was accused by his enemies of having poisoned both these obnoxious personages: but it is unjust to suspect him, upon mere surmise, of such infernal atrocity. Even those who disapprove his politics are not bound to give credit to such unsupported rumors[2].

1 See Part II. Letter XXXVI.

2 M. Soulavie states the presumptions for and against these stories of *empoisonnement*; and he speaks so ambiguously in pretending to give his own opinion, that the reader of his *Mémoires* must judge for himself, without the benefit of this writer's sagacity.

The duke impaired his interest at court, and also injured his popularity, by his severe treatment of general Lally, the unfortunate antagonist of Colonel Coote in India[3]. This gentleman was the son of an emigrant Irish officer, and had distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy; but his ill success in the East, and, in particular, his supposed misconduct at Pondicheri, exposed him to the vehement censures of the French India company. He was tried by the parliament of Paris for having betrayed the interests of the king and the company, although Louis considered that court as an incompetent tribunal for the investigation of military concerns and affairs of state. Choiseul, having over-ruled the king's objections, procured the condemnation of the prisoner, not for any specific offence, but upon a general charge of criminal misconduct[4]. He was gagged at the place of execution, that he might not inveigh against his accusers, or expatiate on his innocence. As he had been guilty of extortion in India, three hundred thousand livres were deducted from the great mass of his property, and distributed among the poor inhabitants of Pondicheri[5]. A.D. 1766.

3 See Part II. Letter XXXIV.

4 The author of the historical part of the Annual Register (for 1766) affirms, that it was a "general accumulative charge, in which *treason* was comprehended:" but Voltaire properly observes, that the accusation was not intended to include what is denominated in England *high treason*, and in France *lese majesté*.

5 His son, Lally Tolendal, honored the memory of the general by procuring, in the following reign, a reversal of the sentence.——The case of Lally, however, was less unjust than that of John Calas, a protestant of Toulouse, who was broken alive upon the wheel for the alleged murder of his own son. The parliament of Paris, in 1765, canceled the process against him, on the full manifestation of his innocence. The exertions of Voltaire, in this cause, greatly contributed to the exposure of the bigoted cruelty of the magistrates of Toulouse.

The Canadian cause may also be mentioned, as it excited extraordinary attention. Before the English reduced the province, loud complaints of embezzlement, extortion, and varied misconduct, had reached the French court; and, as the intendant, M. Bigot, was known to have acquired great wealth, not by the most correct practices, he was apprehended after his return to France, and confined in the Bastille. A committee of the Chatelet took cognisance of the charges, in which more than fifty individuals were implicated. Bigot, and two officers in different depart-

Louis accused Choiseul of having mis-led him to the ruin of an officer who had served him with fidelity and zeal. He also suspected the duke of encouraging the parliaments to impugn his authority, and the philosophers to write against the established system of government: yet, for a long time, he had not the spirit to dismiss him into the obscurity of private life.

While he thus suffered a foreigner (for the duke was born in Lorrain before it became a French province) to sway him against his own feelings and his sense of propriety and policy, a prince of the same family was involved in great danger by his adoption of foreign counsels. Charles III., king of Spain, had conferred on the marquis de Squillacè, an Italian, the post of prime minister; and this nobleman, although he occasionally evinced sense and judgement, was sometimes impolitic, rash, and violent. The king had pleased his people by various regulations, apparently calculated for their benefit; but he did not always consult their feelings or their prejudices. By the advice of the marquis, he prohibited the use of flapped hats and long cloaks; and the edict was enforced with severity, as the disguise had frequently been perverted to mischievous purposes. A young man, dressed in the mode which the court disapproved, was stopped near the palace by a sentinel; and a
March 23. dispute arose, which soon became serious and alarming. A great number of persons, not all of the lowest rank, rushed to the spot; but, when the soldiery fired, they were so far over-awed as to retire. Joined by others, they made an attack upon the guard, obtained the advantage, and hastened to the house of the obnoxious minister. If they had found him, he probably would

ments, were banished: but some were only reprimanded; and the public did not consider the punishments (including confiscation, to the amount of twelve millions of livres) as adequate to the offences, or sufficient to deter others from similar practices.

have fallen a victim to their fury. As he had escaped, they wreaked their vengeance on his house; and, after other outrages, dispersed at midnight. In the conflict with the troops, many were killed on both sides.

Not having obtained a redress of grievances, the rioters re-assembled on the following day, and marched toward the palace, to intimate their wishes to the king. General O'Reilly proposed that military coercion should be employed against such disloyal subjects; but Charles was unwilling to adopt the advice of the bold Hibernian. He patiently listened to a statement of the demands of the people; and even consented to the dismission of Squillacè, to a repeal of the edict respecting dress[6], a reduction of the prices of bread and oil, and the revocation of a patent granted for a monopoly of provisions. When he had thus pacified the rioters, he retired with his family to Aranjuez[7]. They instantly concluded that he did not think himself safe in the capital; and, exclaiming that their fidelity was suspected, they sent a deputation, requesting his return. He replied, that the best means of accelerating his re-appearance in Madrid would be, the dispersion of all seditious assemblages, and the complete restoration of tranquillity and order. He gratified the people by appointing don Miguel Mousquiz minister of the finances, and by declaring that he would not revoke the general pardon which he had granted: but he did not return to Madrid before eight months had elapsed from the riots. Disturbances had previously occurred in some of the American provinces of the Spanish empire, particularly in that of Quito; and the insurgents of Madrid, in their remonstrance to his majesty, attributed those commotions to

6 This ordinance was afterwards renewed, but not rigorously enforced. Many years elapsed before it was generally observed in the provinces.

7 According to Mr. Swinburne, he thought himself indebted to O'Reilly for his life on this occasion. The general "rode into the crowd of rioters, and shot a fellow dead who had taken up a stone and was going to throw it at the king." *Travels through Spain.*

the rash interference of Squillacè in the colonial administration.

The Portuguese could not so easily shake off the yoke of an unpopular minister. The count d'Oeyras, afterwards marquis de Pombal, had long enjoyed the entire confidence of his most faithful majesty; but, by his arbitrary and vindictive spirit, he had rendered himself odious to the nation. He ruled all classes with a rod of iron, and disregarded their hatred while he excited their fear. He might say, with the Roman tyrant, *Oderint dum metuant.* His abilities, however, were acknowleged by those who execrated his tyranny, and he has been compared with cardinal Richelieu by a French writer[8]; and, indeed, both these ministers were able statesmen, imperious masters, irreconcileable enemies; both were eloquent, both affected wit and literary knowlege; each patronised art and science, and encouraged the general interests of the kingdom.

One part of the count's system of reform was to annihilate, or greatly reduce, that influence which had nearly degraded Portugal into the station of a province of Great-Britain. His pride was wounded by this humiliating consideration; and he was of opinion, that the country might flourish without being so closely connected with an heretical nation. He therefore paid little regard to the suggestions of the British minister at Lisbon, and took every opportunity of encroaching on the commercial privileges of our countrymen. He erected new companies, to which he gave an exclusive right over those branches of trade which had hitherto been free. He enacted new regulations, inconsistent with the stipulations of treaties. He encouraged various manufactures, that the demand for English goods might be lessened; destroyed a number of vineyards, that the land might produce corn; and pro-

8 Dumouriez, who was sent by the duke de Choiseul to examine the state of the Portuguese realm.

moted commerce with France, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark[9].

The enmity borne to the Jesuits by this minister and the duke de Choiseul, now began to influence the Spanish cabinet. Some emissaries of that intriguing order were suspected of having instigated the people to the late insurrection at Madrid: but, as the king was not an advocate for clerical or monastic power, and thought with other princes that the Jesuits had subsisted too long, he would probably have acted against them even if they had been innocent of that charge. Having formed an intention of seising their ample property and banishing their persons, he gave secret orders to the count d' Aranda for the execution of a bold scheme, A. D. 1767. which, if attempted in the preceding century, might have shaken the foundations of his throne. At night, six houses of Jesuits in Madrid were surrounded by military detachments; and the unfortunate occupants, roused from sleep, were commanded to prepare for a journey to the coast. They quietly submitted to the mandate, and were escorted to Carthagena: and, in other towns, similar violence was exercised. Then appeared "the pragmatic sanction of his majesty, for the banishment of the regulars of the company from Spain April 2. and the Indies, and the confiscation of their temporalities." Pensions for life were promised to all, except such members as were not Spaniards by birth. Many were conveyed to Corsica; and others found refuge in the pope's dominions. As soon as the royal will was known in the provinces of Mexico and Peru, the Jesuits were seised without tumult; and in Paraguay, where they had long maintained an almost independent empire, by the extraordinary influence which they had acquired over the

9 Etat actuel du Royaume de Portugal (en 1766) par Dumouriez.—Voyage du ci-devant Duc du Chatelet en Portugal, augmenté de Notes par Bourgoing, tome 1.

natives, they were suddenly deprived of all power, and shipped off for Europe.

By the influence of his catholic majesty, the Jesuits were, in the course of the same year, expelled from the two Sicilies, and sent into the papal territories. His holiness warmly remonstrated against the conduct of the Neapolitan government; but no more regard was paid to his memorial in this case, than to a brief which he soon after issued against Ferdinand duke of Parma.—These incidents call our attention to the affairs of Italy.

That country, from the time of the ancient Romans to the present moment, has been an interesting object of notice to the rest of Europe. You have some recollection, my dear son, of it's early history; and you are not unacquainted with the chief occurrences of the ages which succeeded the fall of the Roman empire. The remarkable incidents of the first eleven years from the treaty of Paris, of which an Italian prince was the mediator, are not very numerous: but they are calculated to excite various reflexions, and exercise the speculative faculties.

Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, had observed a strict neutrality during the war; and his pacific disposition and patriotic virtues, while other princes were wasting their resources, contributed to promote the prosperity of his dominions. He retained arbitrary power; but he exercised it with moderation, and tempered it by a regard to justice. He devoted a part of every day to an investigation of the complaints of all ranks of people, and vigilantly inspected every department of the administration.

Not forgetful of his territorial rights, he applied to the courts of France and Spain for a confirmation of that article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which granted him a reversionary title to Placentia. He obtained their guaranty soon after the peace of 1763; and they sent to the town-house of Turin a sum of money, the interest

of which was equivalent to the ordinary revenues of the promised territory.

The Milanese and Mantuan provinces were governed by Austrian delegates, under whom those countries flourished in an equal degree with most of the Italian states or principalities; but the people did not enjoy the blessings of liberty. The trade of Milan was gradually augmented; and the useful arts were cultivated with success. Attentive also to the advancement of the polite arts and general learning, Maria Theresa founded in that city, in 1764, an academy for sculpture and architecture, and, two years afterwards, an university.

The archduke Ferdinand, being appointed by the empress to the government of the Milanese, acted in his high station with prudence and humanity. He testified a regard for justice, a spirit of philanthropy and beneficence. When the province presented him with a sum of money, amounting to 52,500 pounds sterling, on his marriage with the princess of Modena, he consented to accept it only with a view of employing it in the reparation of roads and construction of canals, instead of devoting it (as many princes would have done) to purposes of luxury and ostentation. He abolished an unjust law, which deprived, of the right of succession to the property of relatives, every woman who gave her hand to an inhabitant of another province, or even of another town. On a stated day in every week, he gave audience to all who approached him, and complied with such requests as appeared to be reasonable. He farther gratified the people by the extinction of a formidable tribunal, which propagated hypocrisy rather than true religion, and formerly exercised the most horrible cruelties. You may readily conclude that I mean the inquisition[10].

The republic of Venice, declining in power, yet main-

10 Annales du Regne de Marie Therese, par l' Abbé Fromageot.

tained an appearance of respectability. It's rulers studiously avoided the miseries of war, and endeavoured, by alleviating the rigors of despotism, to render peace more productive, than it had formerly been, of comfort and happiness. There was some danger, in 1767, of an interruption of this tranquillity; for, besides a rupture with the dey of Algier (which, however, soon gave way to a renewal of peace), an insurrection on the borders of Dalmatia excited alarm. An adventurer, of the name of Stephano, formed a strong party among the Montenegrins, and was encouraged by the monks of the Greek church to assume the designation of the czar Peter III. He subjected to his sway some villages in the Venetian part of Dalmatia, and in the Turkish portion of Albania. Troops were sent to Cataro to check the insurgents, who soon retired from the Venetian territories: but it required the efforts of a numerous Turkish army, headed by the pasha of Bosnia, to subdue the Montenegrins. A mountainous fortress was defended against repeated assaults, and a fortified monastery was also attacked in vain; but both were at length reduced, after a great loss of men on each side. Stephano retired among the mountains, and peace was restored, in consequence of the submission of the Montenegrins to the Turkish claim of vassalage.

A. D. 1768.

The Venetian senate concurred with the duke of Parma, and other Italian princes, in restraining the papal power. The duke, having requested Clement XIII.[11] to abridge the exorbitant privileges of the clergy, was so incensed at the pontiff's refusal, that he prohibited appeals to Rome, declared all bulls or briefs from the pope null and nugatory, and ordered that all ecclesiastical dignities in his dominions should be enjoyed only by his own subjects. Clement, who was a friend to the Jesuits, and a strenuous advocate

11 Rezzonico, a noble Venetian, who had filled the see of Padua with reputation.

for the supremacy of the church, condemned by a brief the duke's *pragmatic sanction*, and, representing the clergy as exempt from laic or temporal jurisdiction, threatened to excommunicate that prince and all his advisers and abettors. The duke enforced his edict, and still farther defied the pope by expelling the Jesuits from the duchy, and dissolving the society. His cousin Ferdinand, encouraged by the marquis of Tanucci, whom the king of Spain (when he resigned the crown of Naples) had left at the head of the administration, applauded the duke's regulations, protested against the Romish brief, and sent troops to deprive Clement of Benevento and Ponte-Corvo. The French and Spanish monarchs also desired the pontiff to revoke his brief, as it militated against the rights of sovereigns. His holiness disregarded their solicitations, and asserted the supposed rights of the church. The court of Lisbon sent a minister to Rome, to join the representatives of the allied crowns in their remonstrances; but neither the wishes of his most faithful majesty, nor the expostulations of the Venetian envoy, shook the firmness of Rezzonico. He did not trust to temporal but to spiritual arms: yet, when the duke of Modena, not content with attacking him in point of jurisdiction, threatened to seise the duchy of Ferrara, on pretence of an old claim, the militia of the ecclesiastical state were embodied and disciplined.

Tanucci stimulated the king of Naples to assail with vigour the pope and the clergy. The nuncio was stripped of his power: the privileges of churchmen were diminished; and the smaller monasteries were suppressed. Troops were at the same time assembled, for the declared purpose of putting Ferdinand in possession of the duchies of Castro and Ronciglionè; but this menace was not executed.

The pope's perseverance in his spiritual warfare subjected him to the serious effects of the displeasure of his

most Christian majesty. Avignon and the whole Venaissin territory, governed in the pope's name by a vice-legate, who had scarcely any means of defence, were seised by a body of French, and retained in defiance of all the remonstrances of his holiness. He solicited the mediation of Maria Theresa, a more devout catholic than the princes who had attacked his prerogatives; but he derived no benefit from the application. His mental uneasiness impaired his health; and the cardinals were already looking out for a successor to the harassed pontiff.

His Sardinian majesty did not join in the profane assaults upon the spiritual power. He comforted the pope with assurances of his regard and submission, and exhorted him not to despair. Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, was less devoted to the holy see than Charles Emanuel. The government of the young duke was distinguished by a general spirit of reform. He abridged the power of the nobles and the clergy; suppressed the privilege of asylum, which operated as an encouragement to crimes; improved the administration of justice; abolished oppressive taxes; diminished the number of troops, and destroyed unnecessary fortifications; removed commercial restrictions; and corrected inveterate abuses in every department of the state. It was affirmed, that some of his regulations were minute and vexatious: but it was allowed, both by natives and foreigners, that he was a beneficent prince, and a friend to his people. While he filled the ducal throne, Tuscany was the best-governed country in Italy; and, if his subjects were not the happiest in the peninsula, they were not sufficiently sensible of the comforts which they enjoyed. This was not his fault; for he promoted with anxious zeal their interest and welfare.

During the contest with the pope, the king of France, being indebted to the Genoese, and looking forward to

the eventual conquest of an island which had in early times belonged to the French, consented to assist the republic by securing the fortified towns with seven battalions for four years, without acting offensively against the Corsicans, who, under the command and direction of Pascal Paoli, held the city of Cortè, and the greater part of the country, on an independent basis. A general council being convoked, it was resolved by the natives, that all commerce with the intruders should be prohibited, and that no peace should be concluded with the republic on terms inconsistent with the liberty and independence of the island. The four years had not expired, when a body of Corsicans made a descent on Capraia, a neighbouring isle, and subdued it with little difficulty. At the end of the limited period, a new treaty was signed, by which the Genoese ceded their insular kingdom to the French, who engaged to pay for the artillery and all military stores, and to protect the commerce of the former against the violence of pirates. The people, disdaining to be quietly transferred like cattle to new masters, resolved to defend themselves; and a spirited campaign ensued. A considerable army being transported from France, encampments were formed at Bastia and San-Fiorenzo. The invaders, by forcing some posts which the armed natives occupied, opened a communication between the camps. Frequent actions occurred, which were attended with great loss on both sides. The arrival of the marquis de Chauvelin, as commander in chief, did not intimidate the islanders; nor did the promises of good government, announced in a royal proclamation signed by Choiseul, soothe them into submission.

At Borgo di Mariana, a remarkable contest took place. The Corsicans approached the town in the evening, and, amidst a furious fire, completed their lines of circumvallation. Chauvelin, eager to relieve the garrison, reconnoitred the lines, and hoped so to enclose the island-

ers, as to ensure the destruction of the whole party. But Paoli was not so negligent as to suffer this scheme to be successful. He sent a corps to watch the motions of M. de Grande-Maison, who, while he was advancing to co-operate with the marquis, was so fiercely assailed, that he was obliged to retreat with precipitation. Chauvelin passed a whole day in skirmishes, and, the next morning, attacked the lines. He forced them in various parts, but received such a galling fire from the houses in which the Corsicans had posted themselves, that he ordered his men to desist. At noon, he renewed the assault without effect. A third attack being likewise fruitless, the commandant surrendered the town. About 1800 of the French were killed, wounded, or captured, on this occasion; and disease also thinned their number.

A. D. 1769. The ensuing campaign was more decisive. The islanders continued to fight with courage; but it could not be expected that they would be able long to withstand the increasing numbers of the enemy. Choiseul, eager to complete the conquest, augmented the French army in Corsica to 30,000 men, and sent the count de Vaux, on whose determined spirit he thought he could better depend than on the less sanguine zeal of the marquis de Chauvelin. He might have been discouraged, if the British court had taken an active part in the war: but the duke of Grafton attended more to internal affairs than to external politics.

The new commander in chief incessantly harassed the unfortunate Corsicans, and obtained an important victory near Rostino. French emissaries were at the same time employed in seducing the chieftains from the common cause; and, as their persuasions were in some instances aided by pecuniary offers, the effect was fatal to the liberty of the island.

After the reduction of the city of Cortè, which was not defended with the requisite spirit, Paoli, having

scarcely 500 men under his immediate command, and being in danger of destruction or captivity, exhorted his troops either to cut their way through the ranks of the enemy, and escape to the sea-side, or die gloriously on the spot where they were nearly surrounded. They boldly attacked the invaders; and the greater part retired in safety. Paoli embarked, and reached Leghorn; and the emigration of many of his countrymen testified their strong disinclination to the French yoke. Those who remained were obliged to submit to the dominion of Louis; but some years elapsed, and much blood was shed in a desultory war among the mountains, before the island was fully subdued. A new council, subject to the parliament of Provence, was formed; and other arrangements, calculated to render the island an appendage to the French monarchy, were ordered by the sovereign.

The internal state of France was at this time calamitous. The East-India company, which had been long declining, found itself unable to avoid bankruptcy; and a great number of private failures distressed the nation. The prodigality of the court led to a financial breach of faith, injurious to public credit; and, from the decay of trade, a general poverty prevailed.

The king had lived for some years without an acknowleged mistress. He had, indeed, expressed an intention of relinquishing his habits of incontinence: but such ideas of reform were momentary. He continued to gratify his licentious appetite with women of the court, wives of tradesmen, or girls of low birth: but they were soon dismissed, and had no influence over him in politics. His *valet de chambre* at length found an attractive object in the person of Mademoiselle l'Ange, who, though meanly born and ill-bred, and nursed as it were in prostitution, fascinated by her beauty the weak monarch, and enslaved him for the rest of his life. He ordered her to be married, *pro forma*, to the brother of one of her paramours,

who styled himself the count Du-Barri; and he resolved, in defiance of decency and of all hints or remonstrances, that she should be introduced at court with the usual etiquette. The duchess of Grammont, sister to the duke de Choiseul, had conceived the hope of being mistress to the king: but her advances being neglected, and the young countess preferred, she felt emotions of keen resentment. The duke, considering his power as too firmly established to be shaken by this new attachment, disdained to court the favourite, and opposed her growing influence by occasional insinuations in the ear of his sovereign. An old lady, however, was bribed to present her; and all who wished to continue in the king's good graces then began to take notice of her. The chancellor Maupeou, more attentive to his own interest than to honour, morality, or patriotism, became meanly obsequious to the profligate mistress; whom he suffered to control his ministerial operations, and pervert his public conduct. He neglected his benefactor Choiseul, and connected himself with the duke d' Aiguillon, who likewise regulated his destiny by an observance of the new planet that glittered in the political horizon[12].

The mal-administration of Bretagne by the duke d'Aiguillon, who had acted more like a Turkish pasha than a French governor, had excited such indignation among the provincials, that, if he had not been removed from the government, an open insurrection would probably have taken place. His adversaries, the Messieurs de la Chalotais, were in danger of suffering death by an illegal sentence: but Choiseul prevailed on the king to relinquish all thoughts of sanguinary violence; and, by letters patent, the affair was declared to be at an end. The two magistrates, however, were not reinstated in their functions, but were subjected to a state of partial exile,

12 La Vie Privée de Louis XV.

although his majesty admitted that their honor was unquestioned. They repeatedly demanded a regular justification; and the states of the province, in a spirited memorial, recommended a renewal of inquiry. Louis at length consented to a solemn adjudication of the dispute in the court of peers. The proceedings served to amuse him, until the marriage of his eldest grandson seemed preferably to require his attention. A. D. 1770.

In pursuance of his favorite system of connecting the courts of Versailles and Vienna by the closest ties, Choiseul had projected a matrimonial union between Louis, son of the deceased dauphin, and Marie Antoinette, daughter of the empress dowager. He was sensible of the decline of his interest at court, and imagined that a dauphiness, indebted to him for her elevation, would prove to him a strong support. When he was introduced to her at Compiegne, she thanked him for his attention to her happiness, and requested him to continue his kindness by assisting her youth and inexperience with his sage advice. The most splendid preparations were made for the reception and marriage of the Austrian princess; and large sums were lavished, which might have been better employed in the purchase of corn for the starving poor. But no feelings of humanity touched the heart of the prodigal and profligate Louis. A succession of entertainments, festivities, and spectacles, amused the court, and enlivened conversation; and even a fatal accident, which occurred at the exhibition of fire-works given by the corporation of Paris, did not make a serious impression upon a thoughtless and volatile people. In a street leading to the *Boulevards* or ramparts, where an illumination was to conclude the public amusements of the day, the unevenness of the ground, various obstructions, and the bustle intentionally promoted by intruding depredators, produced, amidst the conflux of May 30.

people, such a scene of confusion, that many fell and were trampled to death, while some were suffocated as they stood, and others were bruised, maimed, or wounded by the fury of such as were struggling to rise. About 130 persons were taken up lifeless; and a much greater number afterwards died of the effects of the collision and pressure[18].

After a series of diversions, Louis gratified the dauphiness with a display of the arbitrary power of a French monarch. He held a bed of justice with the usual pomp, and ordered an annulment of all the proceedings either for or against the duke d' Aiguillon, imposing upon every one an absolute silence respecting the troubles of Bretagne. The parliament, disgusted at the king's conduct, declared before the princes and peers, that an accused person could not legally be justified in such a mode; and, in a subsequent meeting, suspended the duke from all the functions of the peerage. The chancellor was so enraged at the boldness of the magistracy, that he tore in pieces the authenticated vote of the decree. Louis, who had already entertained the duke at Marli as a friend, canceled the offensive act, and defied the spirited remonstrances of the parliament.

June 27.

The rivalry and animosity between the duke de Choiseul and Maupeou now rose to so great a height, that both could not expect to remain in power. The mistress importuned the king to discard a minister who systematically encouraged the contumacy of the parliaments, and who was even endeavouring to plunge the nation into a new war. The latter charge related to those intrigues which produced hostilities against the English at the Falkland islands, and also to an intention of acting against

18 La Vie Privée de Louis XV.—It is affirmed in that work, that the whole loss amounted to 1100 or more: but this is probably an exaggeration.—Soulavie absurdly pretends, that this catastrophe was a massacre, perpetrated by the enemies of the Austrian alliance.

our India company. Choiseul exerted all his efforts for the recovery of his credit; but the fabric of his power evidently tottered to it's foundation.

The parliament of Paris, enraged at the escape of the duke d'Aiguillon from the punishment which he merited, continued to take notice of the affair, notwithstanding the royal prohibition. Some of the provincial parliaments also stigmatised the duke's conduct. The duchess de Grammont was accused by the chancellor's party of having encouraged the magistrates thus to act; and the countess, by inveighing against this seditious boldness, procured from the king, when heated with wine, an order for the dismission of Choiseul; which, the next morning, he revoked. An arbitrary edict (for rendering all the courts absolutely passive and subservient to the king's will) being strongly opposed by the parliament, a bed of justice was holden for the purpose of enforcing it's registration. Perceiving the duke d'Aiguillon seated among the peers, the magistrates protested against this violation of their late decree, and, with a reference also to the new edict, declared that they could not, while their feelings were thus wounded, continue their functions. Louis commanded them to submit to his pleasure: they repeatedly refused to act[14]. Dec. 7.

The irritation of this contest decided the political fate of Choiseul. His majesty sent the duke de la Vrillière with a letter to the minister, desiring him to retire to his seat at Chanteloup within twenty-four hours. The duke de Praslin was at the same time dismissed from the naval department. The general odium, under which Maupeou and d'Aiguillon labored, gave an air of triumph to Choiseul's disgrace. His departure was attended with popular acclamations: his faults were forgotten; and persons of every class seemed ready to acknowlege his services. Dec. 24.

14 La Vie Privée de Louis XV.

At the time of his dismission, the duke was minister for foreign affairs, secretary at war, and postmaster-general. These offices he was ordered to relinquish: but he voluntarily resigned the command of the Swiss guards, which had been conferred upon him for life. He was bold, ambitious, and enterprising; quick in conception, and eloquent in persuasion; eager to aggrandise France, even in defiance of justice and humanity; prodigal in his administration, and not sufficiently regardful of the accommodation or welfare of the people. In one of his schemes, he proved himself to be a short-sighted politician; for, by instigating the Porte to a war with Russia, he only (as the count de Vergennes predicted) rendered more powerful the princess whom he wished to humble. His Corsican project was not the offspring either of justice or of profound wisdom; and the advantages of the union with Austria were at least problematical.

A.D.1771. The despotic edict was still resisted by the magistrates, who were particularly scandalised at its preamble, which accused them of being decidedly hostile to the constitutional rights of the crown. In consequence of a delusive promise from Maupeou, of withdrawing the edict, they resumed their functions: but, when it was disavowed by the king, their peremptory refusal of confirming the ordinance exposed them to his violent resentment. They were deprived of their employments, which they had purchased with considerable sums, and banished

an. 21. by *lettres de cachet* to different parts of the country [15].

To supply the deficiency in point of judicature, occasioned by this unjustifiable act of power, the chancellor proposed, that the new parliament of Paris should consist of seventy members, to be nominated and pensioned by

15 La Vie Privée de Louis XV.—Journal Historique de la Révolution operée (dans la Constitution de la Monarchie Françoise) par M. de Maupeou, Chancelier de France: tome i.

the sovereign, and that six councils should also be formed, to be holden at Arras, Blois, Châlons, Clermont, Lyons, and Poictiers. This plan was sanctioned by his majesty, registered by the council of state, and ordered to be carried into effect against the general wish of the nation. Maupeou alleged that the administration of justice would become gratuitous, and more impartial, in consequence of the new arrangements; that causes would be sooner determined; that corruption and venality would be banished; that the spirit of faction would be repressed, and that the effect would be highly advantageous to the public and to individuals.

Many of the regular parliaments remonstrated against these illegal proceedings; and the princes of the royal blood loudly joined in the clamor. The latter sent to the king a formal protest against the conduct of the chancellor and all the acts of the pretended tribunals. His majesty reprehended their insubmissive behaviour, and prohibited them from appearing within the verge of the court. So many of the nominated members of the new parliament and councils objected to the disgraceful appointment, that it was difficult to prevail on a sufficient number of persons of respectability to belong to the courtly assemblies.

To pave the way for the execution of the chancellor's system, Louis held a bed of justice, and commanded the registration of three edicts; one for the abolition of the former Parisian parliament, another for the suppression of the court of aids, and one for the formation of the new parliament. He forbade all discussion that might lead to remonstrance, and declared in a peremptory tone, that he would never alter his determination. The ordinances were irregularly confirmed; and the murmurs of the people were disregarded by the despot. April 13.

The duke d'Aiguillon, who had for some months been

a courtier without office, was at length appointed secretary of state for the foreign department. This nobleman, the chancellor, and the abbé Terrai, had the chief influence at court, in concert with the countess Du-Barri; and more unpopular men could not easily be found in the kingdom. They ridiculed the idea of an original contract between the executive magistrate and the people, and maintained that the king, holding his crown from God alone, was not accountable for his administration to those whom he governed. Prostitute writers defended this doctrine in print; but those who took up the pen on the opposite side argued in a more rational and convincing manner.

June 6.

While this literary war subsisted, edicts for the suppression of other parliaments were carried into effect. At Besançon the duke de Randan intimated, to those members who disapproved the new ordinances, the royal command for their confinement in their country-houses; and the chevalier du Muy enforced the dissolution at Douai. At Bourdeaux, the marechal de Richelieu executed the same act of despotism: the count de Perigord acted at Toulouse, the duke d'Harcourt at Rouen, the count de Rochechouart at Aix. These and other suppressions, that of Paris included, were attended with the exile of about 700 magistrates; and, to provide for the support of their successors, and the pretendedly gratuitous administration of justice, new and heavy taxes were imposed[16].

The new fabric, not being supported by the strength of public opinion, was not expected to be durable. Maupeou, conscious of its weakness, was indefatigable in his endeavours to consolidate and establish it. He courted the banished magistrates to enter into his views, and offered the re-payment of the money with which they had purchased their appointments. A considerable number accepted the offer; but the mode in which the

16 Journal Historique, tome ii.

agreement was adjusted did not prove altogether satisfactory; for a receipt was demanded as if cash had been delivered, and a bond was then given for the particular sum, as if each magistrate had recently lent it to the king. The pretended reimbursement, therefore, was the creation of a new debt[17].

A perfect harmony did not reign among the ministers. The marquis de Monteynard, director of the war department, was thwarted in his schemes by the financier Terrai; and the duke d'Aiguillon endeavoured to find a plausible pretence for his removal, that he himself might have the sole management of military affairs, and enjoy the great patronage arising from that branch of the public service. The chancellor was not on the most amicable terms with M. de Boynes, who superintended naval affairs. The duke de la Vrillière had been so long in office, that Louis had contracted an habitual attachment to him; and he was suffered to remain, although some of his associates aimed at his expulsion. Maupeou strengthened his interest by affecting a regard for religion. He thus insinuated himself into the favor of the king's daughter Louisa, a Carmelite nun, who was at once a devotee and a politician. By her interest he hoped so far to maintain the balance of power, as to prevent the countess Du-Barri and M. d'Aiguillon from procuring his dismission[18].

The duke did not so exert himself with regard to the general affairs of Europe, as to obtain that influence which Choiseul had possessed at foreign courts. He assisted the king of Sweden, however, in the subjugation of the aristocratic party, by employing A. D. 1774. in that service the intriguing address of the count de Vergennes. Of the dismemberment of Poland he had little previous intelligence; and he supinely suffered the three combined powers to plunder and oppress a defence-

17 Journal Historique, tome ii. 18 La Vie Privée de Louis XV.

less nation at their pleasure. Louis reproached the minister for his negligence, and exclaimed, "If Choiseul had been still in the cabinet, this disgraceful partition might have been prevented." The French ambassador at Vienna was prince Louis, afterwards cardinal de Rohan (a creature of madame Du-Barri), whose supposed inattention to the politics of the day, and imputed want of penetration, exposed him to public ridicule and censure. It is said, however, that the king had early and distinct information upon the subject.

A sanction which the chancellor had long wished for his plan of government was afforded by the versatility of the princes of the blood, who, seduced by his persuasions or those of the duke, were reconciled to the court. The prince of Condé, and his son the duke of Bourbon, led the way on this occasion; the dukes of Orleans and Chartres followed. The dauphin did not interfere in the national business, or in the contests of party. This prince, when he appeared in public, was usually received with loud acclamations. He was hailed as *Louis le Desiré*,—a severe satire on the reigning prince!

Among the reproaches which were lavished upon the ministers, one in particular was less merited than others. It was alleged that they had an intention of re-establishing the order of the Jesuits in France. The duke d'Aiguillon certainly favored the members of that fraternity: but it was chiefly because they had been strongly opposed by the different parliaments. He had no thoughts of restoring the order; and the French minister at Rome received instructions from the cabinet to promote the total extinction of the society. The pontiff to whom application was now made for this purpose was not the bigoted Rezzonico, but the prudent and moderate Ganganelli.

Clement XIII. died[19] while the great dispute subsisted

19 In February 1769.

on the extent of ecclesiastical power. The papal chair remained vacant above three months, from the difficulty of choice in a time of confusion. At length, the French and Spanish interest procured a majority of votes for Francis Laurence Ganganelli, a man of talents and respectability. He assumed the designation of Clement XIV., as the last pontiff had created him a cardinal. His elevation gave general joy; and he prepared with alacrity for the due discharge of his new functions[20]. He hoped to appease the courts which were embroiled with that of Rome, without derogating from the rights of the holy see.

His first endeavours were directed to a reconciliation with Portugal. A nuncio was re-admitted at Lisbon; and the pope's overtures were favorably received by the king. To his most Christian majesty he sent a letter, intimating that, as he was only the administrator of the domains of the see of Rome, he could not lawfully cede Avignon, or any other portion of the ecclesiastical territories; and that he could not so far yield to the clamors against the Jesuits as to condemn them unheard, but would call a general council to decide the question, whether it would be prudent to continue or proper to suppress that society. With regard to the duke of Parma, he suspended the effects of the brief which had been promulgated against him, and promised to do him justice. He addressed other princes in a tone of dignified moderation, conciliatory without meanness.

For the cession of the Venaissin, Louis offered to pay six millions of livres; and it was intimated to the pope, that a refusal would be resented. A speedy decision was also desired on the subject of the jesuitical order: but

20 A Venetian lady, writing to a friend on the subject, thus pompously expressed herself. *Allora tutto il mondo era infervorato; è si credeva che il secolo d'oro ricommenciava.* "Then all the world seemed to be transported; and it was imagined that the golden age was going to re-commence."

Ganganelli delayed, above four years, the determination of the important question. After long deliberation in his own mind, and frequent consultations with intelligent individuals, he was disposed to gratify the adversaries of the society. Having prepared the bull of dissolution, the pontiff submitted it to the inspection of the
A. D. 1773. most learned and enlightened theologians, and sent copies of it to the majority of the European princes, that he might have their advice for its improvement. When he had received their answers, he still hesitated; but he at length resolved to put an end to a society which had excited general odium. Alleging the decline of that utility which had once attended the existence of the order, referring to the restless spirit of political intrigue which influenced it's members, and lamenting the effects of their pernicious doctrines, he signed and pro-
July 21. mulgated the memorable edict of suppression. Malvezzi, archbishop of Bologna, enforced the bull with zeal in his diocese; and other prelates were not slow in secularising the obnoxious fraternity. All the colleges and seminaries of the Jesuits were seised, and their revenues confiscated; but pensions were allowed to them, that they might not be reduced to absolute poverty. Ricci, the general of the order, was required to sign circular letters, addressed to the missionaries and dispersed members of the society, intimating that the company had been suppressed with the consent of all the catholic princes, and that it was their duty to obey the bishops of the different dioceses in which they were then resident. He was very reserved when interrogated with regard to the affairs and the property of the society; and the wealth discovered proved much less considerable than the public supposed it to be[21].

As the Jesuits had been distinguished by their success in the instruction of youth, their places were not easily

21 Vie du Pape Clement XIV. par Caracciuli.

supplied. Clement, by his advice and authority, labored to remedy the deficiency. He framed a judicious plan of education, and made diligent search for ecclesiastics and other persons capable of carrying it into effect. New schools were opened; and the universities, particularly that of Ferrara, were improved by new regulations.

The courts which had been hostile to the pope were now reconciled to him. The territories of the church were restored; and Rome was magnificently illuminated on this joyful occasion Great discontent, however, was excited among the high-churchmen, in Italy and other catholic countries, by the suppression of an order peculiarly devoted to the see of Rome.

Although the king of Naples accommodated his territorial disputes with the court of Rome, he was not willing to relinquish his purpose of acting as head of the church in his own dominions. Nor was he unmindful of reform in affairs of state. He rendered the administration more regular; suppressed some abuses; and improved both his army and navy. His government, however, was too arbitrary, and not sufficiently subject to the control of law. In the island of Sicily he was less popular than in the kingdom of Naples; and, at Palermo, an insurrection harassed his official representative. The causes of the disturbance may thus be traced. The prætor or chief municipal magistrate, in the year 1771, was the prince of Cassaro, who so conducted himself in his public character as to be praised for justice and impartiality, and also acquired popularity by his private virtues. When a great advance in the price of corn was apprehended, the senate of Palermo resolved to purchase a considerable quantity for the use of the inhabitants, before it was enhanced; and, with that view, applied to the marquis de Fogliani, the vice-roy, for the loan of a sum of money remaining in the treasury, out of the produce of the confiscated property of the Jesuits. The

marquis having rejected the application, the prætor borrowed money, and purchased corn at his own risque, for general consumption. The people applauded his conduct, and called him their benefactor and their father. He was highly gratified with their good opinion; but the infirm and disordered state of his person prevented him from enjoying his popularity without alloy. He was particularly harassed with the stone; and the vice-roy's surgeon extracted the morbific *calculus;* but the painful operation gave the patient so severe a shock, that he did not long survive it. When he was in danger, images of saints and holy reliques were carried in solemn procession to the senate-house, where the populace with tears implored the intercession of the celestial host for his recovery; and multitudes repaired to the shrine of St. Rosalia, to offer up fervent prayers for his safety. As soon as his death was announced, grief was first manifested; but it was quickly followed by clamor and outrage. Exasperated at the conduct of monopolists, who were supposed to have produced, by their selfish arts, the inordinate augmentation of the price of bread and other necessaries of life, the people accused the vice-roy of having entered into a combination with the nobility and the rich citizens to starve the poor; and it was even pretended, that he had suborned his surgeon to take away the life of Cassaro. Hence arose, in September 1773, an alarming riot[22].

The populace opened the prisons, and, having released all who were confined, set fire to the buildings. Two pieces of cannon were seised by the rioters, and loaded with old iron and glass; and the great number and firm front of the mal-contents, and perhaps an opinion of the reasonable nature of their complaints, induced a regiment of horse-guards to be wholly passive on the occasion, rather than active in the enforcement of submission.

22 Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. iii. sect. 27.

The archbishop of Palermo, and some popular noblemen, expostulated with the leaders for some time without effect; but, when they were assured that the vice-roy would comply with their wishes for his departure, and that the prelate would act as governor until the king's pleasure should be known, they expressed their satisfaction, and retired in peace.

A subsequent report of an order from the vice-roy for assembling troops, and manning the fortifications, revived the fury of the people. They took possession of the works and the gates without the least opposition from the soldiery, and then attacked the houses of some monopolists and favorites of the marquis, whose furniture they threw into fires kindled in the streets. One of the rioters, having secreted some valuable articles, suffered death on the spot from the summary justice of his more honorable associates[23].

Proceeding to the palace, the mob searched for the vice-roy, who, being rescued from personal injury by the friendly courage of a young nobleman, was attended by the archbishop to the sea-side, amidst the execrations of the rabble, and embarked for Cefalu. The prelate then entered upon the administration, and sent deputies to Naples, to solicit a redress of grievances and a general pardon. As the king, however, was not disposed to accede to the demands of the rioters, they continued to disturb the peace of the city, and made choice of a low mechanic for their vice-roy, who soon exercised his illegal power in the commitment of many friends of the court to prison. The *maestranza*, or association of tradesmen, disgusted at this arrogance and licentiousness, resolved to oppose the insurgents; and a conflict, not wholly bloodless, tended to check the career of the populace. Some of the leaders were now put to death by the magistrates; and order was in a great measure

23 Swinburne, vol. iii.—Annual Register, vol. xvi.

restored. The vice-roy resumed his authority, but kept his court at Messina. Count Corafa was invested with the chief command of the Sicilian forces, in preference to the prince of Villa-Franca, whose appointment was desired by the people. Two battalions were sent to Palermo, to prevent the revival of sedition; and this state of affairs continued until the summer of the following year,

A. D. 1774. when a complete amnesty was granted, a less obnoxious vice-roy appointed, and the prince permitted to supersede Corafa.

The discontent in France did not, as in Sicily, produce an insurrection. The people still complained of misgovernment and oppression, but a dread of the power of the court kept them in a state of submission. Cabals continued to agitate the cabinet. The marquis de Monteynard was at length discarded; and the duke d'Aiguillon seised the vacant employment. The chancellor began to tremble; but he had the address to maintain himself in power.

A disgraceful reign at length approached its close. At Trianon, the royal voluptuary had an affair of gallantry with a young woman who had caught the small-pox a few hours before this connexion. She communicated the disorder to her sovereign; and he gave her, in exchange, a half-cured distemper which had long undermined his health. When his life was perceived to be in great danger, a dispute arose among the courtiers, whether he should be suffered to receive the sacraments of the church, which could not be canonically administered before the dismission of his concubine Du-Barri. This lady, to prevent or retard the stigma, desired the physicians to keep the king uninformed of his danger: but such concealment was found impracticable; and Louis, reminding her that he was the oldest son of the church, expressed a desire of dying like a Christian, if the Almighty should not restore him to health. He ordered her to be

privately conducted to the seat of the duke d'Aiguillon; and then, having confessed his sins, received the viaticum. Attended by two of his daughters with affectionate anxiety, he gradually witnessed the approach of death. Even before he expired, the concurrence of his two diseases had nearly reduced his frame to a state of putrefaction. He died in the sixty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifty-eight years. Louis, the dauphin, now ascended the throne, with the general joy of the nation. The deceased prince left two other grandsons,—the count de Provence, and the count d'Artois, each of whom had espoused a daughter of Victor Amadeus III. king of Sardinia, the successor (in 1773) of the venerable Charles Emanuel. May 10.

The pontiff, who owed his election chiefly to the recommendation of Louis, did not long survive his royal patron. A jubilee had been announced by Ganganelli for the year 1775; but it was a current prophecy, that he would not live to officiate at the solemnity. He was certainly apprehensive of danger from the animosity of the ex-Jesuits and their numerous partisans; but it cannot be affirmed, with historic truth, that poison was administered to him[24]. He labored under a lingering disorder, which is said to have originally proceeded from a suppression of urine; and he died in the sixty-ninth year of his age, lamented by those who were acquainted with his private virtues and his modest worth. He was liberal in his ideas; free from bigotry, pride, and arrogance; and unwilling to exercise either spiritual or temporal tyranny. His edict against the Jesuits did not arise from an oppressive spirit, but from his sense of the expediency of suppressing a pernicious Sept. 21.

24 If he had been poisoned, the French and Spanish ministers, who were present when his body was opened, would probably, from their hostility to the Jesuits, have endeavoured to substantiate the charge: but they did not attempt to bring it to the test of legitimate decision.

society. As he was not blind to all the errors of the Romish system, he was sometimes called the *Protestant Pope*. The letters published under his name seem to be spurious: yet they are not inexpressive of such sentiments as he may be supposed to have entertained.

It was the wish of the majority of the cardinals to fill the papal chair with a prelate more devoted than Ganganelli to the high claims of the church: but the difficulty of determining the choice occasioned a great loss of time. The ministers of France and Spain exerted all their interest to prevent the election of a zealot; yet, after a long deliberation upon the pretensions of the different candidates, they either did not seem to know whom they should prefer, or could not prevail on the leading members of the conclave to choose that prelate whom they particularly wished to promote.

John Angelo Braschi, who had been introduced into public life by Benedict XIV., enjoyed a fair character, and rather steered between the zealous party and the advocates of moderation, than attached himself to either. No one, at first, thought that he would be the object of choice. Pallavicini was recommended by the court of Madrid; Visconti, by that of Vienna; and Pamphili was supported by those cardinals who regretted the extinction of the Jesuitical order. At length Giraud, who had acted as papal nuncio in France, proposed Braschi, in whose favor Pallavicini waved his pretensions. The ministers of the house of Bourbon were now disposed to promote the election of Visconti; and, when the majority opposed them in that respect, they consented to the elevation of Braschi, to whose interest the zealots were ultimately brought over by the persuasions of the cardinals de Bernis and Zelada[25].

25 Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat, chap. 2.—The author of this work is said to be the Spanish diplomatist, d'Azara; and even the vanity with which he speaks of himself does not wholly disprove the

Favored, after a delay of almost five months, with the suffrages of the sacred college, Braschi commenced his pontificate under the appellation of Pius VI. He found the management of parties a difficult task. He wished to be on amicable terms with the zealots, but could not listen to them without giving disgust to the French and Spanish ministers, who expected from him an adherence to the system of Clement XIV. His conduct was anxiously watched by both parties: he was alternately overawed by each; and both accused him of duplicity. The Spaniard domineered over him in a way which particularly displeased him; but he studiously concealed his chagrin. His joy he could not so easily dissemble, when that minister, being created count de Florida-Blanca, was recalled to Madrid to act as prime minister.

LETTER II.

A Sketch of the History of Great-Britain and its Dependencies, from the Peace of 1763 to the Rupture with the colonial Subjects of that Kingdom.

DURING the war which the earl of Chatham conducted with such ability and spirit, you must have observed, my dear son, that Great-Britain stood upon high ground: but, when hostilities gave way to a treaty, she descended from her elevation, and forbore to insist on the pre-eminent advantages which she might justly have

assertion; for such instances of self-praise are not very uncommon, however repugnant to the modesty of real merit. He also speaks of the French government and nation, as if they were his own: but the two states were then closely connected; and he wished to conceal, in this instance, his assumption of the character of an author.

claimed. I do not blame the Tories for their pacific inclinations, but for concluding a less beneficial peace than they might with little difficulty have obtained.

Satisfied with having restored peace, and being at the same time sensible of the want of popularity, the earl of Bute retired from office. This nobleman, before he commenced his ministerial functions, had acquired the reputation of honor and probity. Perhaps, also, he was a sincere patriot; but his conduct in various instances proved, that his intellects were narrow, and his judgement weak. His desire of peace would not deserve blame, if he had not evinced such eagerness for it as to encourage the arrogance of the enemies of his country. His partiality to the Scots would have been less censurable, if he had only promoted or rewarded men of worth and merit. His attachment to Toryism might have been more readily forgiven, if he had only opposed the licentiousness of the Whigs, instead of inculcating arbitrary and unconstitutional principles[7].

April 8, 1763.

The earl recommeded, for his successor, Mr. George Grenville, who was chiefly assisted in the administration by the earls of Egremont and Halifax, the secretaries of state. That these ministers were not always influenced by strict constitutional principles, appeared in a remarkable case.

John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, observing that the ministers were not in favor with the public, and that the king, in consequence of his partiality to the Tories, was less popular than he had been, resolved to commence a career of vigorous opposition, in the hope of profiting by the embarrassment of the cabinet and the agitations of the realm. Boldly attacking the speech delivered by his majesty at the close of the session, he declared, in

7 It has been affirmed, that he retained an influence in the cabinet for twenty years after his resignation; but he repeatedly declared to his friends, that after the year 1766, he never gave advice to the king or any of his ministers.

a periodical paper, that it contained infamous fallacies, and that the whole was a most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery. A warrant, not particular or specific, but directed generally against the authors, printers, and publishers, of the abusive paper, was delivered to the messengers of the secretary's office, who, having learned that Wilkes was the writer of the libel, seised his papers, and carried him before the earl of Halifax. He was then sent to the Tower; but, on application to the court of Common-Pleas, his privileged character, as a senator, procured his release. From that time to the next meeting of the two houses, this affair was one of the chief topics of conversation. It involved two questions, highly important; the extent of parliamentary privilege, and the legality of general warrants. The lords and commons, after animated debates, denied that privilege extended to the case of a seditious libel; but they left the other point undetermined. Wilkes was expelled for the offensive publication; and, as he was then out of the kingdom, outlawry followed his conviction at common law.

The cause of an individual became that of the public. The pupulace almost idolised the man who, if not a sincere and disinterested patriot, was willing to extort from the court some important concessions in favor of liberty; and even those who despised his character were ready to support him for the general interest. His name was now familiar to politicians of every class. His person was unpleasing; his obliquity of vision rendered his countenance almost disgusting: and he was not merely gay and dissipated, but profligate and profane. His exertions, however, against an unpopular cabinet, seemed to atone for every deficiency and every vice; and, when he returned to England, he was saluted with acclamations where-ever he presented himself.

This dispute so occupied the public mind, that the

hostilities which arose between the British subjects in North-America and the barbarian natives of the country, and also a war which broke out in India, attracted little notice. The savages exclaimed against the English, as encroaching intruders, by whom their hunting grounds were gradually seised; and considerable parties, marching from the banks of the Ohio to the nearest settlements, destroyed the persons and property of many defenceless families, and cut off the garrisons of several forts. They defeated one detachment, and thinned the ranks of another; but they could not gain possession of the principal forts, and were at length induced to desist from hostilities.

A.D. 1764.

The Asiatic war was of longer duration. Jaffier had been deposed by the English in the year 1760, and Cossim was then placed on the *musnud;* but the conduct of the latter, in the third year of his government, furnished his ambitious allies with a pretence for opposing him by arms. They were the aggressors in the war; yet they alleged that he was preparing to attack them. They dispossessed him of Patna; but he re-took the town with ease, and murdered some English fugitives. A vigorous war was now carried on against him: he was deprived, by the disciplined valor of the company's troops, of the whole province of Bengal; and Jaffier was again declared soubahdar. The Mogul, and the nabob of Oude, took arms in defence of Cossim: but their efforts were so unsuccessful, that they were glad to purchase peace by concessions[2].

The consideration of the increasing prosperity of the North-American colonies suggested a scheme of taxation,

2 In 1765.——A new war arose, in 1767, from a wish to check the ambition of Hyder Ali, the usurper of Mysore. It was attended with various conflicts, in which the English chiefly prevailed: but, as they concluded peace when Hyder was almost at the gates of Madras, they could not enforce such favorable conditions as they expected to procure.

which, at their expense, would tend to the relief of the mother-country. The Tories of the cabinet did not reflect on the impropriety of taxing, in parliament, an unrepresented country; nor did they sufficiently consider the free spirit which had descended as an inheritance on the northern provinces, and which, it might be supposed, would also appear in the south, in case of any palpable violation of the privileges of British subjects. They affected to think that nothing was more reasonable than the proposition, and they were ready, if it should be resisted, to call forth all the terrors of government. They would not, however, carry the scheme into immediate execution, but announced it in a vote of the house of commons, as an object of future enactment. The Americans of the higher classes instantly perceived the unconstitutionality of the proposal, and were by no means inclined to submit to it; and their writers studiously propagated through every province a strong aversion to the arbitrary project. Mr. Grenville and his colleagues, however, obstinately persisted in it; and stamp-duties on a multitude of articles were imposed by statute. A. D. 1765.

Disgusted at the conduct of the parliament, the Americans called a congress, and voted strong remonstrances. All the provinces, indeed, did not depute representatives to this meeting; but it was more from want of opportunity than of inclination, that four had no delegates. Not only the northern colonies, in which a more free spirit prevailed than in the rest, were in a state of irritation and alarm; but the middle and southern provinces were also in a ferment. One of the last (namely, South-Carolina) had recently received an accession of industrious inhabitants, by the arrival of about six hundred German emigrants, who, having been inveigled into England by a soldier of fortune, under a promise of settling them on the islands of St. John and

La-Croix in North-America, had been left by him to general charity, and were liberally rescued from the danger of perishing by want. These colonists were soon animated with the same spirit which actuated the other inhabitants.

The ministers having endeavoured to emancipate themselves from the influence of lord Bute, he advised the king to make a new choice; and, after repeated attempts to draw Mr. Pitt into the cabinet without giving him full sway, it was resolved that the marquis of Rockingham and his friends should be intrusted with the administration. This nobleman accepted the office of first commissioner of the treasury; and general Conway and the duke of Grafton were appointed secretaries of state.

Sensible of the impolicy of the stamp act, the marquis recommended an abrogation of it; and his majesty, not
A. D. 1766. without reluctance, assented to a bill which the two houses had passed for that purpose. At the same time, the advocates for the high claims of the legislature were gratified with an act, declaring that "the king and parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatsoever*."

A regard for the constitution influenced the premier to promote the enactment of a bill against general warrants; but he could only procure a vote of the commons, who pronounced them to be illegal in every case except where they were allowed by any act of parliament. In other points, also, he attended to the complaints of the people.

As the absence of Mr. Pitt from the cabinet seemed to weaken the administration, the court requested him to propose such arrangements as might give strength and stability to the government. By his advice, the duke of Grafton was named successor to the marquis of Rock-

ingham, and the earl of Shelburne was authorised to act as secretary of state with general Conway. Mr. Pitt, with the title of earl of Chatham, obtained the office of keeper of the privy seal; and to his respectable friend, lord Camden, the great seal was delivered. Mr. Charles Townshend succeeded Mr. Dowdeswell as chancellor of the exchequer; and he soon manifested his want of judgement, by introducing a bill for the exaction of new duties from the Americans, on pretence of the mere regulation of commerce, but, in reality, to raise a revenue disposable by parliament.

Mr. Pitt, or rather the earl of Chatham, did not long congratulate himself on the success of his arrangements. Even *his* authority could not produce harmony in the cabinet; and being disordered in his bodily frame, and uneasy in his mind, he could not attend to ministerial duties. Townshend, who was a man of wit and eloquence, and had also a spirit of ambition, now courted his sovereign, that he might rise to the plenitude of power: but he did not live to become prime minister. Lord North succeeded him in his financial employment, which he accepted at the particular desire of the princess of Wales. A. D. 1767.

The new chancellor of the exchequer was, in appearance, a heavy mass of dullness; but he was an able speaker, and understood the business of the treasury, though he did not evince the talents of a great minister. He was too obsequious to the king, and too ready to submit to that secret influence of which the earl of Chatham complained. He was a promoter of the practice of ministerial corruption; connived at abuses in every department; and hated the very name of *reform*, long before the French revolution rendered it generally odious.

The eloquence of lord North had already been displayed to the prejudice of Wilkes, who, having now

returned to England, was sentenced to a long imprisonment, after he had been elected member for Middlesex at the general election. When the parliament assembled, a sanguinary riot arose from the wish of the populace to attend the prisoner to the house. He was, in all probability, pleased at the zeal of his partisans; but he did not encourage them to release him. He expected to profit, ultimately, by suffering in what he termed the cause of liberty.

A. D. 1768.

The Americans were not less hostile to the court than Wilkes and his friends were; and riots broke out at Boston, where a convention was formed by deputies from the different towns of Massachusets-Bay, and a petition voted to his majesty for a redress of grievances. Both houses reprobated the conduct of the provincials; and, instead of conciliating them by fair promises, menaced them with signal vengeance.

Deliberations upon the former guilt and the renewed delinquency of Wilkes, who had arraigned the cruelty of ministers for having employed the soldiery against the people, produced a vote for his expulsion. His constituents re-chose him without hesitation: the incensed commons pronounced him "incapable of being re-elected to serve in that parliament:" he was again chosen, and the election was again declared null. Colonel Luttrell having offered himself to represent the county, when a new writ was sent to the sheriffs, the interest of the court procured a few votes for him; but Wilkes was gratified with a repetition of popular choice. The house, without regard to the rights of the freeholders, annulled the votes which had been given for Wilkes, and ordered the colonel to take his seat. This arbitrary vote reflects disgrace on the commons of that day. It was *vindicated* in the pompous dialect of the pensioned Johnson; but none of his arguments could *justify* it. It gave occasion for various re-

A. D. 1769.

monstrances from counties and corporations, and formed the chief object of attack in some of the spirited letters of the unknown Junius.

The conduct of the court toward the Americans not being altogether agreeable to the duke of Grafton, he resigned the employment of first lord of the treasury, for which the king selected lord North, A. D. 1770. whose appointment did not promise a happy termination of the disputes with the colonies. Lord Camden had been previously dismissed for having condemned the late proceedings of the commons; and he retired with the reputation of abilities and integrity. The earl of Chatham had, long before, resigned his office; and he now exercised his eloquence in defence of the rights of electors, of the bold remonstrances of public bodies, and of the American pretensions to the right of internal taxation. Mr. Grenville, the ex-minister, was also numbered amongst the opposers of the court; but he did not concur in all the objects of that party. He distinguished himself at this time by framing a salutary bill for the settlement of disputed elections.

Although it could not be expected that the colonists would be content with a repeal of the chief duties imposed by the late act of revenue, while one remained, lord North introduced a bill which only left the tax upon tea. This act was a futile attempt to pacify the provincials.

A rumour of war now arose. The jealousy of Spain, with regard to colonial territory, has frequently been productive of dispute, and sometimes of hostility. Even the occupancy of one of the inhospitable Falkland islands, by a small number of British subjects, exposed the colony to insult and violence. A Spanish officer from a neighbouring island warned the English of the danger of continuing at the settlement; and an armament from Buenos-Ayres dislodged them from it. The British

court remonstrated against this outrage, and ordered a fleet to be equipped. The Spanish monarch, at first, refused to make the least concession: but he at length consented to a restitution of the territory. This favor, however, was only granted in consequence of an intimation given at the time of treating, that the settlement, after being restored *pro formâ*, would not be retained. The ministry, on this occasion, evinced a greater regard for the honor of Spain than for that of Great-Britain. A spirited cabinet would have insisted on full restitution and indemnification, without giving the smallest hint of any future intention of relinquishing the settlement.

A.D. 1771.

After having accommodated this dispute, the ministers were involved in what they deemed a more ignoble contest. On a complaint of misrepresentation of speeches delivered in parliament, orders were issued for apprehending some printers and publishers; and, as the mayor and one of the aldermen (Crosby and Oliver) resisted the execution of these orders in the city, they were sent to the Tower by the house of commons. Wilkes, who had concurred with his fellow-magistrates, refused to obey the requisition for his attendance. From that time, the parliamentary harangues have been regularly communicated to the public in the news-papers of the succeeding day. It is proper, indeed, that not merely the result but the progress of the deliberations of the senate should be known as soon as possible by the people.

The citizens, in a petition to the king, complained of the insult offered to their magistrates and representatives, and of other proceedings of the house of commons; and requested the dissolution of an odious parliament. His majesty expressed his concern at seeing them so mis-led and deluded, as to renew in offensive terms a solicitation which he had repeatedly rejected.

A society had been formed in the city, professedly in

defence of the Bill of Rights, but more particularly for the support of Wilkes, for the payment of whose debts, contracted by a dissipated course of life, the members liberally subscribed. Dissensions having crept into this society, Mr. Horne moved that it should be dissolved; but the majority voted for it's continuance. Thanks were, at the same meeting, voted to the imprisoned mayor, for "his upright and intrepid conduct in defending the undoubted liberties of the subject."

After an interval in which nothing worthy of particular notice occurred, the parliament re-assembled; and the most important deliberations of the session were those which related to ecclesiastical affairs, and the marriages of the royal family. A. D. 1772.

The demand of subscription to the articles of the church being injurious to the feelings and the conscience of many clergymen, they prepared a petition for the non-enforcement of that requisition, in concert with other members of the learned professions. The commons were not inclined to gratify the petitioners; but, when the protestant dissenters applied for a similar indulgence, as the articles were those of a church to which they did not belong, and from which they derived no benefit, the house passed a bill for their relief; to which (I am sorry to be obliged to add) the lords were unwilling to give their assent[3].

Marriages, supposed to be degrading, had been contracted by two of the king's brothers. A bill was therefore enacted, after warm debates, debarring the relatives of his majesty from marrying without the consent of the sovereign or (after the age of twenty-five years) of the parliament. This act was considered by the public as an arbitrary encroachment on the freedom of the will.

The effects of a nine-years' peace were at this time

3 Seven years after this application, the dissenters obtained their wish. At both times, their cause was supported by the prime minister.

manifested by the flourishing state of the nation. But the prospect, as far as trade was concerned, was overcast by the failure of some eminent bankers and merchants, whose bankruptcy drew inferior tradesmen into the gulph of temporary ruin. The shock chiefly arose from speculations in the funds, and the inordinate extension of paper currency. The progress of the mischief was checked by seasonable arrangements, by prudent and judicious measures, adapted to the restoration of declining credit.

The American colonies also prospered during peace: but the claims of Great-Britain were still productive of discontent. A committee being formed at Boston, a declaration was voted, claiming the sole right of legislation. Between the governor and the general assembly of Massachusets-Bay a warm dispute arose respecting the grant of salaries to the judges and officers of the crown. The provincials alleged, that the acceptance of such allowances from the crown would produce a servile dependence on the court, and lead to the oppression of the people; and that the grant of this money out of a revenue arbitrarily raised, was an infringement of their chartered constitution. The assembly, therefore, voted the salaries, according to the former practice. The vote was reluctantly confirmed by the governor; but, when it was proposed to be extended to the close of another year, he declined his assent.

While the Americans clamored against British oppression, and were supported by the orators of opposition, the grievances in the administration of India seemed to the ministry to be more proper objects of attention than the complaints of the former. Lord Clive had been accused of extortion and rapine; but the consideration of his services saved him from parliamentary censure. Many subaltern plunderers, and petty tyrants, also escaped punishment. To check abuses and mal-practices, new

regulations were necessary; and a bill of reform was now prepared, which the two houses sanctioned. It imparted, to the governor and council of the Bengalese province (who were to derive their appointments from the parliament), a superintending power over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and, while it tended to rectify the political system, improved the judicial administration by the erection of a new tribunal. It rendered the deliberations and elections at the India-house less democratic, by only suffering those proprietors to vote who had stock to the amount of one thousand pounds; and it contributed to extend the influence of the crown over the company. It was strongly opposed by some distinguished speakers, but was applauded by others as a judicious measure. A. D. 1773.

The disgust conceived by the India company at the enactment of this bill, was allayed by the favor of a loan from government, and by a permission to send tea to any part of the world without the payment of export-duty. The latter indulgence occasioned the exportation of a large quantity of that article to North-America; and lord North weakly imagined, that, as this favorite commodity could now be sold at a very reasonable rate, the provincials would be tempted to purchase it, and would no longer object to the payment of the small duty chargeable on importation.

When his majesty closed the session, he said to the commons, "I see with pleasure, that, notwithstanding the ample provision which you have made for every branch of the public service, and the effectual relief and support which you have afforded to the East-India company, you have been able to make some progress in reducing the national debt." The company certainly obtained some relief and support; but abuses, mismanagement, and oppression, still continued to prevail in Hindostan; and, with regard to the other point, I may

observe, that the scheme of reduction was delusive and nugatory.

The colonial agitations were not supposed by the court to portend mischievous consequences: but they now assumed a more serious aspect. At a time when the king was amusing himself with a naval review at Portsmouth, the assembly of Massachusets-Bay, resenting the arbitrary advice given to the ministry by the governor[4] and his deputy (in letters that were not intended for the public eye, but which fell into the hands of the popular party), stigmatised those courtly officers as betrayers of their trusts and enemies to the colony, and desired that such unworthy men might be speedily dismissed from their employments.

The discontented colonists resolved that no tea should be imported, and that no revenue should be insidiously drawn from them; and, when the ships arrived, they threw the tea overboard. For this and other irregular acts, the parliament passed bills for shutting up the port of Boston, and altering the constitution of the Massachuset colony. This treatment, and the manner in which it was received by those whom it affected, foreboded an open rupture.

A. D. 1774.

Hancock, Deane, and other leaders of the Bostonian mal-contents, fanned the rising flame of indignation; and a spirit of association against Britain prevailed, not only in the northern and middle provinces, but also in the southern colonies. The violence of the mother-country had no other effect than that of cementing the union of the provincials: instead of striking terror, it seemed to diffuse spirit and energy.

The opposition to Great-Britain was certainly promoted by some factious and seditious men, who were eager to fish in troubled waters: but other leaders were

4 Hutchinson, who succeeded sir Francis Bernard.

influenced by more honorable motives, by a sense of insulted dignity, and a manly disdain of oppression; and the generality of the people, not being more ignorant or unenlightened than their brethren in Great-Britain, would not so readily have concurred in resisting the claims and the proceedings of the parent-state, if they had not felt a regard for colonial honor, and had not been convinced that those claims and those proceedings were unjust and unconstitutional.

The disputes between Hutchinson and the assembly continued without the least abatement of asperity; and he at length ordered a dissolution. On his resignation of his unpleasing employment, it was conferred upon general Gage, who, during a long residence in the province, had acquired the esteem of the inhabitants. but he was soon involved in a contest with the assembly, whose address on his appointment he refused to receive, because it censured the conduct of Bernard and Hutchinson. When he had put an end to the regular meeting of the representatives, they assembled in another place, and voted resolutions in recommendation of a congress.

While the governor was employed in vain attempts to secure general obedience, the congress met at Philadelphia. It's deliberations and resolutions were spirited without intemperance; bold, without licentiousness. A manly petition was voted to the king, for a redress of multiplied grievances. It was signed by Samuel and John Adams, deputies for the province of Massachusets'-Bay; George Washington, one of the representatives of Virginia; Jay and Livingston, members for New-York and New-Jersey; and forty-six other delegates. The colonists, said these petitioners, had been treated in various instances more like slaves than freemen. Their money had been taken without their consent; their trade had been arbitrarily restricted; Sept. 5.

the courts of vice-admiralty had exercised an oppressive jurisdiction; the provincial assemblies had been frequently debarred from meeting; the rights granted by charter had been repeatedly invaded; and there seemed to be an intention, on the part of the ministry, of establishing despotic power with military aid. Thus insulted and injured, they claimed the rights of Britons; and by nothing but irresistible force would they be induced to forego the claim. An appeal to a sovereign who gloried in the name of Briton would, they hoped, be so far successful, that a dangerous contest might be avoided. "Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery," they said, "the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit: but, thanks to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors. Your majesty may justly rejoice that your title to the crown is founded on the title of your people to liberty; and, therefore, we doubt not, your wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence. We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety."

In imitation of the authors of the English Revolution, the congress voted a declaration of rights, preceded by a detail of grievances. An address to the people of Great-Britain, one to the inhabitants of Canada, and one to the great mass of provincials represented by the assembly, were also voted; and an association was framed, binding the subscribers to "a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement," until those grievances should be redressed, which "threatened destruction to the lives, liberty, and property, of his majesty's subjects in North-America."

After these spirited proceedings, the congress dissolved itself: but, during the recess, the popular leaders were

not idle. They organised the militia in the different provinces; and studiously promoted every manufacture which could supply the wants either of soldiers or citizens. They did not scruple to take by force even the arms and stores of the government, which, they said, would otherwise be employed in the destruction of colonial liberty.

The petition of the congress was not received by his majesty, as such condescension to an illegal assembly was deemed degrading. Dr. Franklin wished to give evidence to the commons, on the subject of the grievances stated in the petition: but when a motion was made for that purpose, it was rejected as an insult[5]. The philosopher, being apprehensive of personal danger, returned soon after to his native country, and invigorated by his presence the confederacy which he had promoted in his absence. A. D. 1775.

LETTER III.

A Survey of the Affairs of the Northern States of Europe, of Poland and Turkey, and also of Germany and Holland, from the Treaty of Hubertsburg to the Peace of Kainargi, concluded in 1774.

FROM the time of Peter the Great, Russia began to take the lead in the north of Europe; and, after the death of Peter the Third, the influence of that empire became still more considerable and imposing. The bold czarina who seised the throne of her husband had a great

5 This was the first session of a new parliament; and, unfortunately, the majority testified an early inclination to side with the ministry not only on American affairs, but in questions of every description.

genius for government. Having reformed the interior administration, and improved the resources of the country, she increased its weight and respectability in the scale of European power; and, not content with the ample dominions which the empress Elizabeth had ruled, she ambitiously aimed at territorial aggrandisement. She particularly cast a longing eye on Poland and Turkey: but, as peace was for a time desirable, she postponed her intended encroachments.

Usurpers have reason to apprehend conspiracies and commotions. The government of the new empress was soon endangered by the schemes of mal-contents: but she found means to escape the perils with which she was threatened. Her vigilance detected intrigue; and her prudence and spirit promised to secure general tranquillity.

Although the Prussian monarch had not lost any territories by a war which seemed at one time to have brought him to the verge of ruin, and though he had supplies in the treasury for another campaign, yet his people severely felt the effects of long hostility. Ravaged provinces, towns nearly annihilated, lands lying uncultivated, peasants starving, disorder and anarchy prevailing, formed a melancholy picture, which impressed the king with the most afflictive sensations. He was conscious of the imputability of these mischiefs to the original sin of his ambition; and he knew that it was his duty to remove or allay the evils which he had contributed to produce. He ordered the ruined towns and villages to be rebuilt; purchased corn for general subsistence; caused marshes to be drained, and canals to be cut; employed in agriculture the horses which had been used for military purposes; and encouraged, by pecuniary grants, the revival of manufactures and commerce. That his finances might more effectually answer these useful purposes, he became rigidly frugal in his court

and household. He also re-established a regular police, and restored the energy of law. He satisfied the public creditors, restored the coin to it's former standard, and erected a bank, which proved very convenient and beneficial both to the government and the nation[1].

While he thus provided for the relief and accommodation of his subjects, he still found means to keep up, for the defence of the realm, a very considerable army, which he supplied and recruited in a mode less oppressive than the former practice. He did not consider 150,000 men as too numerous a force even for a time of peace; and these were frequently exercised in the evolutions and manœuvres of war, that they might be constantly ready for actual service. He knew that he had ambitious neighbours, against whom it was requisite for him to be ever upon his guard.

During many years of peace, Frederic sedulously endeavoured to improve the state of his country. He was still arbitrary, and fond of power; but he qualified his despotism by a conciliatory demeanor and a moderate administration. He was employed in these patriotic pursuits when the vacancy of the Polish throne called his attention from internal arrangements to foreign concerns.

This vacancy was occasioned by the death of Augustus II., king of Poland. You have already been informed of the misfortunes which this prince drew upon himself by his entrance into the confederacy against the king of Prussia. He returned to Dresden after the conclusion of the peace of Hubertsburg, and never more re-visited Poland, where he was merely

Oct. 5, 1763.

1 He had grossly adulterated the coin during the war. This, he allows, was a violent measure; but, without the addition of this expedient to the exactions in Saxony and the annual subsidy which he received from Britain, the state, he says, could not have been supported. *Œuvres Posthumes de Frederic III.*

the shadow of a king. The constitution allowed him little power; and, from his want of mental vigor and an enlightened understanding, he did not make a proper use of his limited authority. He deserves our praise, however, for his liberal encouragement of the arts. His son succeeded him in the electorate, but was unable to procure the crown of Poland. Indeed, the new elector died before the end of the year; and the empress would not listen to the solicitations of the house of Saxony. She reserved her interest for a Polish nobleman, whom she had indulged with criminal gallantry, and upon whose subserviency she thought she could depend. This was count Poniatowski, a man of insinuating talents and an amiable disposition. The courts of Versailles and Vienna might perhaps have opposed with success the election of this candidate; but neither Louis nor Maria Theresa thought proper to arm in the cause; and the king of Prussia, being desirous of an alliance with so powerful a princess, as he was not on cordial terms with his Britannic majesty, promised to support the pretensions of her favorite. His envoy, the count de Solmes, was kindly received at Petersburg; and a treaty was signed, providing for a mutual guaranty of dominion and a free commerce.

April 11, 1764.

By a secret article it was stipulated, that Poland should be maintained in it's right of free election, and that no one should be suffered either to render the crown hereditary or to make himself absolute. Before the meeting of the diet, a Russian army entered Warsaw, to secure the *free* choice of a sovereign. Twenty senators, and forty-five nuncios or deputies, protested against the interference of foreign troops; but the Russians ridiculed such idle fulminations; and, when some of the nobles had recourse to arms, the invaders quickly triumphed over them. Thus supported, Poniatowski was chosen king by the diet. He assumed the ap-

Sept. 7.

pellation of Stanislaus Augustus, and began to reign in as much tranquillity as if he had acceded to the throne by hereditary right[2].

Catharine did not think herself safe on the Russian throne while a prince lived who had a just claim to it. Some of the mal-contents had openly mentioned the name of prince Ivan or John, as the lawful heir to the crown; and there was reason to apprehend that his claim might excite commotions. To extinguish his pretensions, she is said to have employed Basil Mirowitz, an officer in her army, in a pretended scheme for the release of the young prince from his confinement at Schlusselburg[3]. This account, although it is controverted by Mr. Coxe, a writer of ability and merit, is more probable than the supposition that Mirowitz spontaneously engaged in a plot to rescue Ivan, and maintain his right against all the power of the usurper. The governor of the fortress had been ordered to put the prince to death, if any attempt should be made for his liberation; and, therefore, when Mirowitz had forced his way into the castle, two officers of the guard prepared to gratify the czarina by the murder of an unoffending youth, who had formerly enjoyed the imperial dignity[4]. Awakened by the noise of fire-arms, and observing the menacing looks of the guards, Ivan implored mercy; but, when he found that his entreaties did not in the smallest degree soften their ferocity, he derived energy from despair, and boldly resisted those who were ready to overwhelm him. He seised the sword of one of the assassins, and broke it; but he was finally pierced with many wounds. He was a youth of a fine person, but was necessarily ignorant and uninformed, from continued solitary confinement; yet not (as Catharine represented him in a memorial)

2 Tooke's Life of Catharine II. chap. 4.
3 Vie de Catharine II. par Castéra, tome i.
4 See Part II. Letter XXVIII.

totally destitute of reason and understanding. The two murderers fled into Denmark, but soon returned to Russia, and were promoted for their villany. Mirowitz was tried as a perturbator of the public peace. He faced his judges with coolness, from a confident expectation of pardon; and, after he had been condemned to decapitation, he walked to the scaffold with the same appearance of unconcern. He was then miserably disappointed; for no reprieve was announced. Above fifty of the soldiers who had followed his instructions were punished in various modes, but not capitally[5].

While the plot against Ivan was in suspense, the empress, with all her affectation of composure, could not conceal her uneasiness and impatience. But when the death of the prince and of the deluded Mirowitz had freed her from alarm, she resumed her cheerfulness and gaiety, and pursued with zeal her schemes of reform.

Her friend and *protegé* Stanislaus thought less of reform than of pleasure and dissipation. He did not sufficiently attend to the concerns of government, or to the weighty business of the state. Three parties, at that time, divided the court. The two princes Czartoriski, the king's uncles, headed one party: his three brothers directed the movements of the second; and the ladies of the court guided the third. The first association would have given him the best advice, if he had been disposed to take it: but he was more willing to be influenced by female politicians. He certainly wished to promote the general benefit of his country: but his indolence and want of vigor checked his patriotic efforts; and he was thwarted and controlled by a licentious aristocracy, while the bulk of the people remained in a state of degradation and insignificance[6].

5 Tooke's Life of Catharine, chap. 4.

6 Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna, in the Years 1777, 1778, and 1779,—vol. ii.

The contests in Poland, between the catholics and *dissidents* (or dissenters from the established religion), gave the empress a pretence for interfering in the concerns of that country. The Polanders of the Greek church applied to her for protection, as guarantee of the treaty of Oliva, by which their privileges, A. D 1765. both civil and religious, were secured; and those of the different protestant persuasions solicited the mediation of the Prussian, British, and Danish courts, that they might not be oppressed by the zeal of the catholics, by whom they were illiberally molested and cruelly injured. Their complaints produced memorials from the four powers, addressed to the diet. Some of the bigots in that assembly insisted on the superior claims of the Romish religion, and on the incompatibility A. D. 1766. of the pretensions of the dissidents with the fundamental laws of the realm; and it was proposed that all the acts against them, instead of being repealed at their desire, should be solemnly confirmed. The king, by recommending moderation, exposed himself to obloquy and invective; and, when the hall was filled with tumult, he retired from the scene. In a subsequent meeting, the proposal was adopted; but, at another sitting, the remonstrances of the mediating powers drew some concessions from the assembly. The czarina, not satisfied with these grants, demanded a complete equality of rights for the dissidents, and encouraged them to form confederacies against the government. Into these associations even many catholics entered; and the malcontents, being supported by Russian troops, conceived strong hopes of obtaining whatever they desired. In various parts of the kingdom, hostilities arose from the animosity of the contending parties. Stanislaus was no bigot; but he thought himself bound to concur with the Romanists; and, in politics, he seemed desirous of shaking off the Russian yoke. He retained a sense of grati

tude to the princess from whose favor he had procured a crown; but he deemed it disgraceful to be her slave. He was so situated, however, that he had not the power to act as a monarch. Her general, prince Repnin, domineered over him with barbarian insolence, and exercised the chief sway in the convulsed kingdom. He arrested some of the bishops, and other persons
A. D. 1767. of distinction, who had opposed the claims of the dissidents; and they were sent into the wilds of Siberia, "for having attacked the purity of the disinterested, amicable, and salutary intentions of the empress in favor of Poland." Former acts which favored the dissidents were now put in force; and, by an extraordinary commission, new laws were enacted for their gratification[7].

The king of Prussia, not content with protecting those whom he was bound by treaty to defend against catholic intolerance, supported the empress in her arbitrary proceedings, in the hope of eventual benefit. From motives of self-interest, he condescended to be subservient to her ambition and rapacity. Instead of maintaining the independence of the Polish state, he resolved to profit by it's weakness.

The conduct of Frederic and of Catharine was viewed by the French court with disgust; and the duke de Choiseul endeavoured, by the intrigues of ambassadors and emissaries to counteract the views of the enemies of Poland. But the efforts of the French were unsuccessful; and the allied potentates continued their ambitious career.

The czarina, at the same time, employed her talents at home for the public good. She promoted the cultivation of every art, and the study of every science; invited foreigners to instruct her people; and established

[7] Vie de Catharine, par Castéra, tome i.

a variety of useful institutions. Though arbitrary in her disposition, she lightened the load of despotism, and introduced a government more regular than that which had prevailed under the empress Elizabeth. She even aimed at the glory of a legislatrix, "which (said the Prussian monarch, in a long letter addressed to her,) no woman had hitherto enjoyed." She desired all the provinces to send deputies to Moscow; opened the meeting in person; and communicated her ideas on the subject of a new code of laws. But the dread of an emancipation of the peasants disturbed the tranquillity of the assembly: the debates became violent; and the delegates were dismissed.

Under the sway of the empress, the disorders of Poland, after an interval of quietude, rose to an alarming height. The catholics, disgusted at her encouragement of the dissidents, and at the tyranny of her officers, A. D. 1768. entered into armed confederacies (of which that of Bar was the most distinguished) to restore the independence of their nation. They loudly called for the dethronement of Stanislaus; but he was protected by the Russian troops. Some fierce conflicts occurred between these intruders and the natives; and at Cracow the confederates sustained a siege, until the town was taken by storm. In pursuing a Polish party, the Russians encroached on the Turkish territories, burned Balta, and committed horrible outrages. This hostile intrusion was soon followed by a denunciation of war, on the part of the grand signor[8].

The war which thus arose draws our attention to the affairs of the Turks. Their sovereign, Mustapha III., had studiously preserved peace in his dominions from the time of his accession, in 1757, to the commencement of sanguinary disturbances in Poland. His disposition

[8] Geschichte des Turkischen Reichs.—Tooke's Life of Catharine.

seems to have been more humane than that of the majority of the Turkish princes; and his general government has been praised as more resembling that of an equitable and moderate prince, than that of a capricious tyrant, though (like all his predecessors) he suffered his ministers and officers to perpetrate horrible cruelties. On the present occasion, however, he acted with a precipitancy which, from his love of peace, could scarcely have been expected. Stimulated by the persuasions of the French court, and alarmed at the dangerous influence of the Russians in Poland, he repeatedly desired the empress to recall her troops from that country; and, on her refusal, declared war against her, notwithstanding the admonitions of his Prussian majesty, who advised him not to threaten before he was able to strike. The sultan seemed to think that he could strike with vigor and effect, when he considered the great military resources of his empire. Numerous armies were levied in his Asiatic as well as European territories: artillery and ammunition were provided in abundance; and the zeal of the people seconded the exertions of the government. A vizir who was no friend to the war was discarded, and the pasha Hamzey was promoted to that office, which, however, he soon resigned. Another prime minister was immediately appointed, who was supposed to be better qualified for the arduous station. This was the pasha Mohammed Emin, who diligently superintended the preparations for war.

The contest was stigmatised by the king of Prussia as the war of the short-sighted against the blind. The empress, you may suppose, did not thank him for the sarcasm, although she had the advantage in the comparison. He had no wish to engage in the war; but, as the Turks were deemed the aggressors, he was bound, by his defensive alliance with Catharine, to assist her

either with men or money. Keeping his troops at home, he promoted her success by an annual allowance[9].

The Tartars of the Crimea, under their khan Crim Gherai (who had been authorised by the grand signor to supersede Mahsoud Gherai, as being better qualified for military operations), undertook an expedition against the Russians, in concert with a Bessarabian force and other troops. They crossed the Ingul on the ice; but, before they entered New-Servia, above 3000 of their number perished from the rigors of the season. Many towns and villages in that province were burned; and, in one of them, 1200 persons lost their lives amidst the flames. The fort of St. Elizabeth over-awed the invaders, who did not dare to attack it. They passed beyond the bounds prescribed by the khan, and extended their ravages and depredations into the Polish Ukraine: but, by punishing some of the marauders, he ensured future respect to the territories of the friends of the Porte. After a regular division of the spoils, he repaired to Bender, where he died, greatly lamented. He was a prince of some talents, active and spirited; and evinced a regard for justice. He was succeeded by Dowlat Gherai, who was less esteemed than his predecessor[10]. A. D. 1769.

On the banks of the Niester, the Turks were fiercely attacked by prince Gallitzin; yet, being assisted by a brisk fire from the fortress of Choczim, they maintained their ground, and repelled their adversaries. Another of the sultan's armies compelled general Romanzoff to retreat, when he had assaulted the entrenchments near Oczakoff. Gallitzin, having again encountered the Turks near Choczim, so far prevailed, as to be enabled to commence the siege of that town: but he was obliged, by the spirited efforts of the enemy, to repass the Niester with

9 Gillies' View of the Reign of Frederic.
10 Mémoires du Baron de Tott.

a force considerably diminished. After an interval of inaction, the Turks were clamorous for a general engagement; and Ali Moldovani, who succeeded the incapable vizir Emin (beheaded for disobedience), encouraged the impatience of the troops. They boldly crossed the river, and attacked the Russian prince with great impetuosity, but they made little impression upon the hostile ranks, and were routed with great slaughter. Being defeated in another conflict, they were so discouraged, that they abandoned Choczim, and a great part of the vizir's army quitted his banners[11].

Sept. 9.

For the extension of maritime power, and the excitation of a revolt among the Greeks, who, though less oppressed by Mustapha than by former sultans, still had various grounds of complaint, Catharine sent a fleet from the Baltic to the Archipelago. The first appearance of the Russian flag on the shores of Greece flattered her pride, and nourished her hope. In the vista of futurity, she seemed to look forward to the expulsion of the barbarian votaries of Mohammed from that classic country, and the establishment of a new empire for the descendants of Ruric.

A respectable fleet, commanded by Alexis Orloff and Spiritoff, sailed toward the Grecian coast, and filled the Porte with alarm. Many of our countrymen served in this fleet, and instructed the Russians in naval discipline and evolutions. When the armament had reached Cape Metapan, a descent was made at Maina; and a great number of natives of the Morea, having received promises of protection, joined the invaders. Thus encouraged, the Greeks gave way to the excesses of sanguinary revenge, and massacred the Turks with merciless ferocity. Several towns of the peninsula were reduced by the Russians; but, while

A. D. 1770.

11 Annual Register, vol. xii.

they and their new associates were besieging the castle of Patras, they were attacked by a body of Turks and Albanians, and put to flight. The Greeks were now slaughtered in their turn; and the victorious party, advancing against an army of Mainotes, killed 2000 of the number. From the walls of Modon, the allies were driven, chiefly by the valor of the Albanians; and the Russians were unable to acquire a firm footing in the Morea.

A naval engagement soon after occurred, by which the Turks were reminded of the battle of Lepanto. In the channel of Scio, the two fleets met, not upon equal terms; for the Russian commander had only ten sail of the line and five frigates, while the capitan-pasha had fifteen ships from 60 to 90 guns, besides smaller vessels, advantageously stationed. The flag-ships of Spiritoff and the Turkish admiral commenced a very close conflict; and, as volleys of grenades set the Turkish ship on fire, the flames were communicated to the opposing vessel. Both blew up, with the loss of almost the whole crew of each: but the two commanders escaped. The horror of the scene so appalled the combatants in the other ships, that the conflict ceased for a time. Being renewed, it was protracted to the close of day. The Turkish admiral then retired into the narrow bay of Chesmè, where some of his ships ran aground. Here he flattered himself with the idea of security; but the gallant Britons, vice-admiral Elphinston and rear-admiral Greig, convinced him of his error. Four fire-ships were prepared for service; and, when Greig's division had attacked the enemy at the mouth of the harbour, lieutenant Dugdale rushed in, and affixed a fire-ship to the nearest vessel, which was soon involved in flames. The conflagration, spreading among the rest of the fleet, made signal havock; and all the ships of war were destroyed,

July 5.

except one that was captured, the command of which was given to the intrepid Dugdale by Alexis Orloff[12].

Before the intelligence of this disaster reached Constantinople, it led to a dreadful massacre at Smyrna. The populace, enraged at the loss of so many ships and seamen, ran about the town, accusing the Greeks of disaffection. Ibrahim, commissioner of the customs, an inhuman enthusiast, ordered the assassination of all the Greeks who were employed in that department; and, in all the squares and streets, the atrocious example was followed with unrelenting zeal. Of those unfortunate subjects of the Porte, about 1500 were murdered before the Janisaries could quell the sanguinary riot[13].

In consequence of the triumph of the Russians, Orloff was complimented with the surname of Chesmenskoi, to which his exertions or his counsels did not entitle him. His imperial mistress attributed to him the scheme of burning the ships; but the praise was due to our countrymen. Joy and festivity, on this occasion, pervaded the Russian court; and an edifice, called the palace of Chesmè, arose in honour of the victory. The Porte felt a proportional depression. The loss of so considerable a fleet was poignantly regretted by Mustapha; and he ordered the capitan-pasha to be put to death for disgracing the Ottoman name. The sultan and his ministers trembled even in the capital, the defence of which, and the improvement of the fortifications of the Dardanelles, they committed to the baron de Tott. The brave Hassan, who had acted as captain of the admiral's ship in the late engagement, was appointed capitan-pasha; and he so zealously superintended the renovation of the Turkish marine, that a respectable fleet was equipped with extraordinary dispatch. He also acquired reputation by

12 Vie de Catharine II. par Castéra, tome ii.—Remarques de M. de Peyssonnel sur les Mémoires du Baron de Tott.

13 Remarques de Peyssonnel.

driving the Russians from the island of Lemnos, where they had besieged the chief town for four months.

The exploits of the Russians, on the continent, corresponded with their maritime success. General Romanzoff, advancing into Moldavia, found about 80,000 Turks and Tartars entrenched near the Pruth. For three weeks, they eluded all his endeavours to draw them into action: but, when he made a feint of retreating, a fourth part of their number sallied from the camp, and fiercely attacked him. He repelled the assailants with little difficulty; and, after a respite of three days, marched toward the entrenchments. These works were defended with spirit; but the vigor and perseverance of the Moscovites at length dislodged the enemy, who fled in extreme confusion. The victorious commander, in the pursuit of the fugitives, met the grand army of the Ottoman empire. The bey Halil, a new vizir, to secure troops whose superiority of number might have been expected to command success, ordered three entrenchments to be formed; but he did not wait for his whole force to be attacked within that barrier. He detached some strong bodies of soldiery to assault the Russians in front and flank; but the latter advanced in defiance of every obstacle, and, after a long contest with artillery and musquetry, forced the first entrenchment by the terrors of the bayonet. The other works were stormed by a continuance of the same resolute exertions; and the vizir fled to the Danube, when 20,000 of his men had been killed or wounded [14]. Aug. 2.

The siege of the strong town of Bender employed the Russians about two months: and count Panin then ordered a general assault. A mine of a new construction was tried; and, at the time of it's explosion, three nocturnal attacks were hazarded. During ten hours, the rage of

14 Annual Register, vol. xiii.

conflict was incessant: the town was fired; and, after a horrible carnage, the Moscovites became masters of the place. Akerman and Ismael were also reduced; and the whole province of Bessarabia submitted to the invaders. The greater part of the territory of Walachia was likewise seised, after the conquest of Ibrailow; and the Moldavian province was completely subdued [15].

The affairs of Poland were still in extreme disorder. The czarina had compelled the king and the senate to declare war against the grand signor; and thus a prince who wished to act as the friend of the Polanders, found himself constrained to become their enemy. Their miseries were aggravated by a pestilence, which arose from their proximity to the Turkish territories. The contagion extended itself into Russia, and make dreadful ravages at Moscow.

The Turks did not tamely acquiesce in their territorial losses. They re-took Giurgewo in Walachia, and gained a considerable advantage near Bucharest: but Mousson Oglou was afterwards defeated near that capital; and the Russians were victorious in several other engagements, not only in that province, but also in the Crimea.

A. D. 1771.

The success of the Russian arms excited the jealousy of the court of Vienna. On the conclusion of the treaty of Hubertsburg, that court, weary of war, began to cultivate with zeal the arts of peace. The emperor Francis, fond of pleasure, indolent and unaspiring, did not eagerly desire the farther aggrandisement of the powerful family with which he was connected by marriage. He preferred peace to the turmoils of war, and the calm occupations of science to the bustle of politics. His favorite pursuit was chemistry; but he was so weak as to mingle a propensity to alchemy with his researches; and his philoso-

15 Geschichte des Turkischen Reichs.

phical spirit was not accompanied with a taste for literature. While Maria Theresa was employed in the task of government, he did not repine at being thrown into the shade: he did not presume to dictate even to his own wife. In the year which followed the peace, his eldest son Joseph was elected king of the Romans without opposition, to the great joy of the empress. Leopold, his second son, was appointed to succeed him in Tuscany. When he had assisted at the marriage of this prince with a daughter of the king of Spain, Francis was seised at Inspruck with an apoplexy, and died (in August 1765) at the age of fifty-seven years. Joseph now obtained the imperial dignity, while his mother remained the only sovereign of the Austrian dominions. Being an admirer of the character of Frederic, and having a strong tincture of ambition, he wished to meet the Prussian hero (when the latter had proposed an interview), and concert measures of aggrandisement: but the caution of the dowager-empress, and of her chief minister prince Kaunitz, prevented for some years the intended visit.

On the death of the king of Poland, Maria Theresa had endeavoured to secure to the house of Saxony a continuance of that dignity: but, being unsupported by the French court, she contented herself with encouraging the Anti-Russian party, after the elevation of Stanislaus. By fomenting the troubles of the country, she hoped to obtain opportunities of considerable advantage. She sent arms and money to the confederates of Bar, and kept the contest alive by indirect interference [16].

The danger of Russian encroachments on the side of the Danube alarmed the Austrian princess, who, although she had formerly declared that no consideration whatever should induce her to enter into an alliance with Frederic, was now inclined to court his friendship, with

16 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, chap. 39.

a view of counter-balancing the ambition of the politic czarina. The effect of this change of sentiment I shall soon have occasion to notice.

While Catharine was gratifying her ambition in Poland and Turkey, the Danish and Swedish courts did not presume to assist her adversaries, although they knew that the increase of her power would detract from their independence. The former court and nation had enjoyed a long peace, which had furnished the means of domestic improvement. Frederic V. was a prudent and patriotic prince; and his wisdom was manifested in the choice of able ministers. He died on the 14th of January, 1766, in the forty-third year of his age; and, when his son Christian VII. was proclaimed king, the people cried out, "may he not only live long, but reign well like his father!"

Christian, before his father's death, had made proposals of marriage to Caroline Matilda, one of the sisters of his Britannic majesty; and, the offer being accepted, the nuptials were solemnised after he had ascended the throne. The amiable manners of the young queen soon rendered her popular in Denmark; and she seemed to enjoy high favor with the king: but the regard of a prince of his character was not likely to be permanent; and when, from a love of dissipation rather than from motives of laudable curiosity, he entered upon his travels, he did not permit her to accompany him. He remained two months in this country, where he was liberally entertained: he then visited France, where he was received with equal politeness.

He was a prince of confined understanding and a narrow mind; was incapable of steady attention to business, addicted to pleasure, and prone to dissipation. When he returned to Denmark, he seemed to have improved his mind: but all hopes of his reform were delusive. He found the affairs of his kingdom deranged,

the finances low, and trade declining; yet he did not devote his attention to the interesting concerns of govèrnment, but threw the burthen entirely upon his ministers or his favorites. Count Holck, at this time, enjoyed the greatest share of his regard; and his physician Struensee the son of a Saxon ecclesiastic, was rising into notice. The queen, with whom the count was not in favor, encouraged Struensee to supplant him; and, by the aid of the insinuating physician, she recovered the confidence of her husband, and procured the banishment of Holck and his sister from court. Bernstorff was soon after dismissed from his office; and Matilda and Struensee triumphed over all opposition. The council of state was suppressed;—a body which, since the revolution of the year 1660, had proved (like the parliaments of France) the only remaining check upon the royal authority; and a foreign adventurer ruled the king, the nobles, and the people, with despotic sway[17].

The new minister projected various plans of reform, some of which were calculated for the benefit of the country. He shook off the domineering influence which Russia had exercised over the Danish cabinet, and thus gave greater dignity to the crown in the èyes of foreign powers. He introduced œconomy into the expenditure both of the court and the state; encouraged arts and industry; granted freedom to the peasants; and improved the general condition of the people. But, in endeavouring to establish his power, he overlooked the rules of prudence and caution. Having been ennobled, and appointed secret minister of the cabinet, he was empowered to commit the king's verbal orders to writing, to issue them even without the royal signature, and to give instructions to the different official departments. This dangerous height of power exposed him to envy and

17 Elucidation of the History of the Counts Struensee and Brandt, and of the Revolution in Denmark.

odium; and a law ordaining the liberty of the press, by which he hoped to render himself popular, had a contrary effect, as it furnished his enemies with numerous opportunities of exposing his presumptuous ambition and vilifying his character.

The exorbitant power of the favorite seemed at length to require restraint; and the nobles, whom he had depressed, began to associate against him. Juliana Maria, the king's step-mother, and her son Frederic, fomented the rising disgust, and endeavoured to form a party sufficiently powerful to drive him from the helm. He was aware of their enmity; and their machinations increased the panic excited in his bosom by a mutiny of Norwegian seamen, who complained of a law which he had refused to soften or suspend. He even thought of retiring from Denmark; but the queen insisted on his braving the storm. An order for disembodying five companies of foot-guards, and dispersing the men among other regiments, promoted the views of the adverse party. They refused to obey the degrading mandate: a sanguinary tumult arose; and the populace sided with the guards, who demanded and obtained a full discharge from the service.

The president of the war-office, count Rantzau, was one of those nobles whom Juliana particularly wished to gain over. He had contributed to the elevation of Struensee, but disapproved some of his measures, and was therefore expected by the queen-dowager to be ready to desert him. He at first declined an adoption of the schemes of that princess; but, when he had in vain exhorted the minister to act in a more circumspect and politic manner, and warned him of his danger, he joined the party of Juliana. A conspiracy was now formed, and a day fixed for the arrest of Struensee and his chief associates.

After a splendid ball, at which Matilda danced with

her usual gaiety, colonel Koller, whose regiment kept guard for the night about the palace, tutored his officers, on pretence of orders from the king, for the execution of the conspiracy. Juliana, her son, Jan. 17, 1772. and count Rantzau, pretending a desire of rescuing their sovereign from the danger of an insurrection, prevailed upon a page to unlock the door of the royal apartment. The count, having papers ready for signature, declared to the terrified king, that nothing but his confirmation of their contents could save him from the fury of the people. Christian, with tears in his eyes, and a trembling hand, signed the orders. Koller, in the mean time, seised Struensee, and sent him to the citadel. Count Brandt, who had been employed, during his friend's administration, to amuse the imbecile king, was also arrested and imprisoned, with other partisans of the reigning queen[18].

Matilda was reposing, unconscious of her danger, when Rantzau, with colonel Eichstadt and some other officers, approached her chamber. The count having pleaded the king's authority in defence of his intrusion, she begged that Struensee might be called; and, when she was informed of his imprisonment, she exclaimed, "I am betrayed, undone, lost for ever!" She declared that she would not obey orders which had been extorted from the king, and demanded an interview with him; but Rantzau, justly apprehending that her influence over her husband might mar the conspiracy, directed the officers to seise her. Her resistance being fruitless, she was carried off, and confined with her infant daughter in the castle of Cronenburg.

Now a prisoner in the hands of Juliana and Frederic, Christian was led through the city as a state pageant, that the people might suppose him to have readily acquiesced in this change of affairs. A general illumination

18 Elucidation, &c.—Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna, letter ii.

gratified the mob; and the nation tamely submitted to the queen-dowager and her son, who, assisted by the restored council of state, usurped in effect the royal authority.

Sir Robert Murray Keith, the British minister at Copenhagen, had advised Struensee to resign his power, before the explosion took place: but the minister turned a deaf ear to this opportune counsel. While the queen's fate was in suspense, sir Robert remonstrated against all violation of her security, denouncing the vengeance of his court in case of insult or personal injury.

Struensee and Brandt were tried by a special commission, and condemned to death. Beside the charges of an assumption of inordinate power, and of multiplied maladministration, the former was accused of a criminal intercourse with the queen; and, amidst the agitation of his mind and the fear of torture, he confessed that this imputation was founded in truth. The charges against the latter were not so weighty as to induce even the prejudiced commissioners who tried him to condemn him to death, except one, which was, that he had bitten his majesty's finger, in revenge for a sarcastic remark.

When Struensee's confession was intimated to the queen, she boldly denied her guilt; but, when the baron Schak informed her that the offender, if he had falsely arraigned her honor, would not be suffered to escape an ignominious and cruel death, she said, "If I confess that what he has declared is true, may he hope for mercy?" He bowed assent, and gave her a paper to sign. She began to write her name; but, suspecting that the baron had deceived her, indignantly threw down the pen. Schak put it between her fingers when she had nearly fainted, and guided her hand so as to finish the signature. An extraordinary tribunal now took cognisance of the cause, and divorced her as an adulteress. She was from that time less closely confined; for her enemies

were not so daring as to wreak upon her the extremity of vengeance. Her two friends, however, were brought to the scaffold. Brandt seemed to flatter himself with the hope of pardon; and, when he found himself disappointed, he submitted with great fortitude to the execution of his sentence. Struensee was less patient; and force was necessary to make him bear the dreadful stroke. Each had the right hand cut off before decapitation; and the remains of both were for some time exposed to public view. The people appeared to be disgusted with the scene of cruelty; and the death of Brandt, in particular, was deemed an act of inhuman tyranny[19]. April 28.

The unfortunate Matilda, being released from Cronenburg, was conveyed by captain Macbride in an English frigate to Stade, whence she was conducted to Zell by the British envoy. She there had a household and court, but lived in comparative obscurity. Her person and manners were pleasing; and she was not deficient in the usual accomplishments of her sex. If not a faithful wife, she was an affectionate mother, a kind mistress, and a benevolent friend[20].

After the expulsion of Struensee from the helm, the queen-dowager governed Denmark for many years in the king's name, with the assistance of prince Frederic. The intrigues of the Russians in that kingdom were now renewed; and Bernstorff, nephew to a nobleman who had distinguished himself in the cabinet, was elevated by their

19 History of Struensee and Brandt.

20 She died at Zell on the 10th of May, 1775, before she had completed the twenty-fourth year of her age. A report arose, that she was poisoned by an Italian domestic, who had been bribed by the Danish court to perpetrate that atrocious act: but there were no real grounds for this suspicion. She complained of an inflammation in her throat, to which she was constitutionally subject: the disorder increased in malignity; cutaneous eruptions afterwards appeared; and a putrid fever threatened her with dissolution. The skill of Zimmermann could not restore her to health; and she expired after an illness of six days. Wraxall's *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna*, letter ii.

interest to the station of prime minister. Being a true patriot, he promoted the advantage of his country in every mode that he could devise, as far as was compatible with the retention of his office, under a princess who was less devoted to the same object. He alleviated the yoke of despotism, diminished the burthen of taxation, provided for the impartial administration of justice, encouraged the arts and sciences, favored commerce, and studiously preserved peace.

In the contest of parties at Copenhagen, the court of Stockholm had rather favored than opposed Struensee; and, by the medium of baron Sprengporten, expostulated with count Rantzau on his factious schemes. In the preceding year, the death of the Swedish king had made way for the accession of his son, Gustavus III., an ambitious prince, who was too fully occupied with a revolutionary scheme at home to take an active part in the broils of another kingdom.

Before I treat of the revolution to which I allude, I will give you some information respecting the affairs of Sweden. You may recollect, that the sister of Charles XII., and her husband, were obliged to submit to such limitations of the royal power as rendered the government more republican than monarchical. The succeeding prince (Adolphus Frederic) acquiesced for a time in this system; but, by the advice of count Brahe and baron Horn, he endeavoured to procure a greater degree of power, and to shake off that pernicious influence which the Hats, or the French party, had obtained in the diet. The scheme proved abortive; and the two noblemen, with others who belonged to the party styled the *Caps*, were beheaded. The ruling faction, at the same time, precipitated the nation into a concern in the seven-years' war, which seriously injured the state. Of the annual subsidy which France had engaged to pay for this service, the arrears were so considerable to an indigent govern-

ment, that frequent demands were made for liquidation; and it was at length declared, that, if the court of Versailles should not speedily execute it's engagements, a British minister would be received at Stockholm. During the war, no envoy from this country had been admitted, on account of the alliance between our court and that of Berlin; but Sir John Goodricke was now sent to Sweden in a public character. In concert with the Russian minister, he opposed the Hat party with zeal and success; and, in 1766, procured the assent of the Swedish ministry to a new treaty, not of alliance, but of amity and commerce[21].

The king was not remarkable for consistency or firmness. Sometimes he sided with the Caps, at other times with the Hats. His queen (Ulrica of Prussia) influenced him to concur with the latter, when they promised to obtain for him an inordinate augmentation of power. A conspiracy for this purpose being detected by the Caps, they resolved to impose new restraints upon the royal authority; and the diet agreed to their proposals.

An extraordinary scheme was afterwards projected by the leaders of the French party. They stated, as a pretence for desiring the convocation of a new diet, that Adolphus wished to resign the exercise of royalty. They intended, however, that he should be requested to resume it; and they hoped, by corruption and intrigue, to prevail in the assembly. When the king proposed that the states should be re-assembled, only one of the senators voted as he wished. Count Lowenhielm was then the chief of the Caps; but he died soon afterwards, with the reputation of an able statesman. His death weakened and discouraged his party; and it was now concluded, that the Hats would fully recover their influence. The

21 Account of the Revolution in Sweden, by Charles Francis Sheridan.

king sent a letter to the senatorial body, lamenting the distress of the nation, and expressing an intention of relinquishing all concern in the government. His resignation was then announced to the public; but the senate continued to make use of his name, in it's decrees and regulations. The people drew various conclusions: many were surprised at the intelligence, while others suspected the artifice.

The senate, having in vain remonstrated against the resignation, and finding that some of the principal *colleges* (or public offices) were unwilling to obey it's orders, consented to convoke a diet; and, after an interval of confusion, the states assembled [22]. The senators who were devoted to the British and Russian interest were now deposed; and the Hats seised the administration. They had formed three schemes: by one, the king and the senate would be enabled to conclude alliances and make war without assembling the states: the second was, to unite the Swedish and French courts in a close confederacy; and the third was, to draw the former into a war with Russia. But they failed in all these views: in the first, as it was a flagrant breach of the constitution; in the two last, chiefly because there was little prospect of the payment of the French arrears [23].

It was then proposed, in the secret meetings of the partisans of France, that force should be used to subvert the constitution of Sweden: but the king's moderation would not suffer him to countenance such a scheme. It therefore remained unattempted at the time of his decease. He died suddenly in the sixty-first year of his age, and in the twentieth year of an unquiet reign [24]. If the spirit of party had been less violent under his ad-

22 In April, 1769.
23 Sheridan's Account of the Revolution.
24 February 12, 1771.

ministration, his want of energy would have been less noticed, and he would have been more generally respected.

Gustavus, the eldest son of Adolphus Frederic, had undertaken a journey to France, with views both of pleasure and politics. He procured a promise of the annual payment of a million and a half of livres, and of strong support against the aristocratic party. Hastening back to Sweden, to take possession of the throne, he practised all the means of conciliation, and all the arts of popularity. He assured the higher classes of his regard for the constitution, and of his acquiescence in the limitations of royalty. He courted the lower orders by affability, by listening to their complaints, and granting or promising redress.

His professions of constitutional submission were not universally believed; for, when plausible promises are lavished, grounds of suspicion may arise. The Caps exerted all their efforts in counteracting his supposed views, and promoting an alliance of Sweden with Great-Britain and Russia. At the opening of a new diet, they had a majority among the clergy, burghers, and peasants, while the Hats prevailed among the nobles. A dispute arising not only on the disposal of high offices, but also on the engagements to be signed by the king before his coronation, Gustavus affected an earnest desire of promoting concord, but secretly fomented disunion, according to the pernicious maxim, *Divide et impera.*

After a long contest, the Caps gained one of the points at which they aimed, by making an addition to the royal stipulations. They then deposed the senators of the opposite party, and resolved to exclude their rivals from all trust and employment. This all-grasping spirit disgusted the Hats, and prompted many of them to concur with the king, while others retired from the diet.

The British and Russian ministers endeavoured to

accelerate the proposed alliance, by representing it as the only measure which could save the constitution, and secure the triumph of the Anti-Gallican party. But, as they would not agree to an annual subsidy, they could not prevail on the Caps to complete the treaty.

In the mean time, the king's emissaries were employed in propagating disaffection to the states, and encouraging complaints of their inattention to patriotic duties, of the venality and factious spirit of the members, and the dissensions which obstructed the reformation of the government. As these seditious intrigues seemed to threaten a revolt, measures of precaution were taken; and, while general Rudbeck was sent into Scania to over-awe the adversaries of the states, Pecklin was commissioned to preserve the tranquillity of the capital.

Having matured the scheme of revolution, Gustavus imparted the secret to Hellichius, an officer of great courage and address, who, tutored by him, excited a revolt at Christian-stadt, which furnished Charles, the king's brother, with a pretence for assembling some provincial regiments, and marching at their head, without waiting for orders from the executive committee, composed of national deputies. Rudbeck having informed the committee of this revolt, troops were sent to invest the fortress; and Stockholm was guarded with peculiar vigilance. But the king gained over the cavalry of burghers, who patroled the streets; secured the subserviency of some officers of the guards; and, by his insinuating manners and complacency of demeanor, strengthened his interest among the people.

When farther delay seemed dangerous, the bold prince prepared for the execution of his arbitrary project. One detachment of the guards being on the point of retiring to make way for another, he called the officers of both into the guard-room, harangued them with artful eloquence, and prevailed on all except three to take an oath

for the promotion of his views, which, he said, were just and patriotic, as he wished to put an end to the disorders of the realm, banish corruption and foreign influence, establish genuine freedom, and revive the lustre of the Swedish name. He then made his appearance on the parade, and, in a plausible speech, urged the privates to support him. They readily concurred with the majority of the officers; and the king, thus abetted, posted a guard upon the assembled senators[25].

Intimidated by this act of power, the members of the executive committee instantly separated. His majesty continued his course, and drew the troops to his side in every quarter of the city. He sent orders to stop the march of those regiments which had been commanded by the committee of the states to advance toward the capital; and general Pecklin, who was preparing to oppose him, was arrested by prince Frederic.

The silence of the ensuing night was disturbed only by the orderly movements of the soldiery. In the morning Gustavus addressed the people in a spacious square, asserted the purity of his intentions, and promised to be a patriot king. He ordered the states to re-assemble; but, like a military despot, stationed troops with artillery near the place of meeting. A new display of his eloquence was followed by the production of fifty-seven articles, composing that form of government which he wished to establish. The four orders acquiesced in a change which they could not effectually resist; and the rival parties were equally enslaved[26].

Thus, without the loss of a single life, that constitution which had been obtained at a favorable moment, on the sudden death of an arbitrary monarch, was annulled,

25 Sheridan's Account—Vie Publique et Privée du Comte de Vergennes, par M. de Mayer.

26 *Some* of the articles, indeed, contained limitations upon his authority; but upon the *whole*, he had sufficient power to elude those restrictions.

"at the cannon's mouth," by a bold, politic, and popular prince. His friends affirmed, that he established a better government than that which he subverted. I do not approve or vindicate the aristocratic tyranny which had long prevailed in Sweden: but you will allow, my son, that the erection of a system of monarchical despotism was not calculated for the genuine or permanent reformation of the government. Gustavus affected to be solely influenced by a desire of promoting the welfare and happiness of the people: but he was rather actuated by selfish ambition than by true patriotism. An upright and moderate prince would merely have endeavoured to circumscribe the power of the aristocratic leaders within regular limits, and rescue himself from degradation and impotence—not have reduced the representatives of the nation to a state of weakness and insignificance.

This revolution was very unpleasing to the empress of Russia, who ordered her minister at Stockholm to take measures for re-establishing the Swedish aristocracy; "a form of government (says Dr. Gillies) so well calculated to bridle the activity of the king, and to distract or enfeeble the exertions of the state." She expected the co-operation of the king of Prussia in the same cause, as he was bound, by his treaty with her, to support the system which Gustavus had overturned. But his own fondness for power would not suffer him to censure with acrimony the ambition of the young Swede; and, being uncle to this prince, he wished to act as a friend to him rather than an adversary. He therefore earnestly dissuaded Catharine from all acts of violence against the advocates of the new system: the court of Vienna also endeavoured to allay her disgust, and soften her indignation; and the rising storm subsided[27].

The Danish court being hostile to his assumption of

27 Gillies' View of the Reign of Frederic, chap. 6.

power, Gustavus resolved to invade Norway; and he led an army to the frontiers for that purpose: but his impetuosity soon yielded to the remonstrances of his uncle and the suggestions of prudence. An accommodation was concluded between the courts; and the Swedish prince directed his attention to the affairs of his own kingdom. The apprehensions of famine spread dismay among his people: but his regulations and arrangements contributed to allay the evil. In other respects, likewise, he seemed anxious for the general welfare.

In the concerns of the Polish state he did not interfere. He could not effectually protect that country; and he had no hope of profiting by it's convulsions. The Russians continued their career of oppression and cruelty; and the calamities of civil war were added to the mischiefs of foreign hostility. Amidst these commotions, a daring attempt was made upon the person of Stanislaus. Kosinski, and other members of an Anti-Russian association, were instigated by count Pulaski to seise that prince, and conduct him to the camp of the confederates, or take away his life if he should endeavour to escape. He was wounded by these assailants, and led into a forest near Warsaw; but Kosinski, moved by his expostulations and entreaties, saved him from farther violence[28].

The continuance of these disorders furnished a pretence for the execution of a scheme of dismemberment, which the Prussian monarch and the czarina had for some time entertained. The iniquitous scheme originated in the mind of Frederic. Having added Silesia to the dominions which he inherited from his father, he was also desirous of extending his territories by the seisure of a considerable part of Poland. Peace was the chief wish of his heart, as he was now in the decline of life, and was no longer inflamed with the martial *furor*: but he con-

28 Coxe's Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

cluded, that the disorders of Poland would afford him opportunities of rapine, without the necessity of actual war. While he was amusing his fancy with this interesting prospect, he was alarmed at the progress of the Russians in Moldavia, and began to fear that his ambitious ally might be enabled to domineer over him, as she did over the Polanders. The emperor was equally apprehensive of danger, and therefore did not scruple to make advances to a prince with whom his mother had long been at variance. He visited Frederic at Neiss in Silesia (in 1769); and a confidential interchange of sentiments took place between the monarchs. They engaged to unite for the maintenance of peace in Germany; and it was hinted by the Prussian potentate, that, if the czarina could not easily be brought to reason, a threefold partition of Poland might remove all difficulties. Joseph was not so disinterested or so just, as to resist or condemn the proposition, which, however, was for a time kept secret. In the following year, the two princes had another meeting; and prince Kaunitz also had long conferences with the king, to whose interest he promised to attend. Prince Henry, repairing to Petersburg on pretence of amusement, disclosed the scheme to Catharine, by whom it was not disapproved. As she still insisted, however, on extravagant terms of peace, Maria Theresa and her son ordered military preparations; and an armed party, entering Poland, seized the lordship of Zips[39].

This invasion accelerated the adjustment of the treaty of partition. Frederic drew the outlines of a plan; but Catharine, in her *contre-projet*, demanded a much greater portion of the spoils than he was willing to allow, and exacted new terms of alliance, more favorable to herself than to her royal confederate. These requisitions de-

39 Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.

layed the settlement: but it was at length agreed, that the king should seise Polish Prussia, or the territory between Eastern Prussia and his possessions in Pomerania, with the exception of Dantzic and Thorn; and that the empress should take possession of a great part of Lithuania. Maria Theresa was invited to accede to the treaty, and take a share of the spoils of a convulsed country She wished for so many palatinates, that Frederic and the czarina affected to be shocked at her rapacity. After a mitigation of her demands, the treaty of division was concluded. Aug. 5.

The great power of the three allies removed all doubt of the acquiescence of the diet of Poland in their unjust requisitions. Every patriotic Polander, and all men who had a sense of honor and justice, condemned, either openly or in their hearts, the conduct of the profligate invaders of national rights: but what means of effectual resistance had the diet or the people? Submission was expedient; and the combined powers succeeded in their aims. Without waiting for the assent of the diet, they seised the territories which they had allotted to themselves, and defied the resentment of the king and the nobles.

This partition has been represented as the first great breach of that system which provided for the balance of power: but it seems to have left the balance nearly as it was before. The Polish state had long been so weak that it held a very low rank among the European nations, and had scarcely any concern in the adjustment of the balance; and the addition of it's exterior provinces to the dominions of the three confederates left those powers in no very different predicament, with reference to each other, than that in which they had recently stood. We may, therefore, leave this supposed breach of system out of the question, and consider the act as an arbitrary spoliation, not essentially differing from former instances

of daring rapine, and not defensible on any sound principles of justice or equity. Indeed, the conspiring potentates, by their awkward attempts for the vindication of the measure, manifested their sense of it's injustice. If they had been sincerely desirous of providing for the political welfare and happiness of the Polish nation, they might have promoted such a settlement of it's affairs as would have humbled the aristocracy, and have combined the freedom of the people with regular government. But this was not their wish: ambition was their motive, and rapine their object.

In the new arrangements, Warsaw, the modern capital of Poland, Cracow, the ancient metropolis, and the territory extending from Silesia in the west to the river Berezina in the east, from the province of Samogitia in the north to the palatinate of Chelm in the south, and to the Black Forest in the south-east, were left to the natives.

The old capital was, at this time, garrisoned by about 1500 Russians; but so great was their contempt of the Polanders, that they were extremely negligent in keeping guard. Observing their want of vigilance, M. de Choisy, a gallant French officer in the service of the confederates, undertook the task of surprising the citadel. He sent a young Frenchman, with a small party of volunteers, to a sewer near the wall; and, after wading up to their arm-pits, they found their way at night to the castle, killed or secured the few soldiers by whom it was occupied, and admitted, at a postern, Choisy and his followers, who immediately sallied out against the Russian troops in the city. With only 270 men, the officer kept the enemy at bay for two hours, anxiously expecting the promised appearance of the main body of the confederates: but, being disappointed in his hope of aid, he retreated into the citadel, and defended it above two months against all the attempts of the Mos-

covites. For want of ammunition and provisions, he then resigned it to the besiegers. Even after the partition had been effected and confirmed, Cracow was garrisoned by Russians, for whose *protection* of the city the degraded inhabitants were obliged to pay [30].

In a manifesto promulgated by the confederate powers, benevolence, generosity, and public spirit, were represented as the motives of the three despots for their acts of rapacious violence. They lamented the dissensions and disorders of Poland, the neglect of law, the insecurity of persons and property, the decline of agriculture and commerce; and affected to dread the total ruin of the state, if seasonable precautions should not be enforced. Nothing, they said, was more urgently required, than the application of an immediate remedy to those evils from which the neighbouring nations had already experienced the most disagreeable effects, and which, if not opportunely checked, might produce such changes in the political system of that part of Europe, as might be fatal to the general tranquillity. They had therefore resolved, with one accord, to take the most efficacious and the best-combined measures for the re-establishment of good order and security in Poland, and the settlement of it's ancient constitution, and national and popular liberties, upon a solid basis. And, as the harmony and friendship now subsisting among the three powers might not always continue, they would not only take the present opportunity of preventing, by their interference, the ruin of the state, but each would also insist on the recognition of particular claims to various territories, which they did not wish to expose to the hazard of future contingencies. These claims would be submitted to the consideration of a diet legally assembled;

30 Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna, letter xvii.—This writer attributes the scheme of partition to the "deep and capacious mind" of prince Henry of Prussia, who persuaded his brother to adopt it.

and it was hoped that tranquillity would be restored by these measures and by concomitant acts [31].

A spirited answer to the arrogant declaration was published at Warsaw, in the name of the king and the senate. In this reply, the prevalence of anarchy in Poland was acknowledged; and it was admitted, that the discord and divisions of the people had partly occasioned the mischiefs and evils which every good citizen deplored: but the licentiousness of foreign troops formed the chief cause of those calamities. The engagements of the three powers to promote the restoration of peace and order would have been regarded by his majesty with the most lively gratitude, if the threat of dismemberment had not followed, to excite the greatest surprise and the most profound grief. The alleged claims were wholly unsupported. The rights of the republic to all her provinces had every mark of authenticity, being confirmed by uninterrupted possession for many ages, sanctioned by the most solemn treaties, and guarantied even by the powers that now advanced very different pretensions. The titles, urged as grounds of partition, could not be admitted, without undermining the rights of every state, and shaking the foundations of all thrones. The allied courts had vindicated their seisures by affirming, that they had no prospect of obtaining justice in the ordinary mode or course, on account of the extraordinary situation of the republic; but, said the king, that situation was accidental and temporary; and it was in their power to change it. By their consent, the republic might be restored to the free exercise of it's sovereignty. Their claims might then be fairly and temperately discussed. Their present proceedings not being of this tenor, he could not avoid protesting against the unjustifiable violence of the confederate spoliators of the Polish pro-

[31] Appendix to the Annual Register, vol. XV.

vinces: he appealed to the potentates who were connected with his country by solemn treaties, and implored redress at the tribunal of the King of kings, the supreme Judge of nations.

An appeal to justice and equity only served to give offence to the combination of despots. The three courts replied, that their dignity, and regard for justice, would prescribe bounds to their moderation; that the essential interests of their crowns would not suffer them to renounce their claims; and that, if the king had any compassion for the people, he would not, by delaying to convoke a diet and enter upon a negotiation, expose them to violence and injury. To remove all pretences for aggravating the evils which afflicted his country, Stanislaus now gave orders for a full meeting of the senate; and that assembly, in fixing a time for a diet, requested that all foreign troops would retire from the territories of the republic. To this request no attention was paid. Three powerful armies obstructed the freedom of election, and over-awed the deliberations of the diet. The majority, for some time, resisted this terrific influence, which had also, in many instances, been aided by promises of favor and by pecuniary distribution: but, at length, the senate or upper house sanctioned the dismemberment by a plurality of six votes, and the assembly of nuncios (54 appearing against 53) acceded to the inglorious measure. Commissioners were named, to whom full powers were granted for the adjustment of the terms of the partition. The articles were dictated by the ministers of the allied courts; and a third part of the country was divided among the *friendly* neighbours of Poland [32].

A. D. 1773.

May.

32 Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c.—This partition, though Maria Theresa was so intimately concerned in it, and received so valuable a share of the spoil, is not even mentioned by the abbé Fromageot, in his annals of the reign of that princess—a striking instance of negligent omission or of wilful suppression.

Being reproached, by some of the members of the diet, for that connexion with Russia and that tameness of acquiescence, which had led to the dismemberment and ruin of Poland, Stanislaus rose from his seat, threw his hat on the floor, and said, "Gentlemen, I am disgusted at your behaviour. The obnoxious partition, and the misfortunes which you deplore, can only be attributed to your factious spirit and your continual dissensions. For my own part, if no greater extent of territory than this hat would cover should be left to me, I should still be, in the eyes of all Europe, your lawful but unfortunate king."

To facilitate a future division of the Polish dominions, the three courts proposed a *reform* of the government of that portion of territory which they condescended to leave to the rightful possessors. The chief feature of the plan was the erection of a permanent executive council, which was strenuously opposed by the delegates of the diet. It was so constituted as to diminish the royal authority (which was before too weak and ineffective), and afford, to foreign powers, opportunities of sinister influence. The dissidents were excluded from this council, as they were from the diet; but they obtained a confirmation of their rights and privileges.

In dividing the spoil, the Austrians seised a much greater share than they had engaged (in the previous concert with their allies) to take. The Prussian monarch, who watched all the movements of his neighbours, observed with a jealous eye the rapacity of Maria Theresa, and thought himself justified in adding to his acquisitions, that the balance of spoliation might be maintained. The czarina loudly remonstrated against this injustice, and insisted on a restitution of the towns and lands recently seised. Frederic, after some hesitation and delay, complied with her desire, either wholly or for the greater part. The Austrian princess was much more unwilling

to yield: but the respective allotments were at length adjusted, nearly on the preconcerted basis [33].

The improvement of the newly-acquired country was now the great object of Frederic. He had wished to incorporate with his dominions the commercial towns of Dantzic and Thorn: but his confederates would not suffer them to be included in his share. As he had the command, however, of the navigation of the Vistula, he encroached on the trade of those towns, and levied arbitrary imposts. He found his new territories in a disordered state. By grants from his treasury, the towns and villages were repaired; the marshes were drained; and manufactures were established. He also erected schools, and provided for the regular administration of justice. Catharine likewise attended to these objects: nor was Maria Theresa wholly negligent of the improvement of her acquisitions.

Pleased with her success in Poland, the czarina gratified the king of Denmark with a surrender of Ducal Holstein, in return for a transfer of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst to her son, the grand duke Paul, by whom they were ceded to the bishop of Lubeck, a relative of her deceased husband. The exchange was particularly advantageous to the Danes, who thus became masters of the whole Cimbric peninsula. They now formed, among other schemes of internal improvement, the plan of a canal from Kiel across Holstein, which, by connecting the Baltic with the German ocean, proved highly useful for the purposes of trade.

During these transactions, the Russians continued the war with the Turks. While their fleet domineered in the Archipelago, both parties professed a desire of peace, of which the Turks were more sincerely desirous than the Russians. The king of Prussia, whose judgement

[33] Gillies' View of the Reign of Frederic, chap. vi.

had foreseen the disasters which the war would entail on the Porte, had exhorted the grand signor to take the earliest opportunity of concluding peace. His mediation, and that of the emperor Joseph, were accepted in form by Mustapha; and, when notice was given to the czarina of the wishes of the interposing powers, it was hinted that, if she should reject the present offer, the Turks would probably solicit an interference which she would highly disapprove—that of the court of Versailles. She at first declined the mediation of the two courts, alleging that she had already refused that of Great-Britain: but, in an interview with prince Henry of Prussia, she declared her acceptance of the offer, and promised to state, in a letter to his brother, those terms of pacification to which she would accede. Her proposals, however, were so unreasonable, in the opinion of Frederic, of Joseph, and Mustapha, that she condescended to alter and qualify them.

This negotiation rendered the campaign of the year 1772 so inactive, that, instead of mentioning it's unimportant incidents, I will call your attention to the history of the bey Ali, a distinguished adventurer, who, if he had been strongly supported by the Russians in his revolt from the Porte, might have promoted their views in Greece, and have effected an important revolution in Egypt and Syria. He was the son of a priest of the Greek church; but, being taken by a party of free-booters, he was sold as a slave to an officer who acted under the pasha of Egypt, and was obliged to embrace the religion of Mohammed. After passing with honor through various employments, he was created a bey, or lord, and became at length chief of the beys. A strong party being formed against him, he was twice constrained to retire from Egypt; but, recovering his station and power, he ruled for some years in tranquillity. When the war broke out between the Turks and Russians, he

was employed in raising an army of twelve thousand men for the service of the grand signor. An order, however, was sent by that prince for his decapitation, in consequence of his being accused, by his enemies, of an intention of co-operating with the troops of the czarina. Exasperated at the intended violence, he renounced all subjection to the Porte, and courted an alliance with Russia. Being supported by the majority of the beys, he levied a great military force, and sent a part of it to reduce Palestine, Syria, and Arabia Felix, while he attended to the correction of abuses, the due administration of justice, and the promotion of commerce and the arts. His chief general was the bey Mohammed Abou-dahap, who, elate with his success, conceived the hope of supplanting his benefactor Ali. Returning to Cairo, the ambitious and ungrateful bey declared his intention of seising the government; and, when a considerable army had been added to his force by the treachery of the bey Ishmael, his superiority of number promised success to his pretensions. Ali now solicited immediate aid from Alexis Orloff, and retired with his treasures and a small army to Acre. He and the sheik Daher took Gaza, and formed the siege of Jaffa; but the garrison bravely defended this town, and the Russians gave very little assistance to the besiegers. It was, however, at length reduced; and Ali, with the friendly sheik, prepared for the recovery of Egypt. He routed the troops of Aboudahap near Salahich, but was defeated in the next conflict, and wounded in his tent. A fever which had seised him before the engagement, concurred with grief to render his wounds incurable[34].

The conferences between the Russian and Turkish plenipotentiaries being unproductive of peace, the war was renewed on the banks of the Danube. The Turks

34 Lusignan's History of the Revolt of Ali Bey.

obtained occasional advantages in desultory actions; for their chief commander, the vizir Mousson Oglou, avoided a general engagement. The chief conflicts occurred near Silistria, on the Bulgarian side of the river. Romanzoff having sent his van-guard to assault an encampment on a hill near that town, the artillery dispersed the Turkish cavalry; but the post was so gallantly defended by the Janisaries, that the Russians could not avoid recoiling, and even commenced a retreat. The Turks, elate with the hope of victory, rushed from their camp, and pursued with disorderly eagerness. Some Russian regiments then ascended another part of the hill, and took possession of the entrenchments, while the enemy retired into the town. The general gave orders for an attack of the place; but spirited sallies baffled his views; and, when the advance of the vizir threatened an interception of retreat, the assailants hastened back to the northern side of the river, not without considerable loss. The empress, dissatisfied with these incidents, wrote to Romanzoff for a reason of his not routing the enemy in a general conflict. He replied, that the army of the vizir trebled that of her majesty. She observed in answer, that the ancient Romans did not trouble themselves with inquiring into the number of their enemies, but merely wished to know where they could be found, that they might bring them to a decisive engagement[35].

Re-crossing the Danube, the Russians besieged Silistria for some weeks, losing a multitude of men by the fire from the works and by the sallies of the garrison. A part of their army, in the mean time, advanced toward the Euxine, and endeavoured to take Varna by a *coup de main*. The brave seraskier Hassan drove the enemies of his country from the former place; and the attempt upon the latter was frustrated by the spirit of the garrison.

35 Tooke's Life of Catharine II. vol. ii.

The vizir now employed himself in a hazardous service. The discipline of the army had been relaxed; and licentiousness and neglect of duty pervaded the camp. Not finding remonstrances efficacious, the minister made some new regulations, and strictly enforced them. The soldiery became, for a time, more orderly and submissive; but many of them cherished a keen resentment against the vizir for his reformative zeal.

The next campaign was more pleasing to the ambitious czarina than the warfare of the preceding year. Before it commenced, the grand signor died; a prince who deserved to reign over less barbarous subjects than the Turks. As his son Selim was then too young to govern, Abdul-hamed, brother of the deceased sultan, was appointed his successor. The new sovereign, instead of putting his nephew to death, according to the ancient practice, not only protected him, but treated him with friendly regard. A party of mutinous Janisaries wished to place Selim on the throne; but they were quickly reduced to obedience. A. D. 1774. Jan 21.

Both courts made extraordinary preparations for the campaign; but, at the desire of his Prussian majesty, Catharine consented to a renewal of negotiation. She found her finances at a low ebb: her armies had been thinned by pestilence; and some of her provinces were convulsed with rebellion. Yet she would not so far mitigate her demands, as to promote the conclusion of a treaty before her troops were ready to take the field. Romanzoff having forced the passage over the Danube, various conflicts arose; in one of which, general Soltikoff triumphed by valor and perseverance. Kamenski and Souvoroff had less difficulty in routing another army; for a spirit of mutiny was so strong and general among the men, that they fled instead of fighting, and left their camp and artillery. They deserted in large bodies; and many thousands, hastening to Constantinople, filled that capital with disorder and confusion. The mutual ani-

mosity of the European and Asiatic troops hurried them into sanguinary collision; and they became more formidable to each other than to their foreign adversaries. The vizir remained encamped with a different army, unable to preserve order or secure obedience. His convoys were intercepted; and, his camp being surrounded by the Russians, he was reduced to the necessity of capitulating for safety, or of cutting his way through the hostile ranks. As he preferred negotiation, he desired a parley; and peace was soon concluded at Kainargi.

It was agreed, that the Russians should enjoy a freedom of navigation in the Euxine, and in other seas of which the Turks claimed the dominion, with a proviso of their having only one armed vessel at a time in the Constantinopolitan seas; that Azoph, Taganrok, Kerch, Jenickala, and Kinburn, should be ceded to the empress, who should also possess the territory situated between the Bog and the Nieper, and receive four millions and a half of roubles toward defraying the expences of the war; and that the Crimea should be no longer dependent on the Ottoman empire[36]. July 21.

These articles were reluctantly signed by the *kiaya* of the vizir. The pride of Mousson Oglou would not suffer him to appear at the conferences: he therefore feigned illness, and sent a deputy. As soon as the grand signor had received intelligence of the treaty, he convoked an extraordinary divan; and, however unpleasing were the conditions, it was resolved that the peace should be ratified.

The treaty was advantageous to Russia, both in a commercial and political point of view. The Levant trade was opened to the subjects of the czarina; and that aspiring princess, while she restored the greater part of her conquests, extended her sway over the Polish Ukraine, and, by the stipulation respecting the Crimea,

[36] Tooke's Life of Catharine, vol. ii.

gave herself a chance, not very distant, of acquiring full possession of that peninsula. The peace was celebrated with general rejoicings for eight days; and the joy of the court was evinced in the release of prisoners (except those who were confined for high treason), and the recall of exiles from the wilds of Siberia.

The suppression of the rebellion enlivened the joy of pacification. The government of Catharine, though it was administered in general with imposing art and politic address, was not universally agreeable to the nation. The clergy complained of violated privileges; and the peasants were disgusted at the rigors of military conscription. Amidst these discontents, a bold adventurer offered himself to public notice, and excited an alarming revolt. This insurgent was Ikhelman Pugatcheff, a Cosack of the Don, who had served with reputation in the Russian army. In his person he strikingly resembled Peter III., and was therefore advised by some Polish monks of the Greek church, with whom he remained in concealment after he had deserted the camp, to assume the designation of that emperor. Retiring into Little Russia, he was protected and encouraged by those sectaries who considered the Greek religion as corrupted by the general practice, and deemed themselves professors of the pure and genuine faith. He afterwards made his appearance on the banks of the Yaik, and formed a strong party among the Cosacks, who, being heretics in their notions, and in a state of irritation on account of the disputed rights of fishery, were easily persuaded to take arms against the government. Being suspected of treasonable views, he was imprisoned; but he soon made his escape: and, having assembled his partisans in the territory of Orenburg, erected the standard of revolt[37]. Many

37 Dr. Gillies says, that he "pretended to be *accompanied* by the czar Peter III.;" but that was not his pretence; for he did not scruple to announce *himself* as the czar who was supposed to have been murdered.

clergymen of the established church concurred with the sectaries in favoring his cause; and the flame spread through the provinces of Casan and Astrakhan. He formed the siege of Orenburg, relinquished and resumed it; but he could not take the place, though his men, during the siege, obtained various advantages over the loyal troops. As his success increased, so did his ferocity. He murdered many captured officers, and a great number of the gentry; and even women and children were put to the sword by this inhuman rebel.

General Bibikoff, being sent against him with a respectable army, first employed some officers in checking his career, and then personally engaged him; but was defeated and slain. Prince Gallitzin, eager to revenge the death of his commander, attacked the rebels near Kargaula, and routed them with great slaughter. Their chief fled, almost alone, to the mountains; but he soon re-assembled the fugitives, and, having received some accessions of force, risqued another engagement, in which he was unsuccessful. He again took refuge among the mountains. Suddenly re-appearing, he marched toward Casan, burned the suburbs, and invested the citadel. He was not, however, suffered to prosecute the siege with effect; for colonel Mikelson, approaching with a gallant *corps*, drove him from the walls, pursued him for three days, and then encountered him in a close contest, which terminated in the flight of the rebels.

Pugatcheff was not yet so discouraged as to desist from his revolt. The mal-content tribes still flocked to his banner; and he conceived the hope of reducing the second city of the empire. While the war coutinued with the Turks, he might have taken Moscow with ease; but he neglected the opportunity; and, when he now began his march toward that city, he was informed of the conclusion of peace. Expecting that it would at this time be well defended, he altered his course, retired

to the Wolga, routed several regiments, and reduced some forts.

The chief honor of quelling the revolt is due to Mikelson. He pursued the rebels with indefatigable zeal, in trackless deserts, amidst the rigors of winter; and, in the heats of summer (for in that climate there is little spring), he continued to harass and annoy them in every mode, until famine and ruin hung over them. At length they ceased to resist, and dispersed. Three of them were induced, by a promise of pardon, to betray their leader. When he had discovered their intentions, he began to defend himself; but they bound him, and delivered him up to a guard sent by Souvoroff. He was tried at Moscow, condemned as a traitor, and beheaded. Four of his chief accomplices were also punished with death: eighteen were subjected to the torture of the knout, and banished to Siberia. A general pardon was then granted; and peace was fully restored to the empire. The effects of the rebellion, however, did not immediately vanish. Many towns in the disordered provinces, and a great number of villages, appeared in ruins: trade was at a stand; and famine long prevailed[38].

The peace of the European continent was undisturbed for some years after the treaty of Kainargi: but the ambition of princes or of ministers, and the military spirit of the principal governments, seemed to prognosticate that it would not be of very long duration. In the mean time, every nation endeavoured to profit by it.

In my next letter, I will take a general survey of the affairs of Europe to the inauspicious æra of the alliance between the French court and the American provincials; an alliance which led to disastrous consequences, by it's tendency to the propagation of revolutionary ideas in France. But, before I enter upon that survey, it is proper

38 Vie de Catharine, par Castéra, tome ii.

to advert to the republic of the United Provinces, which, during the period comprehended in my late review of politics, remained a tranquil spectator of the transactions of other states.

In the war which was closed by the treaty of Paris, the Dutch had no concern. They were excused by the British monarch from the obligation of assisting him against his enemies; but, as their merchants favored France by a conveyance of her colonial produce to Europe, their ships were occasionally seised for this breach of neutrality. The burghers of Amsterdam and other trading towns loudly complained of what they termed piratical violence, and of the partiality of prince Louis of Brunswick, guardian of the young stadt-holder, to the British interests. The French took advantage of this discontent to strengthen their influence, which had been nearly subverted in Holland by their invasion of the territories of the republic in the year 1747. But the disputes of party, for many years, did not very seriously disturb the tranquillity of the United Provinces.

William V., prince of Orange, having completed his eighteenth year in 1766, was declared to be of proper age for the personal exercise of government; and he entered upon the functions of stadt-holder, captain-general, and high admiral, amidst demonstrations of general joy. He was dull and heavy in his appearance, but was not deficient in sagacity or in good sense. He is said to have been quick in the discernment of characters; had an excellent memory; and was well acquainted with the history and constitution of that republic which he was destined to guide. In his disposition he was mild rather than imperious; and, from his habitual attention to the advice and instructions of his guardian, he had contracted a diffidence of himself and a distrust of others. Hence he became, in general, a wavering and irresolute politician. His attachment to prince Louis induced him

to solicit a continuance of the public services of one who had been accustomed to govern. The prince, therefore, was not only continued in the office of field-marshal, but, without being enrolled as a member of the council of state, which was thought degrading to a person who had been at the head of the government, he had the privilege of giving advice whenever it was desired by the stadtholder [39].

When the prince of Orange was inclined to marry, he made a judicious choice of a wife. Wilhelmina, niece to the king of Prussia, united domestic virtues and the usual accomplishments of her sex with the bold spirit of her family; and an union with this princess promised additional strength to the republic. The prince repaired to Berlin, where the nuptial solemnity was followed by courtly festivity; and general joy pervaded the Dutch provinces.

The prince, for some years, enjoyed a great degree of popularity; and his administration, being supported by the British and Prussian interest, seemed to bid defiance to the intrigues of the French party. This faction disapproved his intention of augmenting the army, as it tended to increase his influence; but he effected his purpose, and also gave renovated strength to the navy. The troops were put in motion in 1770, when a dispute had arisen with the elector Palatine, on the subject of duties claimed by the Dutch upon the Lower Rhine: but hostilities were prevented by the acquiescence of the elector in the fair demands of the republic.

The commerce and the colonial power of the Dutch were still considerable. In the East-Indies, they improved the condition of their settlements, particularly in Java and Ceylon. In the latter island, being desirous of rendering the king of Candy more subservient to their

39 History of the Revolution (in 1787) in the Dutch Republic.

views of interest, they penetrated into the heart of his dominions, and gained possession of his capital: but they were afterwards driven from it. They continued to harass him, until he agreed (in 1766) to a treaty which conduced greatly to their advantage. He ceded a very considerable extent of territory, and gave them a monopoly of the produce of the island, on their promising to acknowledge him as emperor, supply him with salt *gratis*, and pay him a tribute[40].

Where their interest is supposed to be concerned, the Dutch are not remarkable for an adherence to their stipulations. They neglected the payment of the tribute, and did not strictly execute the rest of the treaty, although persons less avaricious and narrow-minded would have considered it as a point of policy to conciliate the barbarian prince by an observance of the laws of honor and good faith.

In the western hemisphere, the tyranny of the planters of Surinam endangered the loss of that colony to the republic. The negroes, finding that their laborious services did not procure them that humane treatment to which they were entitled, resolved to take vengeance upon their oppressors, and commenced an insurrection near the river Cottica. Several plantations were ravaged by the slaves who had cultivated them; the houses were set on fire, and the inhabitants murdered. The insurgents then retired into the woods with their families; while the terrified colonists flocked to Paramaribo for protection. The colonial military establishment not being deemed sufficiently powerful, the governor formed a regiment of free negroes who had been slaves; and application was made to the prince of Orange for a reinforcement. The rebels had fortified with palisades, and with loaded swivels, a spot that was well defended by

40 Percival's Account of the Island of Ceylon.

nature, and which was only accessible by private paths under water. They had another post still more difficult of access; and from these coverts they used to sally in the night for the purposes of depredation. Troops being sent against the former station, some weeks were spent and many lives lost in a fruitless attempt to throw a fascine bridge over the marsh by which the post was surrounded. The besiegers were on the point of returning to the capital, when a party of black rangers discovered the paths of communication. The swamp was then crossed, and the fortress taken by a *coup de main*; but Baron, the leader of the rebels, escaped into the woods with the greater part of the garrison. Soon after this success, colonel Fourgeoud, a Swiss, landed at Paramaribo with above 500 men from Holland, to assist in quelling the insurrection: but these soldiers were long inactive, as tranquillity seemed to be restored. A fresh alarm being excited by intelligence, importing that a small party had fallen into an ambuscade, and had been cut off in the midst of a swamp, a party of Europeans under captain Stedman were sent to cruise up and down the Cottica. These men suffered severely from fatigue and the climate, while the negroes were renewing their ravages. The colonel afterwards began his march in quest of the enemy, who, however, eluded pursuit. He destroyed their habitations, circumscribed their quarters, and ravaged their fields[41].

This desultory war long continued to agitate the colony. Fourgeoud, having received a reinforcement from Holland, renewed his operations against the revolters. He and his men were frequently obliged to wade through morasses in very heavy rains, when the water nearly reached their breasts. In one of these *aquatic* expedi-

41 Stedman's Narrative of a Five-Years' Expedition (from 1772 to 1777) against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, vol. i.

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tions, the Europeans were suddenly attacked and defeated with loss: but the chief diminution of their number arose from disease, generated by fatigue and an insalubrious climate. Having forced their way to a small town, to which the enemy set fire, they were encouraged to proceed until retreat became difficult and dangerous. They effected it, however, and had a respite from the turmoils of war. Hostilities again arose; but peace was at length restored, on the emigration of the greater part of the rebel host from the Surinam colony to that of Cayenne[42].

LETTER IV.

History of Great-Britain, including an Account of the American War; with a general View of the Affairs of Europe, to the Commencement of the War with France, in 1778.

AS some of the most unnecessary and unjustifiable wars have been commended or vindicated, you will not be surprised, my dear son, when I inform you that the war into which Great-Britain was now on the point of rushing, although particularly horrible in being a civil war, was pronounced to be just and necessary, not only by legislators, but by many of the professional teachers of a mild and pacific religion. For this perverseness of sentiment we may in some measure account, by reflecting on the influence of a court, on the connexion between the state and the church, and the prevalence of a Tory spirit among the clergy of the established church. From public assemblies we are induced to expect a greater attention to policy than to justice: but, in this instance,

42 Stedman's Narrative, vol. ii.

both those objects seem to have been sacrificed to the wantonness of despotism or the malice of resentment.

The pertinacity of the court soon appeared, in the application of the minister to the commons for an address that favored coercion. It was voted by that house after a spirited debate; and the lords, notwithstanding the prophetic warnings of some of the members who harangued them, agreed to (what was in effect) a declaration of war.

The address stated, that "a part of his majesty's subjects, in the province of Massachusets'-Bay, had proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the supreme legislature; and that a *rebellion* actually existed within the said province." It declared the readiness of the two houses to pay attention and regard to any *real* grievances, which should, in a *dutiful* and *constitutional* manner, be laid before them. "At the same time," they said, "we consider it as our indispensable duty humbly to beseech your majesty, that you will take the most effectual measures to *enforce due obedience* to the laws, and to the authority of the legislature."

A conciliatory bill, framed by the earl of Chatham, was rejected by the peers; and the commons treated with contempt a scheme offered by Mr. Burke with the same view: but a resolution proposed by lord North was adopted, promising to desist from all taxation except commercial imposts, whenever any one of the colonial assemblies should vote a reasonable sum, as a revenue to be appropriated by the parliament. Not trusting to the efficacy of this offer (which, indeed, the colonists deemed insidious and evasive), the minister introduced two bills to debar nine of the provinces from all foreign commerce. Those which were not thus restricted, were New-York, the three Delawar counties, North-Carolina, and Georgia.

These bills were strongly opposed, not only in various petitions, but by many of the best parliamentary speakers;

and the whole conduct of the court, with reference to America, was indignantly condemned. Mr. Wilkes, who then presided in the civic chair, took a decided part in some of these debates; and his influence procured a spirited remonstrance from the livery-men of London, justifying resistance on the part of the provincials, and earnestly beseeching his majesty to "dismiss immediately and for ever from his councils" those ministers and secret advisers who were "enemies equally to his title and to the liberties of his people[1]." The king, in his answer, expressed the utmost astonishment at finding any of his subjects capable of encouraging, or inclined to vindicate, the rebellious disposition evinced by the Americans; and he declared that, as he had a full confidence in the wisdom of his parliament, he thought himself bound to enforce submission to it's authority.

Soon after the delivery of this bold address and this spirited answer, actual hostilities arose in New-England. A detachment of the king's troops, observing near Lexington a party of American militia, ordered the *rebels* to disperse. The latter began to retire; and "several guns were then fired upon the royalists from behind a stone wall and some houses," according to the account given by general Gage: but I am not fully disposed to believe that the cautious provincials would thus attack a force superior both in number and discipline. The skirmish ended in the death of some of the Americans. At Concord a more sanguinary conflict

April 19, 1775.

1 When Wilkes appeared at court with this address, it was intimated, by one of the lords in waiting, that the king would not have any conference with him. The popular magistrate coolly replied, that he neither expected nor desired that honor. The lord chamberlain Hertford, soon after, wrote to the lord-mayor, to inform him that his majesty would not again receive, upon his throne, any address from the livery. The citizens now voted a warm remonstrance; and, when the king declined receiving it in the former mode, the two sheriffs presented to him, at a levee, some resolutions, asserting the right of petitioning and of being heard, and condemning the unconstitutional advice which had induced their sovereign to behave so imperiously.

took place; and, before the troops of the government returned to their head-quarters, above sixty of their associates, and fifty of their antagonists, were killed[2].

These skirmishes inflamed the animosity of both parties to the height of rancor; and, in the progress of the war, both committed cruelties for which no reasonable apology could be made. The occasional inhumanities of the provincials, however, were not altogether so inexcusable as those of the British troops; for the former had obviously greater provocation, and thought it their duty to *defend* themselves against violence and oppression, while the latter acted *offensively* for the enforcement of arbitrary claims. As a Briton, I glory in saying that British humanity has, on numerous occasions, appeared with signal lustre; but, in this war, it was frequently superseded by deliberate and odious cruelty.

The earl of Sandwich, and some other ministerialists, conscious of their own want of courage, had represented the Americans as a set of cowards, who would run away at the sight of a battalion of English regulars: but, if those speakers had any sense of shame, the battle of Bunker's hill convinced them of their calumnious folly. The provincials having fortified that eminence, and erected a battery to cannonade Boston, general Gage sent two thousand men to dislodge them. The attack was vigorous, and the defence resolute. During the engagement, Charles-town, a populous and flourishing place, separated from Boston only by a narrow river, was burned to the ground. The Americans fought with such spirit, that the king's troops were repeatedly driven back; but at length the works were forced, though the advantage was purchased with a loss considerably greater than that which was sustained by the defenders of the post[3]. June 17.

2 London Gazette of June 10, 1775; compared with the American Account.
3 British and American Accounts.

Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the officers of the government, a new congress had assembled before the late battle; and the members acted with as much firmness and dignity, as if their authority had been unquestioned, and their proceedings sanctioned by strict legality. They attended, with coolness and wisdom, to the varied concerns of war and policy, and enacted judicious ordinances for the benefit and welfare of the confederate colonies. Of a commander of their troops they made a fortunate choice. Mr. Washington was selected for that high and arduous station; and every voice approved the appointment. He declared himself unqualified for the due discharge of the office: but his modesty was not suffered to plead an admissible excuse.

While the general and his officers were organising the army, the congress, under the presidency of Hancock, issued a manly declaration, asserting the necessity of taking arms to resist oppression and avoid slavery, but disclaiming all ideas of independence. A petition to the king, for peace and reconciliation, evinced equal spirit.

The armies of Gage and of Washington remained on the defensive for the remainder of the year: but some military operations, not unimportant, occurred in Canada. General Montgomery entered that province with a small force, proclaiming the wish of the congress to secure to the inhabitants all the rights of British subjects, instead of the ungracious and arbitrary enactments with which their feelings had been lately insulted. However strong was the disgust that was felt by a considerable part of the Canadian community at the act to which he alluded, few of the inhabitants joined him: yet when he had taken two forts, he boldly advanced to the capital. He hoped to surprise the garrison; but the troops, though not numerous, were prepared for his reception. Amidst the rigors of winter, he led his men to an assault. In this dangerous service, he lost his life. As his character and

merit rendered him worthy of a longer existence, sincere lamentation attended his fate: but his friends consoled themselves with reflecting, that he died on the field of honor and in the cause of liberty. Courtiers, indeed, called him a traitor and a rebel; but their invectives did not injure his fame.

Colonel Arnold, who was as brave as Montgomery, but was less esteemed, attempted to take the town by a *coup de main:* but he was unsuccessful; and the invaders retired with considerable loss. So far the Americans were unfortunate; but the spirit of the congress was undiminished; and the troops were encouraged by the hope of better fortune.

A war so impolitic, on the part of Great-Britain, was condemned by every reflecting court in Europe; and the ministers were considered as rash and unskilful pilots, unfit to guide the helm of a great monarchy. France and Spain, however, did not grieve or repine at the rise of a contest which threatened to weaken and disgrace a haughty enemy. The court of Vienna, closely connected with that of Versailles, felt no gratitude for the assistance received from George II., and did not lament the difficulties in which his grandson had involved himself. The king of Prussia, resenting the desertion of his interests in the peace of the year 1763, exulted in the embarrassments of the British court, and satirised the folly of the ministers; and the Russian empress, envying the maritime power of this country, wished for it's humiliation. Yet our sovereign and his advisers persisted in their resolutions of military enforcement, and hoped to subdue the presumptuous and refractory provincials.

The new king of France was a moderate and well-disposed prince; but he was occasionally influenced by sinister counsels, and led into arbitrary measures. His queen had too great a sway over him, and too frequently counteracted his patriotic views. Nursed in a despotic

court, and finding the established government in France unfettered and unchastised by a regard for the rights of the people, she rather opposed than promoted that relaxation of the rigors of authority to which Louis was naturally inclined.

The recall of the count de Maurepas to court, by the young monarch, was a measure which seemed, at the time, to give general satisfaction. He was not reinstated in the office of marine minister; but, as a mere member of the council of state, he became the chief director of the national affairs. The count du Muy and M. Turgot were likewise favored with the royal confidence. At the same time, the countess Du-Barri was exiled from a court which she had disgraced, being ordered to retire to a convent near Meaux. The queen wished for the immediate recall of the duke de Choiseul: but the king, recollecting the aversion of the late dauphin to that minister, withheld his assent. The known politics of his father also influenced Louis to forbear the manifestation of any wish for the re-establishment of those parliaments which his grandfather had suppressed; for, although the dauphin disapproved the general government of the late king, he was of opinion that the spirit of the magistracy required occasional checks.

M. de Maupeou and his associates were suffered to retain their offices for some time: but the advice of Maurepas prevailed over all the suggestions which they offered in council. The duke d'Aiguillon, to avoid the disgrace of expulsion from the cabinet, resigned both his employments. He was succeeded as minister of war by the count du Muy, and in the department of foreign affairs by the count de Vergennes, *elève* of the celebrated politican and diplomatist Chavigni. On the dismission of M. de Boynes, whose neglect of the navy proved him to be unqualified for the post which he held, M. Turgot became minister of the marine. This philosopher un-

derstood the theory of his ministerial duty better than the practice. He was more *au fait* in the management of the finances, and was therefore highly pleased at his removal to this branch of office, on the disgrace of Terrai. When the chancellor was commanded to quit the court, M. de Miromesnil was appointed keeper of the seal.

As the people anxiously wished for the restoration of the parliaments,—a measure which the count de Maurepas also strongly advised,—the king was at length induced to relinquish his objections. Before he had sufficiently revolved the subject in his mind, he received a long memorial from his brother the count de Provence, tracing the contests between the parliament of Paris and the crown from the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV.; condemning the arrogant pretensions of that body, it's false principles, and turbulent spirit; and protesting against the suppression of the new courts, which the late king had wisely erected for the maintenance of his lawful authority, and the improvement of the judicial administration. The removal of the new magistrates, distinguished by their disinterested zeal and enlightened minds, would, said the memorialist, be a source of great affliction to the friends of the monarchy and to all true patriots, if their places were to be filled with ambitious and refractory subjects, who had systematically assailed the royal authority with open hostilities, had exercised an arbitrary control over the provincial states and all classes of the community, persecuted the church in it's sacraments or it's ministers, prolonged causes with views of private interest, and rarely, if ever, attended to the public good. The return of such men to power would fill the realm with confusion. Elate with the supposed necessity of their services, and bursting with vengeance for their proscription, they would take advantage of the king's youth, and perhaps annihilate his power[4].

4 Journal Historique du Rétablissement de la Magistrature.

Other remonstrances were made on this important subject; and that of the existing parliament of Bretagne was particularly strong and pointed. Louis observed, that the arguments adverse to the old parliaments were plausible; but, as it was the general wish that they should be re-established, he was desirous of procuring by such a measure the affection of his people.

A bed of justice being proclaimed[5], the king declared his intention of recalling and reinstating the former magistrates; and, as he thus condescended to gratify his subjects, he expected from them, in return, a due submission to his authority. Nine edicts, and an ordinance of discipline, were then read. The first provided for the return of all the magistrates and officers, composing the late parliament of Paris, to their functions and power. Another ordained a dissolution of the councils formed by Maupeou; and the remaining seven were connected in detail with the new system of the court. The regulations of discipline were more accordant to the spirit of the obnoxious chancellor than to the liberal ideas of a patriot king. They tended to give to the great chamber the exclusive power of registration, to make the first president despotic, divide the head from the members, check the facility of remonstrance, and multiply the grounds of removal and confiscation, of which a new tribunal, or *cour plenière*, would arbitrarily take cognisance. This mode of *discipline* excited the murmurs of the assembly; and the edict for the re-establishment of the great council, as a ready substitute for a refractory parliament, was warmly reprobated by the duke de Chartres, who, with his father the duke of Orleans, had been recently banished from court for refusing to accompany Maupeou's parliament at the performance of obsequies in honor of Louis XV.[6].

5 November 12, 1774. 6 Journal Historique.

Great was the joy of the capital at the restoration of the Parisian magistracy; and, as it was followed by similar concessions to the other parliaments, exultation was diffused over the whole kingdom. Louis was compared with the patriotic Henry IV.; and happy times were fondly expected. In Bretagne, the display of satisfaction was particularly marked. M. de la Chalotais made a triumphal entry into Rennes, preceded by above two hundred young men on horseback, and followed by a train of *noblesse* in coaches; and fire-works, illuminations, and festivities, indicated the prevailing joy.

The lower classes of people would have rejoiced more cordially on this occasion, if the difficulty of subsistence had not abridged their comforts. The new administrator of the finances endeavoured to relieve the poor in this respect. He repressed the injurious system of monopoly, and took other measures for reducing the exorbitant price of corn. But his efforts were not immediately successful. It was even pretended, that his allowance of a free trade for corn in the interior of the kingdom had increased the general distress, while it proved advantageous to individuals. The farmers-general, whose rapacity he had checked, augmented by their arts the popular irritation, which was also embittered by the spirit of party. Riots, in various provinces, alarmed the friends of order. At Dijon, many lives were lost in a conflict between the soldiery and the populace. The metropolis was not free from commotion. The parliament passed an *arrêt* on the occasion; but the king discountenanced the spontaneous interference of that body, and adjusted with his ministers the means of repressing tumult. Troops were posted in the districts where disorder was most prevalent: all who had corn in their possession were desired to dispose of it at a moderate price: a bounty was allowed upon importation; and a pardon was offered to all, except the principal and most active disturbers of the peace. May.

Some of the rioters were punished with death; and the continued diffusion of military terrors concurred with an increasing supply of corn to restore tranquillity[7].

An act by which Louis and Turgot deserved and acquired public applause, was the suppression of the *corvée*, or compulsory reparation of the highways; a service for which the laborers received no pay. The continuance of that oppressive usage in Bohemia and Moravia, added to a scarcity of provisions, produced at this time an insurrection against the Austrian government. The first measures of the court were lenient: but rigor was subsequently exercised; and, after a considerable effusion of blood, the riots were quelled. By a new edict of Maria Theresa, the odious service was reduced from four days to three; and the poor peasants were obliged to be content with this concession.

The situation of the French protestants interested the feelings of the king and his benevolent minister. Turgot strongly recommended the grant of complete toleration to those sectaries: but the catholic clergy opposed the favor, and the count de Maurepas refused to agree to it, alleging that it might be dangerous to the church. Even Louis, while he wished to relieve the protestants from some disabilities, objected to Turgot's proposal, as hazardously extensive.

The American contest already excited the attention of the French cabinet. It was debated among the ministers, whether the king should take an open and active part in support of the injured colonists. Such an interference was then deemed precipitate; and Turgot contended, that it would be both imprudent and unjust.

His catholic majesty was equally observant of the progress of the new war: but he waited the ultimate decision of France on the subject. At present, he was

7 Vie de M. Turgot.—Annual Register, vol. xviii.

involved in a contest, not indeed of very high importance, but one which called for considerable supplies of men and money. The emperor of Morocco, in concert with the dey of Algier, had threatened to dispossess the Christians of all their settlements on the northern coast of Africa; and the war commenced with the siege of Ceuta. Melilla was afterwards invested: but the attacks of the besiegers made little impression on the works; and, after a great loss of men, the Moorish prince retired.

For an attack of the Algerine capital, the Spanish monnarch made such formidable preparations, that many politicians suspected him of intending to embark in an European war. Fifty-one ships of war (six of which were of the line) were equipped, and well provided with stores; and twenty-six thousand men, exclusive of sailors and marines, composed the force destined for the enterprise. The chief naval commander was don Pedro de Castijon, and the count O'Reilly was generalissimo, the choice of whom was more an act of partiality than of judgement. Before a descent was made, some of the ships attacked three batteries to the eastward of Algier, but could not dismount a single gun belonging to any one of them. The disembarkation was delayed by dissensions among the principal officers. At length, the first division of the troops gained the shore, and, instead of waiting for the rest, inconsiderately marched forward, July 8. encouraged by the retreat of a body of Algerines in apparent disorder. A hill which commanded the landing-place might have been secured; but that object was neglected; and the invaders were entangled in a close country, in which the enemy, advantageously posted, kept up a very brisk fire. The grenadiers and light infantry were repelled: but the advance of a part of the second division with artillery, protected the march of the former. Attempts were now made to dislodge the Algerines from their enclosures; and hopes were enter-

tained of triumphing over barbarian infidels. This prospect, however, was soon overcast. The increasing superiority of the enemy discouraged the Spaniards; and confusion spread among their ranks. They no longer obeyed their officers: some continued to advance and fire, while the greater number commenced a retreat. The wounded conjured their comrades not to leave them: but there were few who could obtain the favor of being conveyed to the entrenchments which the troops of the third disembarkation had hastily formed. A well-directed fire from these works, as well as from some frigates, rendered the retreat less dangerous. The Algerines lost many of their countrymen by venturing too near the entrenchments; and, in the course of the day, above five thousand of their number were slain. The Spanish court did not deny, that twenty-seven officers (of whom one was the marquis de la Romana), and five hundred and one common soldiers, lost their lives, and that 2279 were wounded: but it is supposed that the loss was considerably greater. All the wounded who were not carried off were massacred by the incensed barbarians. General Vaughan proposed, that the attack should be renewed on the following day: but the other members of a council of war exploded the suggestion [8].

General O'Reilly had long been unpopular; and this unfortunate expedition augmented the odium under which he labored. After his return to Spain, multitudes watched his movements, with a seeming intention of wreaking their vengeance upon his person: but he escaped all violence, and was removed by the king from the government of Madrid to that of the Andalusian province.

A. D. 1775. The war with the Moors and Algerines languished into petty naval hostilities: but the Spanish monarch continued to increase both his army and navy, as if he meditated some other enterprise. He

8 Appendix to Major Dalrymple's Travels through Spain and Portugal.

sent troops to the frontiers of Portugal, as the Brasilian subjects of that realm had encroached on the Spanish territories in Paraguay. The limits of dominion being ill-defined in that part of South-America, frequent disputes had occurred. In this instance, the Portuguese appear to have been guilty of injustice and outrage.

His Britannic majesty, as well as the king of France, interposed between Spain and Portugal; and the rising storm was suspended. The former prince also endeavoured to accommodate his own disputes with the irritated colonists of North-America; but, as he did not take proper steps for that purpose, the war was continued with animosity.

The question of supporting the Americans being again discussed in the French cabinet, it was resolved that hostilities should yet be avoided. The count de Vergennes agreed with Turgot on this occasion. Both ministers, apprehending that an immediate adjunction of force to the rising power of the colonies, might lead to a reconciliation between the provinces and the mother-country, by prompting the court to offer satisfactory terms, proposed that, for the present, indirect aid should be afforded in occasional supplies of useful articles, and that, by every practicable exertion, the French navy should be re-established.

While Turgot was employed in restoring order to the finances, and in promoting œconomy, as far as it was consistent with the intention of strengthening the marine, he was exposed to the arts of ridicule and the intrigues of cabal. His coldness, formality, and want of address, his novelties of opinion, his pride and obstinacy, and pretended incapacity for business, were frequent topics of courtly censure and sarcasm; and the clamors of the clergy aided the arts of courtiers. His fall was promoted by the freedom of his animadversions on the prince of Conti, whom he accused of having instigated or encour-

aged the late riots. Being dismissed from his post, he was succeeded by M. de Clugny, an unprincipled spoliator of the revenue. M. de Taboureau was afterwards appointed to the same office; but he soon acknowleged his incapacity. An assistant had been given to him, under the denomination of director of the royal treasury. This was M. Necker, a native of Geneva, an eminent banker, and a commercial and political philosopher, who, while he opposed the unbounded freedom of trade recommended by Turgot, was a friend to the public interest and to general liberty. Pleased with his ideas of financial reform, Louis soon elevated this popular foreigner to the post of supreme director of the finances[9].

Turgot had been cordially assisted in his various reforms and innovations by M. de Malesherbes; and their sway was termed the philosophical administration. One part of their plan was to establish democratic municipalities and provincial meetings, and a popular assembly for the whole nation; but the king would not listen to such a scheme. They wished to abolish all remains of the feudal system, and diminish the wealth and power of the clergy. These reformers had recommended a person who was less upright and moral than they were, but equally fond of innovation, to succeed the mareschal du Muy in the war department. This was the count de St. Germain, first a Jesuit, afterwards a soldier of fortune, then military superintendant in Denmark. He soon commenced in France a career of reform. He disbanded the companies of black and grey *mousquetaires* and horse-grenadiers; reduced the number of life-guards and light-horse; and degraded the soldiery by ordering the infliction of corporal punishment, in imitation of the German practice. He thus diminished the strength and splendor of the throne, with an inconsiderable retrenchment of ex-

9 Mémoires de Marmontel, écrits par lui-même, livre xii.

penditure; and propagated discontent among the defenders of the state. He remained in office after the dismission of his two friends, and at length resigned, when he found that Maurepas had resolved to discard him[10].

The next campaign in North-America was not remarkably sanguinary: but it involved the erection of a new state among the powers of the world. As soon as the season for action commenced, general Washington hoped to dispossess the English of Boston; but he was unwilling so far to comply with the desire of young and rash officers, as to risque an assault. He chose a new position with his usual judgement, and suddenly fortified an eminence which commanded the town. General Howe now prepared for a retreat. Mutual forbearance was manifested on this occasion; for, while one commander left the town uninjured, the other suffered the army to retire unmolested. March 17.

The recovery of the Massachuset capital was celebrated with festivities, and commemorated by medals. But, when the Americans witnessed the extraordinary preparations of their adversaries for a decisive campaign, they had apparently little reason to rejoice. Of the army which had been aassembled for the defence of the country, almost a fourth part suffered the inconveniences of illness; and mere militia formed a great proportion. The effective force, also, was so divided, as not to present a very strong front to the enemy at any one point.

While the British troops were inactive, the directors of the provincial affairs meditated a striking change. To give vigor to the contest, repel danger by decision, and encourage foreign powers (who might be disposed to aid them) by the firm countenance of an independent state, they proposed that the colonies should assume the form of a distinct republic. The measure was deliber-

10 Mémoires du Regne de Louis XVI., par Jean Louis Soulavie, l'Aîné.

ately canvassed in each province, and disapproved by many respectable men; but the zeal of it's advocates triumphed.

Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher who explained the theory of lightening, had promoted with the utmost zeal, the spirit of opposition to Great-Britain. By his persuasions, the bold became still more determined; the wavering were encouraged; and many who seemed ready to submit to the government, were drawn over to the side of liberty [11]. The proposal of independence, offered to minds thus influenced by Franklin and other popular writers and speakers, received the sanction of the congress, at a time when the Americans were almost without money, without a fleet, without allies, and could only trust to the courage of an undisciplined army, and to the effects of a rising spirit of freedom. The determination was announced in a manifesto written with force, rather than with neatness or elegance [12].

July 4.

An attempt to conciliate the offended provincials proved abortive. Their commander, in a conference with adjutant-general Paterson, observed that the British commissioners seemed to be only empowerd to grant pardon, not to negotiate, or to discuss terms; and added, "that they who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon [13]."

The new republicans were discouraged by the ill success of their endeavours to defend Long-Island and save New-York. They were attacked near Brooklyn, and defeated. Sullivan, who commanded them in this action, was made prisoner, with about a thousand of his men; and fifteen hundred lost their lives or were wounded. Washington then quitted his lines, and hastened to New-

11 Alluding both to his scientific and political exertions, Turgot said of him, *Eripuit cælo fulmen, mox sceptra tyrannis:* that is, He snatched the lightening from heaven, and, soon afterward, the sceptre from tyrants.

12 Life of General Washington, by the chief-justice Marshall.

13 Life of Washington, by Dr. Ramsay.

York. Some entrenchments in the vicinity of that town were evacuated by the troops, on the approach of a party of royalists. The general, meeting them in their flight, was unusually agitated; and he almost despaired of the preservation of the infant republic. Resigning New-York to his exulting enemies, he posted himself at King's-bridge; and, recovering his habitual coolness, waited patiently for the event[14].

Some brisk skirmishes, in which the English had the advantage, were followed by the reduction of two forts, and the temporary subjugation of the province of New-Jersey. Washington now became a fugitive; and the congress sought refuge in Maryland. A change of scene, however, soon occurred. Howe had not formed a proper estimate of the character of the hostile general, or of the republican assembly. He imagined that he might finish the war at his leisure, with a relaxation of effort. Washington, circumspect and vigilant, observed with joy the distribution of the English forces in distant cantonments, and exclaimed, "Now is the time to clip their wings when they are so spread." Thus impelled by hope, he surprised a body of German subsidiaries at Trenton, and, by attacking some battalions at Prince-town, recovered New-Jersey[15].

The suspended war in South-America broke out while the British and provincial armies were in winter-quarters. The island of St. Catharine, on the Brasilian coast, was the scene of hostility. Here it may be observed, that an alarming insurrection, four years before this war arose, had convulsed the northern parts of Brasil. In the province of Maragnan or Maranhao, the descendants of the original natives, and the negro slaves, took arms against the Portuguese, by whom they had long been harshly treated. They fought with spirit; but, not being well

14 Marshall's Life of Washington.—British Accounts.
15 Ramsay's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

armed or disciplined, they were repeatedly routed by the troops of the government[16]. The colony was free from internal commotions, when a Spanish armament approached the southernmost province, and a considerable force landed on the above-mentioned island. The
A. D. 1777. Portuguese made a feeble defence; the forts were quickly taken; and some settlements near the river de la Plata were also reduced.

Peace was restored by a change in the administration of Portugal. Joseph, sovereign of that realm, died after a reign of twenty-six years, at the age of sixty-two.
Feb. 24. A pompous eulogium has been bestowed upon him by one of his subjects[17]; but it is the effusion of partiality rather than of truth. This prince was entitled to little praise: he possessed spirit, and had the sense to shake off some prejudices both in politics and religion: but he was deficient in true wisdom, and did not sufficiently regard either the laws of justice or the dictates of humanity. He was succeeded by his daughter Maria, whose character was more suited to the government of a convent than of a kingdom. She pleased her people, however, by the first measures of her reign, particularly by the dismission of the execrated marquis de Pombal, and the liberation of state prisoners. Among these were two brothers of the late king, who had given offence to the proud dictator. The queen was solicited to punish the marquis with death: but she respected, in him, the friend of her father. The ministers by whom she was chiefly guided were Ayres de Sa, Martin de Mello e Castro, and the viscount de Villa-Nova. These politicians advised

16 Annual Register, vol. xv.—It is remarkable that not the least mention is made of this rebellion by Antonio de Moraes Silva, a native of Brasil (who translated from the English that history of Portugal, which forms a part of the Modern Universal History, and continued it to the year 1800), or by Dr. Grant, who, in 1909, published an historical and geographical account of that extensive and valuable colony.

17 Antonio de Moraes Silva.

her to accommodate all disputes with Spain, as Great-Britain was unwilling or unable to assist her; and a treaty was concluded, by which she ceded the district of the Holy Sacrament, near the river de la Plata, and (in Africa) the isles of Annaboa and Fernando-Po, and procured restitution of the isle of St. Catharine[18]. Oct. 1.

The resumption of hostility in North-America, was at first favorable to Great-Britain, and afterwards to the American republic. Washington, suspecting that sir William Howe aimed at the acquisition of Philadelphia, marched against that general, and, with an inferior force, hazarded a battle near the Brandywine. Two of his divisions did not display that energy which the danger required; and all the efforts of the other corps could not prevent a defeat. About 1250 of his men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners; and a farther loss was sustained in a subsequent conflict. The English now seised Philadelphia; and, their post at German-town being attacked by Washington, they defended it so effectually, that the republicans were routed with great loss[19]. Sept. 11.

For these disasters the congress soon received compensation. General Burgoyne, having reduced Ticonderoga, advanced to the southward to join Howe's army. He moved slowly, on account of the difficulties which the nature of the country and the efforts of the enemy threw in his way; but, after losing many of his men in skirmishes, he reached the heights of Saratoga, and pursued his course to Freeman's-farm, where he was attacked by colonel Arnold, whom he could not easily repel. General Gates now approached with a considerable force, with a view of surrounding the diminished army of Burgoyne, who, being in want of provisions, and not being joined by colonel St. Leger, found himself in an unpleasing and

18 Voyage du ci-devant Duc du Chatelet en Portugal, tome i.
19 Marshall's Life of Washington.

hazardous predicament. Having in vain waited for assistance from Howe, he resolved to force his way, if possible, through the ranks of the enemy. A detachment, being ordered to advance, did not long contend before a retreat became necessary. This action was rendered particularly unfortunate by the fall of Fraser, to whose memory an elegant and pathetic tribute of respect was paid by the afflicted general. The Americans then assaulted the lines; and, when they had forced the part which the Germans defended, Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, where he agreed to a cessation of hostilities, and consented that his men, whose number amounted to 5750, should give up their arms, and, being conveyed (with an exception of the Canadians) to Great-Britain, should wait for a regular exchange before they could resume operations against the Americans[20].

Oct. 16.

Those members of the French cabinet who had long wished for a war with Great-Britain, exulted in the recent success of the Americans. M. de Sartine, the naval minister, was eager to renew the contest for maritime superiority. The count de Maurepas, supported in his recommendation by the queen and the principal nobles, advised the king to embark openly in the American cause, and humble British arrogance: the count de Vergennes concurred in the advice, alleging that the conjuncture was highly favorable; and the weak king suffered his own opinion to be over-ruled. Necker was not a friend to the war; but, being a protestant, he had no voice in the cabinet.

The commissioners who had been sent to France by the congress, were now acknowleged as diplomatic ministers. These were, Dr. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, with whom the French ministry not only made arrangements for the regulation of commerce (granting, to the subjects of the

20 Burgoyne's Narrative, and other Accounts.

United Sates, the same facilities which had hitherto been enjoyed by the most favored nations), but also concluded a treaty of close alliance. Jan. 30, 1778.

In the American contest, the powers of Germany and the North avoided all hostile interference. They were content to see Great-Britain weakening herself by impolicy, and blindly impairing her true interest. The emperor, indeed, seemed more inclined than his mother to be on friendly terms with his Britannic majesty. In a visit to the French court[21], he was treated by Louis with visible coolness, arising from a jealousy of that enterprising spirit which he was expected to display after the death of Maria Theresa. He returned to Vienna with an unfavorable opinion of the honor and judgement of the French cabinet: but the empress-dowager was still intent on maintaining her favorite alliance. The Prussian monarch, desirous of securing the amity of France, from a conviction of the fragility of his alliance with the Austrian princess, encouraged rather than checked the views of that court in behalf of the contending provincials.

The northern courts had no inclination to relinquish the advantages of peace. Bernstorff still governed Denmark with his usual attention to the prosperity of the realm: and the king of Sweden did not conceive that either his interest or glory required him to arm on this occasion. A doubt respecting the intentions of the Russian empress towards him, prompted that prince to visit her in the summer of the year 1777. He unexpectedly made his appearance at Petersburg; discoursed with count Panin to little purpose; and did not, in repeated interviews, obtain the confidence or conciliate the regard of Catharine, who treated him, however, with exterior politeness, and amused him with splendid festivities. As she wished to

21 In April, 1777.

humble him, she was not pleased to find that he had too high a spirit to be subservient to her caprice.

The empress had long been employed in preparing a new code of laws; and, of the regulations emanating from her wisdom, and that of her native counsellors and foreign correspondents, many were judicious and beneficial. She rendered the courts of judicature less dependent on the crown, and gave the people a better chance of obtaining speedy and impartial justice. She abolished (as did also the kings of France and Prussia, and other potentates) the absurd and inhuman practice of endeavouring to draw confessions from supposed criminals by torture. New corporations were formed, with greater privileges and immunities than had before been allowed; and the middle class was more distinctly marked, and more encouraged in it's advances to respectability. The vassals of the crown were gratified with an alleviation of their servitude; and the means of enfranchising the peasants were facilitated. Schools were erected for general instruction; and particular care was taken to render the *elèves* of the church more capable of the due discharge of their functions. Physicians and surgeons were stationed, at the expence of the crown, in the different governments of the empire; and, while the czarina thus attended to the health of the lowest of her subjects, she improved their situation by restricting the tyrannous authority of the nobles[22].

Her government in that part of Poland which she had seised, was in general moderate and humane; and, in the country which she and her rapacious confederates left to Stanislaus and the diet, she exercised her authority in such a manner, as to over-awe faction and repress the licentiousness of the natives: but, if she had sincerely wished to promote the happiness of the Polish community,

22 The first part of the new Russian code appeared in 1775; the second part in 1780.

she would have suffered it's representatives to frame a new constitution, wisely calculated for permanent benefit, and would have sanctioned it with her cordial guaranty.

The Porte, aware of her insatiate ambition, watched her conduct with suspicious anxiety. Her encroachments on the independence of the khan of the Crimea did not escape notice; and her endeavours to annihilate the authority of the Porte over the princes of Moldavia and Walachia, were also observed by the grand signor with disgust and indignation. But the majority of the divan dissuaded him from a renewal of the war; and the French court also advised him to abstain from hostilities.

The princes and states of Italy remained in peace, and attended to the improvement of their respective countries. The Swiss cantons were also tranquil: nothing disturbed the even tenor of their government. With this republic, in 1777, the French concluded a close alliance, in which the Protestant cantons, who had refused to enter into the league of 1715, were included. Appenzel and Glarus meanly consented, on this occasion, to receive subsidies or pensions[23].

LETTER V.

History of Great-Britain and its American Colonies, also of France and Spain, and of Europe in General, to the Death of Maria Theresa, in 1780.

THE undiscerning politicians of the British court had concluded, that none of the continental powers would be inclined to enter into a war with this country in defence

23 Coxe's Travels in Switzerland.

of the oppressed provincials: but more penetrating observers foresaw, that France would not neglect so promising an opportunity of injuring an ancient enemy, of whose maritime and colonial power she was particularly jealous; and it was predicted, that even Spain would take arms against Great-Britain, without sufficiently adverting to the influence which such conduct might have on her own remote dependencies. His catholic majesty, however, was not prepared to join the most Christian king in immediate hostilities, but waited to see the effect of the earlier exertions of the French.

The court had received no intelligence of the actual formation of a confederacy between France and the United States, when the first lord of the treasury proposed, with a view of conciliating the Americans, that the right of raising a general revenue should be conceded to their assemblies, and that persons of rank and respectability should be invested with full powers of negotiation, calculated to render British supremacy compatible with colonial freedom. Mr. Fox testified his approbation of these proposals, but apprehended that the period for their probable acceptance had elapsed. Bills for those purposes were expedited; but the public did not suppose that they would be effectual. When they had received the royal assent, that connexion which they were intended to prevent, was insultingly announced by the diplomatic representative of Louis; and the result was a parliamentary determination to provide with spirit for the new branch of the war.

Amidst the preparations for the extension of hostilities, both parties attentively observed the conduct of the earl of Chatham. His prophecy of French interference was recollected; his able management of a former war could not be forgotten: his attachment to the interests of the Americans rendered it probable that he might reclaim them to a constitutional dependence on Great-Britain;

or, if his remonstrances should not avail, it was concluded that the vigor of his arm would more effectually chastise the revolters and their arrogant allies, than would the imbecility of the existing cabinet. However strongly he wished for colonial liberty, he was disgusted at the claim of independence. To counteract the suggestions of those members of the Rockingham party who were inclined to admit this claim, he suffered himself to be conducted to the house of lords, at a time when a due attention to his health would rather have confined him to his apartment. He spoke with animation upon a subject which interested his feelings, and indignantly reprobated the idea of surrendering the rights of his country. Great-Britain, he trusted, still had the means of supporting those rights; and none but cowards and traitors would refuse to act in such a cause. A fit prevented his farther exertions: he was conveyed to his house, and died within five weeks from this alarming attack. Posthumous honors were voted by the parliament; and the pension which had been settled upon him was augmented, for the benefit of his successors in the peerage.

The peer whose memory was thus honored, certainly deserved the admiration of his contemporaries, and his fame will be transmitted to the latest posterity. His mind was penetrating and comprehensive: he had a strong head, a bold heart, and a vigorous hand. He examined an object with the eye of genius; and, soaring above trivialities, collected it's chief features into one view. When he had formed his plan, no dangers or difficulties could deter or discourage him: he resolutely persevered to it's accomplishment. He called forth all the resources of the country, all the energies and talents of the people. He selected able instruments for the execution of his schemes, and inspired the agents with his own vigor. His commanding and decisive character acquired an influence which hereditary connexions and

family-interest could not have secured. He over-awed the aristocracy, guided the democracy, and seemed to subdue even the animosities of party. He humbled the house of Bourbon, and raised to an extraordinary height the glory of Britain.

His eloquence was of a bold and elevated species. It warmed, animated, and transported, the hearers; expressing, with ease and dignity, lofty sentiments and noble thoughts. Deliberate reasoning, or regular argumentation, did not frequently occur in his speeches: they were more splendid than logical, more specious than convincing. He was not a man of deep learning: yet he had some classical knowledge, and a taste for elegant literature. If he had cultivated poetry with diligence, he would probably have excelled in it: but he only made slight attempts in that pleasing branch of composition.

Both in private and public life, he was regardless of œconomy, which he seemed to consider as an unnecessary virtue. If he had practised it, he would not, perhaps, have contested with an injured family the possession of an estate bequeathed to him by one of his political admirers. He did not embezzle the national treasure; boasting, with truth, that it did not stick to his hands. He was justly entitled to the appellation of a patriot; but he neglected the opportunity of supplying some obvious deficiencies in the bill of rights, and of establishing the liberties of the people on a broader basis than that on which they stood at the commencement of his administration.

The court agreed with the earl in his repugnance to the acknowlegement of American independence, and in his willingness to meet all the dangers of a war with the house of Bourbon. A respectable fleet was sent to cruise in the channel, under the command of Keppel, who was selected from the ranks of opposition; and the public expected to be gratified with the intelligence of victory.

The result, however, of an engagement off the isle of Ushant, did not prove very fortunate. The French, indeed, had the superiority of number; but the English admiral might, in all probability, have signally triumphed, if his own negligence, and the disobedience of sir Hugh Palliser, had not given the enemy an opportunity of escape. Yet the action had one good effect; for the retreat of the French to their own coast secured some valuable fleets from capture. July 27.

The dissension between Keppel and Palliser, and the zeal of their respective partisans, led to the trial of those officers. The former was absolved from all delinquency by the unanimous verdict of a court-martial. The latter was acquitted of actual guilt; but his judges censured him for not apprising the admiral of those circumstances of naval damage which had induced him to disregard the signal "for coming into the Victory's wake." Sir Hugh seems to have followed the example of Lestock; while Keppel, though his courage was unquestionable, did not act with the ardent spirit of Matthews [1].

The British cause, in North-America, was supported by a new commander-in-chief. Sir William Howe having requested to be recalled, sir Henry Clinton, an officer of reputation, was appointed to succeed him. The retreat of the gallant knight of the Bath was honored by a *mischianza* (so called from it's being a miscellaneous *fête*), given at Philadelphia by his chief officers, who admired his military talents, and were pleased with his personal character. The first step of the new general was the dereliction of Philadelphia, from which city he conducted the army to New-York. Washington was unwilling to attack him, from an apprehension of being drawn into a general engagement: but when an opportunity of harassing the troops in their retreat seemed to

1 See Part II. Letter XXVIII.

be offered, he ordered an assault to be made, near the court-house in the county of Monmouth, upon the division which protected the baggage. The attack was repelled; and the American cavalry were also routed. The approach of Washington, and the extraordinary heat of the weather, checked the efforts of the British troops. No farther molestation was suffered by the army, in it's progress to New-York.

The reduction of Rhode-island being one of the chief objects of the provincial campaign, general Sullivan invested Newport with about 10,000 men; and the count d'Estaing seemed ready to assist him. This commander, with a fleet considerably superior to that of lord Howe, had not sufficient spirit to attack the admiral in the port of New-York; and, when the latter, with an augmented squadron, had reached Rhode-island, a tempest prevented an engagement. The damaged French fleet then retiring to Boston, the discouraged republicans desisted from the siege, and quitted the island.

D'Estaing expected to meet with great success in the West-Indies. Dominica was taken without his assistance in the enterprise; and he was preparing for the reduction of some other islands, when he was informed that St. Lucia was in danger. Both as an admiral and a general, he was baffled in reiterated attempts for the preservation of that island.

The congress had hitherto little reason to exult in the fruits of it's alliance with the French: yet, as the cause was not injured, the people cherished the hope of the establishment of the republic. The prevailing zeal for independence frustrated that negotiation which the earl of Carlisle and his fellow-commissioners had endeavoured to promote. In answer to a letter, promising "the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege short of a total separation of interest," and stating the obvious superiority of "a firm, free, and perpetual coalition with the pa-

rent-state, to an insincere and unnatural foreign alliance," the congress expressed a desire of peace, "notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war originated, and the *savage manner* in which it had been conducted [2], but signified a determined intention of maintaining the independence of the confederate states. A reconciliation on such terms not being the wish of the court, the commissioners declared, that the members of the congress were responsible to the world and to God for all the miseries which might result from a continuance of the war; and, leaving forty days to the provincials for the acceptance of renewed offers, and menacing them, in case of refusal, with the desolation of their country, they returned to England with feelings of wounded pride and indignant wrath.

During this indecisive campaign in North-America, a war broke out in the heart of Europe. The death of Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria [3], had extinguished the male line of his family; but a lawful successor was found in the person of Charles Theodore, elector Palatine, a collateral relative of the defunct prince. The emperor, thirsting for territorial acquisition, pretended that the house of Austria might justly claim the inheritance of Lower-Bavaria, on the foundation of duke Albert's right, which had been confirmed by the emperor Sigismund; that various parts of the Upper Palatinate, considered as fiefs of the kingdom of Bohemia, ought to revert to that crown; and that some other possessions of the late elector had legally devolved to the empire. Trusting to the

2 Farther proofs of the justness of this imputation appeared (after the date of this answer) in the surprisal and massacre of a company of Baylor's light horse by major-general Grey, and of Pulaski's light infantry by captain Patrick Ferguson. Dr. Bisset says, on this occasion—"it does not appear that any act was committed inconsistent with the laws of war:" but it may more justly be observed, that the laws of open and honorable war condemn such wanton cruelties. These atrocities had no effect in subduing the general resistance of the provincials, whose keen resentment was inflamed by the barbarity of their enemies.

3 December 30, 1777.

terrific influence of a numerous and well-disciplined army, the rapacious Joseph urged his unjust claims; and the new elector was so unwilling to engage in a war, that he signed a convention to secure a continuance of peace. Regardless of his own rights and those of his presumptive heir (the duke of Deux-Ponts), he consented to a surrender of the territories so arrogantly demanded, and left an opening for farther claims. The duke was on the point of ratifying this agreement; but he was dissuaded from the mean compliance by the remonstrances of the king of Prussia, who resolved to support with vigor the constitution of the empire, and prevent the success of flagrant usurpation [4].

After an interchange of notes between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, Frederic, alarmed at the ambition of the emperor, began to put his troops in motion. The command of one great army he gave to prince Henry: of another he assumed the personal direction. While he was in his camp, several letters passed between him and Joseph; and, when he found that this prince, in affecting to treat, wished to gain time for assembling his forces, he insisted on an immediate dereliction of all claims upon the Bavarian succession. The negotiation being broken off, the opposite armies prepared for action. The king invaded Bohemia, and threatened the very strong post of the enemy between Konigingratz and Jaromirz; and as the emperor was unwilling to weaken his main army, marechal Laudohn was not enabled to oppose the career of prince Henry, who, leaving general Platen to cover Dresden, advanced toward the Bohemian confines, seised various posts, and captured 1400 men. Laudohn then abandoned Leutmeritz to Platen, who pushed his vanguard to the vicinity of Prague, and filled that capital with consternation [5].

4 Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.

5 Œuvres du même Auteur.—Coxe's History of the House of Austria.

A renewal of negotiation now arose from the apprehensions of Maria Theresa for the safety of her son. She sent baron Thugut to the king, proposing a speedy settlement of all disputes; but he would not agree to her terms. Joseph ventured to reprimand her for soliciting peace, and was encouraged by prince Kaunitz to assume a high and imperious tone. Yet he was so overawed by the military fame of his great opponent, that he resolved to stand on the defensive, and submit to the insults of the foe, rather than risque a general engagement.

Having discovered the weakest part of the imperial entrenchments, the king hoped to force a passage over the Elbe, and, by a junction with his brother, to menace Joseph both in flank and rear, so as to reduce him to the necessity either of fighting, or quitting his post for a less secure station. With this view, he advanced toward Hohenelbe; but, when the Austrians, suspecting his intention, had posted themselves in great force on the neighbouring hills, it became expedient to relinquish the scheme. His troops then foraged the country, without the least molestation from those of the emperor; but, when he had commenced his retreat, some of his divisions, particularly that which was conducted by the heir of his crown, were occasionally harassed. The prince defended himself so as to obtain the approbation of his uncle; and the whole army took post in Silesia for the winter[6].

The czarina, being involved in disputes with the grand signor, did not take a direct part in the affairs of the empire, before the French and Prussian courts had prevailed on the Porte to restore some ships which had been

6 Mr. Wraxall speaks highly of the skill with which the retreat of Frederic was conducted. "Every movement (he says) was made with the accuracy of machinery, unaccompanied by hurry, embarrassment, or confusion." The king's brother also evinced skill and judgement in retiring out of Bohemia, with little molestation from Laudohn, who, indeed, had an opportunity of attacking him, but was prevented by the caution or the military inexperience of Joseph.

March 21, 1779. seised at the Dardanelles, and acknowlege the khan of the Crimea, to whom Catharine had promised her support. She then, by her ambassadors at Vienna and Ratisbon, requested that all schemes of imperial usurpation might be renounced, or she would otherwise act with vigor in support of her Russian ally, and for the restoration of the tranquillity of Germany. Prince Repnin was ordered to keep his army in readiness for marching; but he soon made his appearance at Teschen as a negotiator, when Maria Theresa had solicited the mediation of Russia, in concert with France. A

May 13. treaty was concluded, after delays arising from the reluctance of Joseph. It was stipulated, that the territory of Burghausen should be ceded to the house of Austria; that all claims upon other parts of the dominions of the late Bavarian prince should be renounced; that the Saxon elector should receive from the court of Vienna six millions of florins, as a compensation for his claims; and Frederic's right of eventual succession to the marquisates of Anspach and Bareuth should be recognised[7].

By this treaty the house of Austria profited, but in a much less considerable degree than Joseph wished. He had flattered himself with a hope of the connivance, if not the support, of France; but that court, on the contrary, seemed more desirous of clipping his wings than disposed to encourage his flight. What he obtained, he derived from the influence of his sister.

Few had supposed that the king of Spain would long remain neutral in the American contest. After the French ambassador had avowed the connexions formed between his court and the United States, the Spanish resident in London disclaimed all concern in those negotiations, and asserted his sovereign's resolution of preserving peace, with this proviso, that such forbearance should not im-

7 Gillies' View of the Reign of Frederic, chap. 7.

pair the dignity or the rights of his crown, or prevent him from affording that protection which his people, injured at sea and in his colonies by the subjects of Great-Britain, might justly claim. As lord Weymouth seemed to insinuate a desire of the mediation of Spain between the contending monarchs, the resident was ordered to demand an unequivocal intimation of such a wish, and of the points which would be brought forward as the basis of a negotiation. The mediation, when it was offered, was not rejected; but it's sole fruit was the proposal of a truce with France, and with the colonies, in a mode which favored the high pretensions of the latter. This proposition being deemed too inconciliatory, his catholic majesty ceased to mediate; and, throwing off the mask, directed the marquis d'Almadovar to announce hostile intentions. The ambassador's memorial stated, that the British cabinet, instead of granting redress for former injuries and ordering a discontinuance of encroachments, had suffered many recent additions to be made to those grounds of complaint; and that the king of Spain was thus reduced to the "disagreeable necessity of making use of all the means intrusted to him by the Almighty, to obtain that justice which he had long solicited without effect." Letters of marque and reprisal were now issued against the Spaniards; who, on their part, were not slow in naval preparations.

The debates of the parliament, in this session, were very spirited; and various attempts were made by the leaders of opposition to procure votes of censure against lord North and his chief associates. The conduct of the war was arraigned in the most severe and pointed terms; and inquiries were instituted on the subject; but the influence of the court baffled the utility of investigation; and mismanagement, error, and absurdity, continued to prevail.

Some of the ministers still thought that the rebels

might be subdued or reclaimed: but the prudent and cautious Washington still maintained his ground, and increased his reputation for defensive ability. He was aware of the serious mischief, if not ruinous effect, with which a general trial of strength might be attended; and, therefore, suffered the king's troops to seize different posts, ravage the country, and destroy ships and stores. He re-took Stony Point by the medium of Wayne, a brave and skilful officer: but, at Fort La Fayette and Paulus Hook, the Americans were less successful; nor could they prevent the reduction of Georgia. That province had been invaded in the preceding year, and it's chief towns seised; but an invasion of South-Carolina by the troops which had been so far successful, was not equally prosperous[8].

The French were wholly inactive in the West-Indies during the spring; but, in the summer, M. d'Estaing emerged from his secure retreat at Fort-Royal. He first sent a small armament to reduce the isle of St. Vincent, which was given up without a blow by Mr. Valentine Morris, who had shown himself an active and useful governor in time of peace, but did not shine as a military defender of the colony; alleging, in vindication of his conduct, that the people were unwilling to assist, that the Caribbs were hostile, and the garrison weak. The French admiral then sailed with a powerful fleet and army to Grenada, which lord Macartney in vain defended. Tobago would, perhaps, have been quickly added to these conquests, if admiral Byron had not encountered d'Estaing, and cooled his ardor. The former could not make the action so general as he wished; but, in some of his ships, the guns were so well served, that 2500 of the enemy are supposed to have been killed or wounded. The French commander, though he claimed the victory,

8 Marshall's Life of Washington.

did not venture to attack any of our remaining islands, but retired to Cape François. When he re-appeared, his course was directed to the northward: and, in his way to the American continent, he captured a ship of fifty guns and three frigates. Arriving at the mouth of the river Savannah, he led an army toward the town of that name; but all his exertions, even with the co-operation of a provincial force under Lincoln, a respectable general, were insufficient to ensure success. The town had been strengthened by the skill of major Moncrieff, and was gallantly defended by general Prevost, who repelled a fierce assault with decisive vigor. The Polish count Pulaski fell on this occasion; and, on the other hand, the British general lost colonel Maitland, not indeed by the sword, but by the insalubrity of the climate. This officer had recently distinguished himself by maintaining an insular post, in South-Carolina, against an extraordinary superiority of number.

The efforts of the Spaniards, in the western hemisphere, are scarcely worthy of mention. An irruption into the province of West-Florida had little effect; and the garrison of Fort Omoa, near the bay of Honduras, suffered a small party of English to take the place by assault; but it was soon abandoned by the captors.

A formidable Spanish fleet, joined by an inferior number of French ships, rode for some weeks triumphant in the English channel. The British fleet under Hardy, not exceeding thirty-eight sail of the line, could not cope with sixty-six. Plymouth was insulted, and seemed to be endangered; but the apprehensions of the people did not produce despondency.

After Spain had thus entered into the war, his Britannic majesty applied to the states-general of the United Provinces for that assistance which they were bound (by the treaty of 1678) to afford. No attention was paid to the demand; for the Dutch, jealous of British superiority,

and desirous of profiting by the American trade, were more inclined to assist than attack either the revolted provincials or the foreign enemies of this country. Engelbert van Berkel, pensionary of Amsterdam, was at the head of the party which opposed the stadt-holder; and he had already formed commercial engagements with the congress, inconsistent with the British alliance. But this negotiation had not yet been discovered by our ministers, who, therefore, merely remonstrated against occasional instances of clandestine traffic, and the neglect of former stipulations.

In the ensuing parliamentary session, the complaints of ministerial misconduct were loud and vehement; and it was affirmed that, as folly and ignorance alone could not have occasioned such mischief and disgrace, a suspicion of treachery might justly arise; a charge which lord North repelled with more than usual emotion. The most remarkable occurrences of the session were the adjustment of the affairs of Ireland, and the attempts to restrain the influence of the crown.

The Irish had for many years been discontented; and a numerous body of armed volunteers now demanded a free trade and an independent parliament. The British legislature thought proper to accede, in a general view, to the former demand; but the latter requisition was not at this time granted.

A. D. 1780. The presentation of petitions from various parts of the kingdom, led to the discussion of the question of influence. Public œconomy, which the same petitions strongly recommended, was also the subject of repeated debates. The commons voted[9], on the motion of Mr. Dunning, that the influence of the crown had increased, was still increasing, and therefore ought to be diminished. This result of the debate was considered as

9 By a majority of 18; the numbers being 233 and 215.

a great victory on the part of opposition; but the arts of courtly emissaries were exercised with such assiduity and effect, that the ministry re-obtained a superiority of votes, and frustrated the views of the popular party. The efforts of Mr. Burke to procure the suppression of various offices which only served to extend the royal influence, were in vain supported by the charms of oratory. His bills of reform were rejected; and the wishes of the greater part of the nation were contemptuously disregarded.

Some of the leaders of the anti-ministerial phalanx were suspected, but very unjustly, of promoting the mischievous and disgraceful riots which arose from fanaticism and intolerance. Two years before, the parliament had unanimously agreed to a bill calculated for the gratification of the catholics of England and Wales, who, on abjuring the temporal jurisdiction of the pope, denying the claim of the pretender, and taking the oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, were permitted to exercise their religious functions, keep schools for their youth, and inherit or acquire lands [10]. The report of an intention of granting the same relief to the Scotish catholics, gave such disgust to many of the devotees of the kirk, that they instigated the rabble of Edinburgh to destroy the habitations of the votaries of the Romish faith. Associations were formed in the chief towns of North-Britain for the protection of the protestant religion; and lord George Gordon, who had formerly served in the navy, and had lately exposed himself in parliament by absurd and violent speeches,

10 Mr. Burke, speaking of the general assent given to the bill, says, "With this mover (Sir George Savile) and this seconder (Mr. Dunning) agreed the whole house of commons, the whole house of lords, the whole bench of bishops, the king, the ministry, the opposition, all the distinguished clergy of the establishment, all the eminent lights (for they were consulted) of the dissenting churches. This accordant voice of national wisdom ought to be listened to with reverence." The citizens of Bristol, whom the orator thus addressed, were not sufficiently liberal to appreciate the wisdom or admit the expediency of the measure; and, partly on this account, and partly from disgust at his favoring the trade of Ireland, refused to re-elect Mr. Burke for their representative.

became president of the bigoted confederacy. A protestant association was also organised in England; and this wild zealot was suffered to direct it's proceedings. A petition being framed at one of the meetings for the repeal of the late bill, an immense multitude repaired with it to the house of commons; and, at night, the
June 2. impatient rabble set fire to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador. This was merely the beginning of mischief. For several days, the most alarming outrages convulsed the city. At first, the panic-stricken magistrates neglected that military aid which they might legally have demanded; but they were at length convinced of it's necessity. Many chapels and houses of catholics, the habitations of the chief-justice Mansfield, and of inferior magistrates, and the chief places of imprisonment, were burned by the ferocious mob. To prevent farther devastation, the soldiery were authorised by the privy council to fire, without waiting for the formality of reading the act against riots, or for an order from the civil power. Above three hundred and fifty persons are supposed to have lost their lives before the riots were suppressed; but not all of these were shot; for many died in a state of intoxication at the destruction of the two houses of Langdale, a catholic distiller; and some were overwhelmed by ruins in different parts of the city. Twenty-nine of the rioters afterwards suffered death in a more regular mode, in consequence of the verdicts of juries. Lord George Gordon was also tried; but, for want of legal evidence of his having encouraged the atrocities of the mob, he was acquitted. If he had been found guilty, he would have died unlamented.

These riots, exaggerated at foreign courts, made an impression unfavorable to the wishes of the British sovereign, who, hearing that the king and people of Spain were inclined to peace, had employed Hussey, an Irish catholic, in the promotion of a separate treaty with that

nation. Mr. Cumberland, the dramatist, was deputed to Madrid for the same purpose; but, before he entered Spain, he was directed to inquire whether his catholic majesty was disposed to insist on the restitution of Gibraltar. Finding that this point was not to be brought forward as an essential preliminary to negotiation, he presented himself to the Spanish court; and the treaty (he says) "was in shape," when the magnified account of the riots reached Spain. The count de Florida-Blanca then hinted, that it was not safe or honorable to treat with a government so unsettled and unpopular, or with a people so bigoted and prejudiced; and he was more inclined to listen to the insinuations of the count d'Estaing, who promised that the French would cordially assist in the reduction of Gibraltar. The negotiation, however, was not immediately discontinued, though it was generally supposed that it would not be successful[11].

The war, in the mean time, raged both by sea and land, in the East and in the West. In 1778, not only the inferior settlements of the French in India had been reduced, but Pondicheri also was obliged to surrender. In the same year, the India company carried on a new war against the Mahrattas. A treaty soon followed; but it was quickly violated; and considerable success attended the subsequent hostilities of the English and sepoys. The Mahrattas, however, were dissuaded by Hyder Ali from the meanness of suing for peace; and that enterprising chieftain, desirous of checking the encroachments of the company, declared himself a friend to all the native powers that would oppose the ambitious intruders. Having ravaged the Carnatic, he hoped to overpower the small army by which it was defended. With a great multitude, particularly of cavalry, Tippoo engaged Baillie, but disgraced himself by retreating. Both the father and the

11 Memoirs of Richard Cumberland, written by himself.

son, soon after, encountered Baillie and Fletcher, and, not without great difficulty, slew or captured the whole force commanded by those gallant officers. As the company's troops contended against ten times their number, above two thousand five hundred were left dead upon the field.

Sept. 10.

In the West, the conquest of a considerable town gratified the promoters of the war. The siege of Charlestown was formed in the spring by general Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot. The place was strong by it's natural situation and by artificial works: and the entrance of the harbour might have been defended by a squadron; but that object was unaccountably neglected.

The approaches were made in a scientific manner, under the eye of Moncrieff: the batteries played with vigor and efficacy; and, the communication of the garrison with the country by means of Cooper's river being at length precluded, a general assault was threatened, which the Americans averted by capitulation. The siege was not very destructive, only seventy-six of the English and Germans being killed, and eighty-nine of the provincials, from the 1st of April (when the troops first broke ground) to the 12th of May, when major-general Leslie took possession of the town[12].

Three detachments were now sent to complete the reduction of South-Carolina. Two of these bodies easily tranquillised the districts into which they marched; and the third routed colonel Burford, after a short but fierce engagement. A more important conflict occurred near the town of Camden, where earl Cornwallis and lord Rawdon distinguished themselves by their alertness, zeal, and courage. With about 2000 men, those officers engaged 5000; but only a part of the latter force displayed the energy of disciplined combatants. In less

Aug. 16.

12 London Gazette of June 15.

than an hour, the republicans were totally routed; and the pursuit was rapid and sanguinary. About eight hundred were deprived of life, and nine hundred and fifty, including the wounded, became prisoners. To this amount, colonel Tarleton added a hundred and fifty victims in a subsequent action near the Catawba ford, and three hundred captives. The Americans, by cutting off a detachment near the frontiers of North-Carolina, took some revenge for these losses, and checked the advance of the British troops into that province. Washington, in the mean time, remained for the most part inactive, in vain seeking an opportunity of reducing New-York [13].

The retreat of a brave and able officer from the American service, excited great attention on both sides of the Atlantic. Arnold, being a man of unsteady principles, and more attentive to his own interest than to that of the new republic, had offered, in the hope of an ample recompense, to surrender to the royalists the posts and the troops that he commanded. Major André had a conference with him on this interesting subject; but was intercepted on his return, tried by martial law, and hanged as a spy [14].

The consideration of the serious injury which the republican cause might have suffered by the intended treachery, steeled the heart of the commander-in-chief, who was severely censured for his rigor. As the mischief was prevented, mercy might safely have been extended to André. But the British officers had no right to blame the inexorable general; for, from the manner in which the war was carried on against the obnoxious provincials, there is no doubt that, if an American officer had been detected in

13 London Gazette of October 9.—Marshall's Life of Washington.

14 The American chief-justice Marshall, speaking of the melancholy fate of this officer, observes, that the members of the court-martial "lamented the sentence which the usages of war compelled them to pronounce; and perhaps on no occasion of his life did the commander in chief obey with more reluctance the stern mandates of duty and of policy."

similar conduct, he would have been put to death without hesitation. Sir Henry Clinton, who earnestly requested that the major's life might be spared, would have rejected with scorn the solicitations of a rebel commander, or of a congress of republican traitors[15].

Washington had expected naval aid against New-York from the count de Guichen, who had a fleet capable of material service. Sir George Brydges Rodney thrice engaged this nobleman. In the first conflict, he broke the French line, but made not a single capture: in the second and third actions, the victory was still less decided. Before the admiral thus encountered the French, he had triumphed over the Spaniards near Cape St. Vincent. He added four of their largest ships to the British navy: two more were taken, but driven on shore; and one ship of the line blew up in the heat of action. By this success he acquired great reputation; but this was not the *acmè* of his fame.

As the maritime power of Great-Britain rendered her an object of envy, and as even the fair exercise of her rights, in time of war, gave umbrage to the neutral powers, an association was formed to check her supposed encroachments. Stimulated by the count de Vergennes,

15 In a late publication, it is affirmed, that major André went out "under every fair and justifiable sanction, and unquestionably ought to have been returned upon the demand of sir Henry Clinton, as a prisoner of war:" but, as the business was of a traitorous nature on the part of Arnold, and not altogether honorable on that of the major, whose change of dress and assumption of a different name argued his sense of the impropriety or irregularity of his proceedings, the assertion is not strictly warranted. The author vindicates the unfortunate officer on this ground, that stratagems are allowable in war: but André, although a man of honor in his general conduct, appears to have gone beyond the extent of *allowable stratagems*. See the *Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major André*, written by Joshua Hett Smith, who accompanied that officer on his return from the interview with Arnold. He asserts, that major-general Greene, the president of the court-martial, eagerly promoted the destruction of André, and concealed from Washington the particulars of the strong application made by sir Henry Clinton, through the medium of lieutenant-general Robertson, for the life of the devoted victim.

and encouraged by the king of Prussia, the czarina gave public notice of her intention of rescuing the commerce of her subjects from those vexations and restrictions to which it was exposed by the war. She disclaimed all thoughts of violating the law of nations, but claimed a freedom of trade, even from one of the ports of a belligerent power to another, in all articles not contraband. Not only the effects of her merchants, but also those which belonged to the subjects of the contending nations, were (she said) to be deemed free goods: vessels were not to be searched when they were under convoy; and ports were to be considered as blocked up (and consequently not free for general trade), only when the hostile ships so obstructed the approach of any other vessels, as to make it dangerous for them to enter[16].

In answer to this declaration, his Britannic majesty affirmed, that, from the commencement of the war, he had given the most precise orders for an observance of the law of nations and of his particular engagements with Russia; and he promised that all maritime grievances should be equitably redressed. The kings of France and Spain, pleased with a scheme which suited their present views, as it would contribute to the security of their commerce, and to the diminution of the naval pre-eminence of Great-Britain, expressed their high approbation of the principles and views which influenced the empress, and panegyrised her regard for the rights of nations. The Danish court readily adopted the propositions of the czarina; and the king of Sweden engaged to maintain the system which she recommended. Fleets were now fitted out by the northern confederates, and by the other states which acceded to the league. Among these armed neutrals were the Dutch; but they were

16 Tooke's Life of Catharine II. vol. ii.

soon obliged to assume the more decided character of a belligerent power. The courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Naples, and the republic of Venice, entered into the confederacy; in which even the Portuguese joined, their court yielding in this instance to the influence of the French and Spaniards.

While the empress was congratulating herself on the success of the maritime project, she listened to the overtures of the Austrian court, and, having met Joseph in Poland, invited him into Russia. Various schemes of ambition were discussed in frequent interviews. Prince Potemkin promoted the intimacy of the two courts, while count Panin preferred the Prussian alliance. The former of these courtiers had succeeded to the influence which Gregory Orloff had long possesssed; and the count's exhortations had so little effect, that his disgust induced him to secede for a time from the cabinet. Jealous of the emperor's views, the king of Prussia sent the heir of his crown to visit the czarina; but she received him with a coolness bordering on contempt.

The connexion between Austria and Russia had not long been renewed, when Maria Theresa died of a disorder of the lungs, combined with the dropsy, after a reign of forty years, and a life of sixty-three.

Nov. 29.

This princess was handsome in her youth; but her features were afterwards disfigured by the small-pox and by an accidental fall during a journey. Her talents were respectable, and her judgment sound; and she was so far conscious of her political abilities, that she would not suffer even prince Kaunitz, of whose merit she had a high opinion, to exercise in every case a dictatorial sway over her. She was courteous in her manners, and correct in her private morals; compassionate and munificent; an affectionate wife and mother, a kind mistress and friend.

She certainly had both great and good qualities; but she was sometimes too selfish in her politics; and her catholic bigotry led her into habits of intolerance.

LETTER VI.

A Continuation of the History of Europe, to the Peace of 1783.

WHEN I informed you, my dear son, of the evasive and faithless behaviour of the Dutch toward Great-Britain, and of their good-will to the American cause, you had reason to suppose that a farther discovery would be made of their sinister practices, and that a consequent denunciation of hostility would arise from the offended state.

Captain Fielding, having descried a fleet with a convoy, insisted upon a search; and, when the Dutch had fired at the boats sent for that purpose, he fired a shot a-head of their commodore's ship. A broadside was given in return: Fielding answered it; and the Dutch ships of war struck their colors. The trading vessels which had not sailed away when the English approached, were now searched; and such as contained articles not allowed to be sent to an enemy, were prevented from continuing their voyage. The remonstrances of the British court, on this occasion, were spirited and severe; but the Hollanders bore them with phlegmatic indifference.

An American packet being taken near Newfoundland, the papers of Henry Laurens, a member of the congress, were examined; and they furnished evidence of the treaty which had been adjusted with the revolted colonies. The king, attributing this conduct to Van Berkel and the

Amsterdam faction, desired that it might be disavowed in form by the states-general, as it "was no less contrary to their most sacred engagements, than repugnant to the Dutch constitution." He also demanded "speedy satisfaction adequate to the offence, and the exemplary punishment of Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations." As the influence of that minister counteracted all ideas of submission to a power already assailed by a formidable confederacy, these demands were neglected; and successive memorials, presented by sir Joseph Yorke, were merely taken *ad referendum*. The ambassador was therefore recalled, after a residence of twenty-seven years in Holland; during the greater part of which period, he had enjoyed extensive influence, and had acted as a cabinet minister to the stadt-holder. His character was aspersed by the opposite party; and the friends of the prince blamed him for suffering the French ambassador to triumph over him, and lead the states-general into a war. His manners and address were not so courtly or conciliatory as those of a French diplomatist; but he had a greater share of genuine liberality, and was more upright and honorable.

A manifesto now appeared, reprobating the encouragement given by the states to the mal-practices of the Amsterdam party, and lamenting that it was impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole. Reprisals were ordered in the usual form; and the naval force of the country was diligently augmented.

Dec. 20.

The war with Holland was censured in the *new* parliament (for a dissolution had been deemed expedient, after the suppression of the riots had strengthened the authority of the crown); but the public in general did not seem inclined to admit that the ministry had wantonly extended the war. Although the people agreed with the

court in this respect, they were not pleased with the rejection of a judicious bill of retrenchment, introduced by Mr. Burke, or with the disregard shown to a petition from the delegates of those counties which had formed associations against the encroaching and increasing influence of the crown[1]. A. D. 1781.

These subjects were debated with spirit; and, on another occasion, the conduct of the court in directing military execution, at the time of the riots, excited animadversion, which was repelled with plausibility of argumentation and remark. In this debate Mr. Sheridan distinguished himself. He had already obtained a high rank among dramatists; and he now began to shine as a parliamentary speaker. At this time, indeed, he did not evince that readiness and fluency which he afterwards displayed; but he gave strong indications of oratorical ability. He exercised the weapons of argument, of wit, and of satire. His reasoning was not destitute of force; his remarks and allusions were pointed and appropriate.

The Dutch soon experienced the effects of British hostility. Their island of St. Eustatius was taken[2]; and, as it was a rich *depôt* of varied merchandise, the loss was severely felt. A general spoliation was ordered, even the property of British subjects not being spared, as it was pretended that they traded with the enemy; and by this arbitrary measure the two commanders (Rodney and

1 Mr. Adolphus styles these delegates "mock representatives of unconstitutional constituents:" but, with all his knowlege of the law and constitution, he would *find* it difficult to prove that men who had associated for the purpose of petitioning parliament were guilty of any infraction of the Bill of Rights, or any act unworthy of patriots or of freemen. He also observes, not very liberally, that Mr. Adam "*justly* stigmatised these committees for spreading baleful effects *over* the whole country."

2 This island had suffered severely, in the preceding autumn, from the violence of a hurricane; and extraordinary devastation, with a great loss of lives, arose from the same cause in Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other British islands, and also in some of the French West-Indian settlements.

Vaughan) exposed themselves to a multiplicity of law-suits, some of which were productive of decrees of restitution. The number of trading ships that were taken exceeded a hundred and fifty; but a sixth part of this fleet rewarded the vigilance of the French, who, in the preceding year, had also been fortunate in point of naval capture.

The insular settlements of St. Martin and Saba, and the continental colonies of Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerara, were likewise added to the British territories. But, in Africa, the Hollanders were able, with Gallic aid, to secure their valuable settlement at the southern cape.

The states-general were at the same time embroiled with one of the most ambitious and powerful princes of the continent,—the head of the house of Austria. The ample inheritance of Maria Theresa had descended to her son Joseph, whose promising talents, and apparent goodness of disposition, flattered his subjects with the hopes of a splendid and patriotic reign. He commenced his administration with various reforms. Without reflecting on those important differences which precluded an identity or simplification of government in his dispersed territories, he endeavoured to amalgamate them into one great body, and subject them to an uniform system. He suppressed useless tribunals and unnecessary offices, and even abolished some that were worthy of being retained. He abridged the power of the nobles, and emancipated the peasants from the rigors of feudal servitude. He released commerce from injudicious restrictions; established new manufactures; promoted agricultural industry, and encouraged the skill of artisans of every description. He framed literary and scientific institutions; and, in a great measure, gave freedom to the press. Less bigoted than his mother, he granted to all sects of Christians, and even to Jews, the free exercise of their religion; and the former were pronounced eligible to all employments.

Justly considering monasteries as too numerous, he suppressed the majority of those foundations; and, in those which were suffered to remain, he considerably diminished the number of monks and nuns [3].

In taking a view of foreign politics, he was doubtful whether he should adhere to the connexion with France: but, having formed an intention of annulling that treaty which provided for the maintenance of the Netherland barrier, and which, he thought, rendered him meanly dependent on Great-Britain and Holland, he was induced to continue on friendly terms with the court of Versailles. In a visit to his sister, he was flattered into a belief of the cordial regard of the French cabinet for his interest; and, being strongly persuaded to execute his new scheme, he ordered the towns to be dismantled, and the Dutch garrisons to retire [4].

An invasion of Jersey by the French served to evince the courage of it's defenders, who, after their foes had in a manner seised the island, engaged them in the town of St. Helier, and forced them to resign their supposed conquest. The siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards did not lead to the conclusion which they desired. Relief was repeatedly afforded to the garrison: the fortifications were diligently and skilfully repaired after all the attacks of the besiegers, whose successive works were destroyed in spirited sallies. Minorca was invaded by the troops of both powers: but the courage of the garrison delayed the surrender of the chief fortress of the island, until six months had nearly elapsed from the investment. Disease then enforced submission; and the Spanish flag was again hoisted.

An engagement with the Dutch in the British ocean,

3 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. 45.

4 In most of the towns, the fortifications were in a ruinous state, not having been repaired since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, either by the Austrians or by the Dutch.—See Part II. Letter xxiii. where the Barrier-Treaty is repeatedly mentioned.

and one with the French in the West-Indies, were the chief naval actions of the year. In the former, Hyde Parker contended against Zoutman, who, with eight sail of the line, could not, though his men fought with great spirit, defeat or repel six, and lost one of his ships in consequence of the damage which it had received. In the other conflict, sir Samuel Hood was the antagonist of the count de Grasse, who, though his fleet bore to the English squadron the proportion of four to three, and had also the advantage of the wind, kept a cautious distance, so that only the van of his opponent, and a part of the centre, could get into action. Five of Hood's ships were so injured, that the French commander seemed inclined, on the following day, to risque a close engagement; but sir Samuel made such movements as checked and disconcerted the count. In the night, the English retired, and the French pursued with more ostentation than effect. M. de Grasse afterwards sailed toward Tobago, to prevent the relief of that island; which, though bravely defended by governor Ferguson, was reduced after a course of devastation. Encouraged by this success, the admiral resolved to assist Washington in a grand scheme for the retrieval of the affairs of the republic, injured by the depreciation of paper currency, by frequent ravages and depredations, and by a decline of popular zeal.

The provincials had commenced the campaign in Carolina by a defeat of colonel Tarleton at the Cowpens; and, though they were not victorious when they engaged Cornwallis at Guildford (with as great a superiority of number as they had in the battle of Camden), they made considerable havock among his troops. That commander having advanced into Virginia, where Arnold the American then acted in the British service, they hoped to overwhelm lord Rawdon: but he routed them at Hobkirk; and colonel Stuart, meeting them at Eutaw, repelled them after a fierce contest.

The closing scene of the American war now began to open. General Washington, in several letters which fell into the hands of the English, pretended that New-York would speedily be attacked by the allies; and Clinton, anxious for the preservation of that post, suffered earl Cornwallis to remain unassisted in Virginia. The station chosen by this officer was York-town, which, as well as Glocester on the opposite banks of the York river, he fortified against a sudden attack.

A powerful army at length appeared near York-town. Washington acted as generalissimo of the united force; and the chief commanders of the French troops were the count de Rochambeau, the marquis de la Fayette, and St. Simon. The last of these officers had brought a reinforcement from the West-Indies under the convoy of M. de Grasse, who, while the troops were passing up the river James to the camp, sustained an attack from admiral Graves. The engagement was far from being general, as the French wished to avoid a collision; and it had not the effect of preventing de Grasse from blocking up the Chesapeak against British intrusion.

York and Glocester were now besieged, and a constant cannonade was kept up from batteries abounding with artillery. The garrison of each post resisted for some weeks; but, when the state of the works precluded a longer defence, Cornwallis proposed a capitulation. The troops were considered as prisoners of war, to the amount of about six thousand men; and the ships in the harbour became prizes to the French [5]. Oct. 19.

This disaster made a strong impression upon the public mind in Great-Britain. It tended to produce a general conviction of the impolicy of continuing the war, and a regret for the useless sacrifice of lives and consumption of treasure with which it's protracted course had been

5 Marshall's Life of General Washington.—London Gazette.

attended. Yet the obstinacy of the ministers seemed invincible. They were, indeed, less arrogant; but folly and prejudice were still the chief ingredients in their composition. They hoped to retain the confidence of a submissive senate; but in this respect they were disappointed; for a majority of the house of commons at length refused to support them. It was voted[6], A. D. 1782. on the motion of general Conway, that the war ought no longer to be prosecuted for the impracticable purpose of subduing the colonies.

The parliamentary tide having thus turned itself against the ministers, they reluctantly resigned their offices. The two posts which lord North had so long filled March 27. were respectively transferred to the marquis of Rockingham and lord John Cavendish. Mr. Fox succeeded lord Stormont as secretary of state for foreign affairs, while the earl of Shelburne followed the earl of Hillsborough in the home department. Lord Camden was placed at the head of the council: the duke of Grafton became keeper of the privy seal, the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance, Conway chief commander of the army, and Keppel first lord of the admiralty.

A general pacification, the repression of the influence of the crown, and the grant of the claims of Ireland, were expected from the marquis and his associates. To accelerate the first object, a negotiator was dispatched to Versailles; the second aim was promoted by several judicious statutes; and, after a due investigation of the other business, all control over Ireland was relinquished by the British legislature.

The marquis did not long enjoy his high station. He died about three months after his appointment, respected as a man of honor and integrity, and beloved for his private virtues. He was succeeded by the earl of Shelburne,

6 By a majority of 19.

who, on the resignation of lord John Cavendish, procured for Mr. William Pitt (son of the popular earl of Chatham) the post of chancellor of the exchequer.

The earl of Shelburne not having acquired the full confidence of the Whig leaders, Mr. Fox disdained to act with him; and, retiring from office, renewed his opposition to the court. This conduct, which had an air of disinterestedness, was justly imputed by the public to disappointed ambition. Mr. Fox wished for the nomination of an ostensible premier who would submit to be guided by his dictates: but his majesty did not consult that aspiring minister on the subject.

The maritime success of this period, though the dispatches of Rodney were brought while Mr. Fox was in power, was not derived from his administration; for an order had been sent for the removal of the gallant admiral from his command. Hood had been unable to prevent the reduction of St. Christopher's, which the French, however, did not gain without a considerable loss of men. After it's surrender, Rodney, Hood, and Drake, took signal vengeance on the enemy. Their fleet exceeded that of the count de Grasse in number; but all their ships could not be brought into action. Between Guadaloupe and Marie-galante, the French were drawn into an engagement by the manœuvres of Rodney; and, when a close fight had continued for five hours, his own ship and three others broke their line, gained the wind, and threw their whole fleet into disorder. Yet, for six hours and a half more, they resisted with desultory efforts; and then a confused retreat announced the triumph of their antagonists, who sent one ship to the bottom by a single broadside, took the celebrated Ville de Paris and four other ships of the line, and greatly damaged the vessels that escaped from the battle, two of which were captured in the following week. Six thousand of the vanquished (9000 by some accounts) were killed or

April 12.

wounded, and nearly one thousand of the victors. Rodney hastened with the captive count to Jamaica, where he was hailed as a deliverer; for the inhabitants had been menaced with an attack from an eventual junction of the French and Spanish fleets[7].

The defence of Gibraltar by land procured to general Eliot a reputation equal to that which Rodney had acquired by his exploits on the ocean. A formidable attack, in a new mode, required every exertion that he could make. M. d'Arçon, who was reputed a skilful engineer, had superintended the construction of ten naval batteries, or floating towers, provided with above two hundred guns, and so elaborately formed and fortified, that bombs and even red-hot balls, it was thought, would not penetrate the sides or materially injure the roof. The allied besiegers, to the number of forty thousand men, were ready to take advantage of the effect of these machines, and storm the fortress. Aided by a fierce cannonade from the land, the floating batteries fired with great regularity upon the works which defended the rock; but the garrison sustained the attack with firmness, and sent forth continued volleys of shells and balls from the morning until after midnight. From two of the battering ships flames were then seen to issue; and the alarmed Spaniards intimated their danger, to the confederate fleet in the bay, by numerous rockets. Boats were sent to take away the men; but a British flotilla advanced to obstruct the efforts of the enemy for the rescue of those unfortunate individuals. When, however, most of the other ships were in flames, the English desisted from hostility, and saved as many of their foes as they were able to relieve. All the floating machines were at length destroyed, and the confident hopes of the besiegers annihilated, particularly after lord Howe, though he had only

Sept. 13.

7 London Gazette of May 16, 1782.

thirty-four sail of the line to contend with forty-four, had increased the strength and supplied the wants of the garrison [8].

The war in India, at the same time, did not languish. The appearance of sir Eyre Coote in the Carnatic, checked the conquests and ravages of the enemy; and that commander, in the summer of the year 1781, thrice attacked, with a small force, the troops of Hyder. He drove them, on each of those occasions, from the field of battle; and, in the succeeding year, he again prevailed over the army of the Mysorean chief. Tippoo, however, continued the war, after his father's death, with unbroken spirit, and with occasional success.

Four engagements occurred between the British and French fleets in the Indian seas, after sir Edward Hughes, who commanded the former, had assisted in the reduction of Negapatam and Trincomalè. Much blood was shed in these actions, without naval capture. Suffrein found an opportunity of retaking Trincomalè, which he restored to the Dutch.

The prospect of peace was for a while obscured; but it's cheering light at length broke forth. The emperor of Germany, having contracted a partiality for France, saw with pleasure the difficulties in which Great-Britain had involved herself, and encouraged other powers to treat her with disrespect; but he thought proper to offer his mediation, as did also the unfriendly czarina. The king accepted their offers, which, however, had little influence on the treaty.

During the negotiation, the French court bestowed great attention upon the affairs of an inconsiderable state, not however undistinguished in history. For a long period, the dissensions of the aristocratic and democratic

[8] Gazettes of Nov. 7 and 16.

parties had seriously agitated the republic of Geneva. Rousseau favored the latter; but, the council having condemned his *Emile* and his *Contrat Social*, and ordered the seisure of his person, he found it expedient to abscond. The people remonstrated against the decree of arrest, and proposed a reference of the case to the general assembly. The senate and the council, on the other hand, claimed a right of with-holding from that assembly, at their discretion, any of the representations or proposals of the citizens. This and other points were contested with great bitterness of animosity. At length (in the year 1768), the popular party so far prevailed, that the right of annually electing four members of the senate, and that of remonstrating against grievances, were allowed to the citizens and burghers. The formation of a new code of law, however, continued for many years to be a ground of dispute. The aristocratic leaders were apprehensive that the privileges of the higher classes might be injured by a general improvement of legislation; and one code was therefore rejected: but they still pretended to be desirous of gratifying the people. Both parties were intemperate in their conduct; and their mutual animosity threatened serious consequences.

To the French king, the allied protector of the republic, the ruling party applied for assistance. The count de Vergennes advised Louis to maintain with a high hand his guaranty of the aristocratic government; and the court of Turin, and canton of Berne, were ready to support the same cause. The reformists sent Clavière and Du-Coudray to Versailles, to treat with the French minister, who amused them with plausible speeches, while he prepared to crush their party. Inflamed by alleged provocations, they took arms against the senate in 1781; and obtained the advantage in an insurrection; but could not procure the concessions which they desired. In a sub-

sequent commotion, they seised the town-house, intruded into the hall where the senate met, and carried off some aristocratic hostages[9].

A committee of safety, named by the democratic party, for some time administered the public affairs: but it could not be expected that a superiority which was the effect of violence, would be long borne with patience by an aristocracy so powerfully supported. An army of French, Piedmontese, and Bernese, advanced to the Leman Lake, and menaced Geneva with a vigorous attack. The popular chiefs were ordered to release and reinstate the imprisoned senators and magistrates, to deliver up all arms, and to quit the territories of the republic. To these terms they refused to agree; and a spirit of hostility seemed to animate the people. It was resolved, in a council of citizens, that the town should be defended with the utmost vigor and perseverance: but when the leaders of the party had quitted the assembly to prepare for action, those who remained re-considered the important question, and all thoughts of a resolute defence were abandoned. The hostages were released, the cannon spiked, and officers recalled from their posts. In the night, an emigration commenced; and when the Piedmontese troops marched into the city in the morning, few were found in it except the partisans of the aristocracy, or those who had not been active on either side. The town-house and magazines were seised by the invaders; and, when the French and Bernese had also entered, the citizens were disarmed, and the senate and council re-established. The three generals now adjusted, in concert with those assemblies, various political regulations, which were confirmed in a garbled meeting of national representatives. The concessions of the year 1768 were revoked: the power of the council

July 1.

Nov. 21.

[9] Histoire de Louis XVI. tome i.

was augmented: public meetings were prohibited: the people were disarmed; and foreigners were suffered to compose the garrison of the city [10].

So unwilling were the democrats to acquiesce in a settlement ordained by foreign powers, that a great number retired into Germany and the Netherlands. Above a thousand having applied for admission into Ireland, the parliament of that realm assigned lands for a colony: but, after some progress had been made in the erection of a new town, the scheme was relinquished, from the caprice or the unreasonable demands of the Genevans. The few who had landed in Ireland returned to their native country; and, indeed, of those who found refuge in other parts of Europe, the majority did not long remain in exile.

The cantons of Switzerland, were less agitated in point of politics than the Genevan state. Even in the aristocratic communities, the government was in general mildly administered; and the people seemed inclined to trust to time and chance for an improvement of their political condition. In the canton of Friburg, however, commotions arose [11] from the eagerness of the inhabitants of the district of Gruyeres to shake off the yoke of the *secret chamber*, which (says Mr. Coxe), "though not any public or responsible part of administration, was yet the concealed spring that put the wheels of government in motion." The malcontents, headed by Chenaux, endeavoured to surprise Friburg, but found the magistrates upon their guard; and on the arrival of a body of soldiers from Berne, the insurrection was easily quelled. The leader was killed in a contest with three of his accomplices, who wished to surrender him to the officers of government. By the mediation of the cantons of Berne, Lucerne, and Soleure, the obnoxious chamber was ren-

10 Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, letter 65. 11 In April, 1781.

dered less arbitrary, and the constitution less oligarchical[12].

The government of France required reform more essentially than that of the cantons. The endeavours of M. Necker for that purpose were checked by his opponents at court. He had labored with sedulous zeal to bring the expenditure within the compass of the receipts. He simplified the collection of revenues; endeavoured to clear the channels through which they passed; and systematically promoted rigid œconomy. Louis was very willing to submit to retrenchment; but his relatives were less compliant in that respect, and the courtiers were not pleased with arrangements which checked their avidity. The public in general applauded the conduct of Necker: yet some politicians, not without reason, condemned his attachment to the practice of funding, too prevalent in this country. He alleged, as an excuse, that the war could not otherwise be carried on, and that the interest of each loan would be defrayed by various retrenchments, without requiring particular imposts. In an account presented to the king, after three years of war, he stated, that the established revenues exceeded, by 425,000 pounds sterling, the ordinary annual expences of the state; and he thus provided a basis for future loans.

In the mean time, he attended to other objects of importance. He formed the plan of new assemblies, which (he says) "furnished all the provinces with paternal guides and protectors, attached the citizens to the public interest, and rendered general knowlege subservient to the advancement of national prosperity." This scheme was censured by some as too democratic; but no one, we may suppose, disapproved the efforts of the same minister for diminishing the distance, in point of comfort, between the poor and the rich, by new institutions of

12 Coxe's Travels, letter 53.

charity and beneficence, and by a reform of those which already existed [13].

The count de Maurepas did not cordially concur with the financial minister. Indolent, selfish, inattentive to the general interest, and ready to connive at abuses in every department, the aged statesmen had nearly lost the popularity with which he commenced his administration. The public did not view, with continued complacency, the great influence which he exercised over the easily-governed king; nor w his concern in the renewal of war remembered to his advantage. Comparing the zeal of Necker with the count's indifference and want of public spirit, the people wished that the former might enjoy greater power at court than the dictator allowed. Maurepas occasionally checked and discouraged the financier; with whom, likewise, Vergennes and Miromesnil were not on friendly terms. Yet, as his utility seemed to be acknowleged, he was not only suffered to retain his post, but was allowed to displace Sartine, whom he deemed an incapable naval minister, and bestow the appointment on the mareschal de Castries [14].

Intrigue and cabal at length effected the removal of Necker [15]. The brothers of Louis encouraged Bourboulon, one of their dependents, to attack his calculations and statements; and, when the punishment of this assailant for calumny had been in vain demanded by the offended minister, he resigned his employment. Maurepas, pretending not to consent to what he really desired, declared that he would not communicate the resignation to the king: but Necker requested her majesty to procure the royal assent to his retreat from public business. M. de Fleury was his successor, being recommended to the court by the cardinal de Rohan. The new financier was

13 Sur l'Administration de M. Necker, par lui-même.
14 Mémoires de Marmontel, livre xii.
15 In 1781.

more agreeable to the magistracy than Necker, whose provincial arrangements had disgusted the parliaments of the realm.

Among the French ministers, the chief promoter of peace was the count de Vergennes, who, finding that the war had ceased to be popular, and being satisfied with the emancipation of the Americans, vigorously counteracted in the cabinet the efforts of the advocates of sanguinary hostility. The original repugnance of Louis to the war may be supposed to have rendered him zealous in the same cause. No prince, indeed, more earnestly wished for peace than this benevolent and unambitious monarch.

When provisional articles had been adjusted with the American commissioners at Paris, preliminaries of peace with France and Spain were signed by Mr. Fitzherbert (afterwards lord St. Helen's), and were approved by the house of peers, but not by the commons. The definitive treaties, and even the preliminaries with Holland, were delayed above seven months from that time. The most important stipulations were of the following tenor. The thirteen colonies were declared to be "free, sovereign, and independent states;" and their limits were marked by a line drawn from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, passing toward one of the heads of the Connecticut river, thence to Lake Ontario, through the middle of that great body of water, and of the lakes Erie and Huron, to the Lake of the Woods, and thence to the Missisippi, which was to form a boundary as far to the southward as Fort Mobile and the borders of Florida. The right of taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and in the gulph of St. Laurence, was conceded to the inhabitants of the new republic; and the Missisippi, from it's source to the ocean, was left open to both nations. The loyalists were in a manner abandoned by the court which they had served; for their Jan. 20, 1783.

interests, in point of restitution of property and rights, were merely *recommended* to the provincial assemblies. The French were indulged with a restitution of Pondicheri and their other settlements in the East-Indies, of St. Lucia in the West, and of Goree in Africa. Tobago was ceded to them; and, with this exception, they consented to relinquish all the West-Indian islands which they had reduced since the commencement of the war. The Spaniards were not required to restore Minorca; and the whole territory of Florida was again subjected to their sway. They had endeavoured, during the negotiation, to prevail upon the court to resign Gibraltar: but the proposition was rejected with disdain. The treaty with the Dutch left them in possession of all their former territories, except Negapatam [16].

For some years after the close of the war, the American republic rather declined than advanced in dignity and prosperity. The congress could not maintain national credit, procure due respect from foreign powers, or enforce the submission of the different provinces to it's authority. Attentively considering this state of affairs, Mr. Washington, then a private citizen, earnestly recommended a revision of the federal system. A convention was proposed for the improvement of the confederacy: a plan which gave greater power to the congress, and rendered the provinces less independent and more connected, was adopted by the well-disposed majority; and Washington was unanimously chosen president of the United States. The influence arising from his character and reputation, added to the power which the new constitution allowed him, elevated him, on this occasion, almost to the rank of a sovereign.

In his journey from Mount-Vernon, in Virginia, to Philadelphia, he was hailed as the guardian of his country

16 Appendix to the Annual Register, vol. xxvi.

by the spectators who thronged the roads. He was escorted by persons of high character and distinction; praised in the addresses of corporations; and honored with triumphal arches. After a short indulgence in the festivities of the Pennsylvanian capital, he crossed the Delawar into New-Jersey, and proceeded to New-York, where he was inaugurated and proclaimed president. He formed his cabinet of able men; namely, Mr. Jefferson, general Knox, colonel Hamilton, and Mr. Randolph.

The republic was then at war with the savages, and had disputes with the Spaniards on the subjects of boundaries and navigation, and also with Great-Britain on supposed infractions of treaty. To put an end to the war, the president sent negotiators; but it was not before the year 1790, that the Creek barbarians would agree to a treaty. As late as the year 1794, hostilities were continued by various tribes; but general Wayne then restored peace. With the British government, it was stipulated in the same year, that the posts occupied by the subjects of our sovereign within the territories of the United States should be relinquished, and that compensation should be made for irregular naval captures: but French goods were still to be seised in American vessels; a freedom which so exasperated the French (who acrimoniously censured their old allies for submitting to it) that it required all the address of the president to prevent a war with that nation. With the Spanish court a treaty was concluded in 1795, by which the limits of dominion were settled in a satisfactory manner for the Americans, who were also gratified with the free navigation of the Missisippi [17].

The high character of the president entitles him to encomiastic notice. Judgement, fortitude, integrity, and correctness of morals, formed the chief features of his

17 Dr. Ramsay's Life of Washington, chap. 11, 12.

portrait. He pursued with undeviating steadiness what he conceived to be right; and, in the grand object of his political life, his perseverance commanded success. As a warrior, he was brave, without rashness; as a commander, cautious and vigilant; strict, without inordinate severity; humane, without facility of compliance or weakness of indulgence. As a statesman, he attended to practical advantage rather than to speculative perfection. If Great-Britain had allowed to the Americans the full benefit of her constitution, he would not have renounced her control or resisted her authority. But he knew that they had a fair claim to just government; and, for his strenuous efforts in support of that claim, his memory will never be reproached by the manly advocates of honorable freedom.

LETTER VII.

History of the Continent of Europe, from the Peace of 1783, *to the Settlement of the Affairs of Holland, in* 1787.

THE American revolution, my dear son, tended to embody that spirit of reform which had been for some time floating on the political surface of France. Even the most unreflecting inhabitants of that ill-governed kingdom could not be blind to the abuses or insensible of the grievances which prevailed. They were, in general, ready to acknowlege the good intentions of their sovereign: but they lamented that he was surrounded by men less patriotic than himself, and that he had not the spirit to resist the advice of artful courtiers. Not content with murmuring, they swelled their voices into the loudness of

clamor, and called for a participation of that liberty which they had contributed to procure for the subjects of another prince. The middle class, enlightened by free and philosophic writings, less enervated by luxury, and less depraved by profligacy, than the higher orders, and more impressed with a sense of honor and dignity than the populace, more strongly felt these sentiments than the rest of the nation. The ministers of Louis were alarmed at the growing zeal; but they flattered themselves with the hope of restraining it within reasonable limits.

In Germany, the *illuminati* had propagated a general freedom of thinking; and many of the princes of that country were disposed to mitigate the rigors of stern authority. The elector of Bavaria, influenced by the philanthropy of an American philosopher[1], promoted in various instances the accommodation and happiness of his people. He rendered his court and household less burthensome to the nation; reformed the military establishment, so as to connect the interests of the soldier with those of the citizen; improved the condition and morals of the poor; and encouraged the arts and sciences. He was sometimes seduced into acts of oppression and impolicy by designing priests, whom he suffered to harass the Protestants in the Palatinate: but this conduct arose from deficiency in judgement and in vigor of mind, rather than from ill intentions. The government of Saxony was less arbitrary than that of Bavaria; and the country more obviously flourished in every respect. Frederic Augustus, who had been elector from the year 1763, had a better understanding than Charles Theodore; was less bigoted, less indolent, and less attached to pleasure. The electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, though priests, suffered the suggestions of phi-

1 Known by the title of count Rumford.

losophy to ameliorate their respective governments. Into the Hanoverian electorate, in imitation of British maxims of polity, the regency introduced (says the baron von Riesbeck) a spirit of liberty which formed a strong contrast to the system pursued in the generality of the German states. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was more a military despot than a patriotic prince. The duke of Wirtemberg had been dissolute, prodigal, and not infrequently tyrannical; but he suddenly reformed his conduct, and acquired the esteem of his people: their affection he had not lost, even while he oppressed them. His neighbour, the margrave of Baden, was a prince of a benevolent disposition and an enlightened mind.

Joseph boldly prosecuted his career of innovation, in every department of public affairs. His ordinances of religious reform embroiled him with the court of Rome. Pius VI. could not overlook the innovations of a son of the church; but that pontiff had not the power to prevent or repress them; nor was his mental vigor adequate to the prosecution of a spirited contest. He had some capacity and knowlege, and his address and manners were pleasing: but he was not calculated to extend the triumphs or secure the prerogatives of the holy see. He seemed to think himself a great man, because he had an imposing exterior, a dignified demeanor, and specious eloquence. He had all the littleness of vanity, without the greatness of genius. His administration did not involve a redress of flagrant grievances, or an improvement of the general state of his dominions. Of avidity and rapacity he exhibited frequent instances. Nepotism, which had disappeared under Ganganelli, degraded the sway of Braschi. His prodigality disordered his finances: the debts of the apostolical chamber increased; and, though the taxes were not very heavy, the people had reason to complain of oppression. He diminished the duties levied by the great land-holders upon commodities

passing through their domains; and he encouraged some branches of art and manufacture; but he was not consistent or judicious in his schemes of this kind. His most memorable work was the draining of the Pomptine (or Pontine) marshes—an undertaking which Julius Cæsar had meditated. After some years of labor, little progress seemed to be made in the work: new inundations obstructed it's success: but the pope was not discouraged. He restored the admirable road called the Appian Way; cut canals through the morass; and rendered a considerable part fit for cultivation [2].

This great undertaking was still in progress, when the pope resolved upon a journey to Vienna[3], in the hope of restraining, by admonitions and remonstrances, the zeal of Joseph. The prohibition of applying to the court of Rome for dispensations, the grant of an exclusive control over monasteries to the bishops, the subjection of the prelates to the sole authority of the emperor, and other attacks upon the supposed rights of the papacy, had aroused the indignation of Pius, and impelled him to a personal vindication of his dignity. If he had accurately known the character of Joseph, he might have foreseen the ill success of the visit. The cardinal de Bernis exhorted him to revoke his determination, as the journey would be useless with regard to it's object, and would entail contempt on the pontifical dignity. But the pope persuaded himself, that his eloquence and the dignity of his station would have some influence over his imperial majesty: he was eager to display his zeal in the cause of catholicism, and thought, with vain self-complacency, of the enjoyment of frequent opportunities of exhibiting his elegant person, and of the veneration which the

2 Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat, chap. 7, 8, 9.

3 In February, 1782.

sanctity of his character would excite in his progress. Seven cardinals (it is said) without mutual communication, concurred in recommending the pious journey, in their respective answers to his solicitation of advice.

Having committed the government of his territories to cardinal Colonna, while Pallavicini continued to act as secretary of state, he made his will, and implored the assistance of the apostles. He was attended to his carriage by the grand duke of Russia, and escorted to Otricoli by his nobles. Visiting Loretto, he added to the wealth of the shrine; and, when he had passed through the Venetian dominions, he was received at Goritz by count Cobenzel and a train of Austrians. The emperor and the archduke Maximilian met him at Neukirchen, and conducted him in pompous procession to Vienna, where he was splendidly lodged and sumptuously entertained. He courted Joseph by flattery, but could not subdue his inflexibility. Having gladdened the hearts of the populace by frequent benedictions, he took leave of the court, and repaired to Munich, where the elector treated him with reverential regard. He returned by the way of Venice, and re-entered Rome at a time when the high price of the necessaries of life rendered the government unpopular. His fruitless and expensive journey became the subject of ridicule and invective; and, while he was assailed with bitter pasquinades, he was incensed at the continued reforms of the emperor, who even presumed to style himself "supreme guardian of the church and administrator of it's temporalities[4]."

In return for the honor of this visit, Joseph undertook a journey to Rome, and suddenly presented himself, in a military uniform, at the door of the pope's apartment. The surprise was not disagreeable to the pontiff; but the

4 Mémoires sur Pie VI. chap. 11, 12, &c.

result of this and other interviews did not shake the firm purpose of the Austrian potentate, who wished to make the church a branch of the state.

Pius had also been involved in disputes with the courts of Berlin and Petersburg. Frederic wished that the Jesuits in Silesia, and in his portion of Poland, might remain on the same footing as before the dissolution of their order. To this indulgence the pope would have had no objection, if the French and Spanish courts had not remonstrated against it. He required that they should relinquish the habit of their fraternity, and should be restricted in point of preaching and of sacramental administration; and the king acquiesced in these points, on condition of their remaining embodied. The czarina having permitted the Jesuits of White Russia to take novices, his holiness complained of this disobedience to the bull of suppression. The dispute long continued; but, as Catharine deemed it a point of honor to protect the persecuted fraternity, she prevailed over the opposition of the allied catholic courts.

That princess (you may thus observe) did not neglect the concerns of religion: but she paid greater attention to politics. Her present views were directed to the acquisition of the Crimea. She had fomented disturbances in that country, and encouraged one competitor against another. Souvoroff, who commanded a division of her troops, posted near Prekop, marched against the adherents of Dowlat Gherai, and put them to flight without a battle. That prince hastened to Constantinople; and Sahem was proclaimed khan. The Russian general was afterwards stationed at Kopyl, near the Black Sea; and he extended his lines along the right bank of the Cuban. He obtained a more important command on the return of prince Prosorowski to Petersburg; for he succeeded that general in the task of encroaching on the peninsula. The grand signor, considering the conduct of the Russians as a

breach of treaty, sent an army into Moldavia, and a fleet into the Euxine. His admiral protested against the continuance of the czarina's troops in the Crimea, and of her ships in a sea which was exclusively subject to the Porte. Souvoroff alleged, that his mistress had been requested by the Tartars to aid them with a military force, and that her fleet merely cruised for the protection of the army. The sultan was not satisfied with this vindication; but, as he wished on farther reflexion to avoid a war, he acquiesced (as I hinted in a former letter) in the sovereignty of the new khan. Souvoroff was then sent to Astracan, to observe the state of Persia, where different chieftains contended for pre-eminence. As no opportunity of a fortunate expedition seemed to present itself, he removed to Casan, where he commanded when new commotions arose in the Crimea. The life of Sahem was so endangered by the success of the insurgents, that he left his capital, and fled across the sea of Azoph to a Russian fortress. His elder brother seised the sovereignty: but the usurper was soon deposed by the Moscovites; and Mohammed Gherai, the leader of the insurrection, was stoned to death. Sahem resumed his power, only for the purpose of abdication. He pretended that he resigned his authority from his own free will: but this assertion was not strictly true. His renunciation, which was the effect of Russian influence and terror, was followed by the seisure of the principality and the subjugation of the Nogay Tartars[5].

This important acquisition of territory was announced to the world in a manifesto, stating the danger to which the Russian frontiers were exposed by the restless disposition of the Tartars, and by their inability of making a proper use of the independence conceded to them; and asserting the expediency, for the prevention of con-

5 Histoire des Campagnes du Comte Alexander Suworow Rymnikski, tome i. chap. 5, 6.

stant discord with the Porte, of annexing to the czarina's dominions the peninsula of Crim Tartary, the Cuban province, and the isle of Taman. The Porte remonstrated against this usurpation, and threatened war: but the Russians defeated the Nogays (whom Sahem, repenting of his resignation, had persuaded to take arms in his cause), and intimidated the grand signor into forbearance. A treaty was signed, by which the empress secured her acquisitions. Her ambition A.D. 1784. was farther gratified by a transfer of the homage of some of the Georgian and Circassian princes from the Porte to Russia[6].

Catharine had been supported by Joseph in her views of territorial aggrandisement. He had a strong desire of extending his dominions, though they were already too extensive to be properly governed by him. The decline of the Turkish power seemed to offer a favorable prospect; and, that he might with the aid of Russia take advantage of the weakness of the Porte, he had adjusted with the empress a secret convention of close alliance, before her troops seised the Crimea. It was now his turn to receive an accession of territory: but Catharine was far from being so ready to assist him as she was to serve herself; and the French court, jealous of his views, threatened to excite a formidable confederacy against him, if he should presume to encroach on the Turkish dominions. This menace awed him into forbearance.

The distance of the Netherlands from the Austrian duchy, and from the Bohemian and Hungarian realms, rendered an exchange of those provinces for Bavaria a desirable measure; and Joseph prevailed on the elector to consent to his gratification in that respect. He also procured the assent of France to the measure; but his great adversary on this occasion was the king of Prussia,

6 Tooke's Life of Catharine, vol. iii.

A. D. 1785. who, aware of the advantage which the house of Austria would derive from the exchange, in point of territorial connexion and compactness, resolved to oppose it with spirit, and, by expatiating on the arbitrary views of the emperor, diffused among the German princes a general alarm. Under his auspices, a league

July 23. was concluded for the maintenance of the indivisibility and independence of the Germanic body[7]. The electors of Saxony and Mentz, the king of Great-Britain in his electoral capacity, the duke of Deux-Ponts, and other princes, concurred in this confederacy; and the states-general readily adopted the same cause. This opposition deterred Joseph from his purpose, which he relinquished with sullen discontent[8].

In the views which he entertained to the prejudice of the Dutch, the emperor was not altogether so unfortunate, as he obtained some points by waving others. His violation of the barrier-treaty had been followed by encroachments on the Dutch territories, and by various pretensions and demands, which the republic opposed as vexatious and unjust. While the plenipotentiaries of the two governments were negotiating, Joseph promised to relinquish his other claims, if the states-general would permit the navigation of the Schelde to be opened, and consent to the prosecution of a direct commerce between his Netherland subjects and the Dutch settlements in the East-Indies. No such permission or consent were the states inclined to grant; and, when two vessels attempted to pass, one up the river, and the other down, they were instantly seised by the Hollanders[9]. Joseph sent an army to avenge the insult; and the states, secretly encouraged by Frederic, made preparations for their defence.

7 His chief minister Hertzberg, who zealously promoted this league, informs us, that the first hint of it came from the prince of Prussia, Frederic William.

8 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. 47.

9 In October, 1784.

These disputes were prevented, by the interposition of the French court, from rising into a war. Louis wished to repress the ambition of his brother-in-law, and to strengthen his own interest in Holland, where the republican party (which he supported against the stadt-holder) began to prevail over the court. He therefore menaced Joseph with his resentment, if he should persist in his aims. The emperor so far yielded to the king's remonstrances, as to relinquish the grand point respecting the Schelde; and a treaty was at length adjusted, by which he obtained a pecuniary grant in lieu of one of his territorial claims, a small sum to indemnify his subjects who had suffered injury from the inundations made by the Dutch, and an inconsiderable extension of the boundaries of the Netherlands[10]. Nov. 8.

The count de Vergennes, by whose policy this treaty was promoted, also advised Louis to form a close alliance with the states-general. It was accordingly stipulated, that the king, in case of any act of aggression against the Dutch, should assist them with an army consisting of twelve thousand men, and a fleet composed of twelve sail of the line and six frigates, or, in a dangerous crisis, with his whole force; that, in ordinary cases, either six thousand men, or an equivalent sum of money, should be sent by the states to the aid of France, and, on extraordinary occasions, a greater number, but not more than twenty-four thousand men; and that, in a naval war in which neither party should be concerned, the liberty of the seas should be guarantied to each. Nov. 10.

The king of Prussia did not oppose this alliance, though he disapproved the views of France with regard to the

10 Coxe's History of the House of Austria.—History of the Revolution of 1787 in the Dutch Republic.

The promised money amounted to ten millions of florins (about eight hundred and ninety-five thousand five hundred pounds sterling), four-tenths of which sum were to be paid by the French court.

state of parties in Holland. This prince now approached the end of his life. He had for some years been troubled with occasional fits of the gout: and he was frequently harassed by a difficulty of digestion. On his return from a review in Silesia, soon after the conclusion of the treaty of Germanic alliance, he caught cold from exposure to heavy rain, and was seised with a fever, of which he long felt the effects. It was succeeded by a violent cough, which weakened his frame, but did not prevent him from attending with his usual diligence to affairs of state. Before five o'clock in the morning, he constantly gave audience to one of his secretaries, and dictated letters on foreign concerns. Another secretary then entered, with whom he adjusted points of internal government. With a third minister, he discussed military arrangements.

On one of these occasions, the secretary fell dead at his feet in presenting a paper to him. The king, thus reminded of his own fate, did not seem shocked at the accident, but coolly ordered the body to be removed, sent for another secretary, and continued his labors.

When he had been thus employed for three hours, and had even answered letters received from the meanest of his subjects, he used to give instructions to the commandant of Potzdam and other officers. His health was the next object of consideration; and, although he had no high opinion of medical aid, he daily consulted some eminent professors of the healing art. He then conversed with select friends, in an easy and familiar manner. He dined alone; and, after signing the letters and other papers which he had dictated in the morning, re-enjoyed the pleasures of society. Before he retired to rest, the works of the ancients were read to him.

Such were his daily occupations, during his last illness, even to the day which immediately preceded his death. While the tomb seemed ready to open for his feeble body, the strength and activity of his mind embraced

every useful object, and allowed him still to perform the duties of a king.

He began to despair of his recovery, when an habitual nocturnal perspiration ceased. A difficulty of breathing followed; and in this state he passed the winter. In the spring, his indisposition increased. Hydropic symptoms at length appeared; and, as he could A. D. 1786. no longer breathe in bed, he was obliged to take rest in an arm-chair. When his legs were alarmingly swollen, he desired that incisions might be made in the skin, with a view of allaying the pain which he felt. The surgeon having objected to the operation, as dangerous, the right leg soon discharged a great quantity of matter; and, while the courtiers conceived hopes from this effort of nature, the physicians formed a different opinion. The weakness of their patient was now extreme: he lost his appetite; and, when he had lingered in this state for three weeks, he exhibited signs of approaching death. After he had been for many hours in a lethargic state, Engel touched his legs, and found them cold. With a faltering voice, he asked what this surgeon thought of his legs. The answer was, that they remained in the same state. He shook his head, and spoke unintelligibly. From this time, his respiration gradually became weaker; and he died without apparent agony[11]. Aug. 17.

In his will, which bore the date of 1769, he requested that his wife might receive from his successor an annual addition of ten thousand crowns to her jointure. "She has never (said he) given me any cause of uneasiness or complaint, and deserves respect, attachment, and esteem." After assigning various legacies, he adds, "These are the little savings of œconomy out of the public treasure: they properly belong to the state."—"To be a *king*," he

11 Vie de Frédéric, Roi de Prusse, tome iv.

afterwards observes, "is an adventitious distinction. Never forget, my dear nephew, that you are a *man*."

This monarch was equal to any of the princes of his time in sagacity and abilities, and superior to most of them in the arts of war and government. He had a spirit of philosophy, which enabled him to perceive causes and foresee consequences; and, when he had formed his plans with judgement, he could prosecute them with decision and energy. He was prompt to take advantage of every favorable circumstance; and, if good fortune seemed to desert him, he could extricate himself from danger by opportune expedients and artful contrivances, and could find resources in every emergency. Like Antæus, he seemed to rise strengthened after every fall; but he did not, like that fabled hero, suffer his enemies to strangle or destroy him when he had risen. His ambition and rapacity may justly be blamed; but, when the fervor of his youth had abated, he endeavoured, with studious zeal, to repair the evils which his fondness for war had occasioned, and, in the case of Poland, to atone for the injustice of territorial seisure by introducing a more regular and settled government than that which had subsisted before the partition. He was still a despot in peace as well as in war[12]; but he checked the tyranny of the nobles, dispensed justice to all ranks, encouraged learning and science, promoted industry and general im-

12 Dr. Gillies is so partial to his hero, that he will not allow the government to have been despotic under this prince. It is difficult, however, to conceive a more complete despotism. *Frederic* softened it by attending to the welfare and accommodation of his subjects: but he did not the less consider himself as their master. The writer represents the regular convocation of the provincial states to give advice to the king, as a proof of the limitation of the monarchical power: but he thought himself at full liberty either to accept or disregard the advice which they humbly offered him. They gave him information, when he expressed a wish for it: they suggested hints, which he might reject from caprice, or adopt from a conviction of expediency. Augustus was still a despot, when he flattered the senators, and preserved the forms of the republic. Slaves are better treated by some masters than by others: but they are still slaves.

provement. His character, in point of religion, was that of a free-thinker. Indeed, he not only disbelieved and derided Christianity, but was disposed to deny the existence of a Deity. His court was at once a school of philosophy and a seat of impiety.

He was succeeded by his nephew Frederic William, who was then in the maturity of his age, having nearly completed his forty-second year. The father of the new king was William Augustus, who was unequal in abilities to his renowned brother, but was more agreeable in his manners, and more amiable in his character. "Unlike Frederic (says Mr. Wraxall) he manifested a decided passion for the pleasures of women; and his gallantries were no less public than they were numerous." His death was accelerated by the harsh treatment which he received from his unfeeling brother, who, because the prince was not sufficiently active in the campaign of 1757, told him that he deserved to lose his head, and contemptuously dismissed him from the military service[13].

Frederic William had been obliged to pass through the subordinate ranks of the army to the dignity of a general. Implicit obedience, and a strict attention to discipline, had been as much expected from him as from the meanest soldier; but, by his punctuality and patience in this drudgery, or by his subserviency in other respects, he had not acquired the esteem of the royal warrior, who testified an unfavorable opinion of his abilities, and treated him with reserve and neglect. He did not, therefore, very poignantly regret the loss of his uncle.

The first acts of his reign were pleasing to his subjects. He gave his confidence to Hertzberg and other able statesmen; reformed some abuses; alleviated the burthen of taxation; paid the debts which he had contracted before his accession; distributed money among

[13] Wraxall's Memoirs, letter vi.

the indigent; removed those restrictions to which commerce, even by Frederic, had been unwisely subjected; and diligently attended to all the concerns of government. But he did not long continue thus to act. Indolence, and love of pleasure, diverted him from public duties; and he quickly lost the reputation which he was beginning to acquire[14].

Prince Henry advised the king to pursue the system of his predecessor, and aim at detaching France from the Austrian connexion: but, apprehending that the prince wished to rule at court, he treated him with coolness, and neglected his counsels. Hertzberg preserved his influence for a time, but did not expect long to retain it.

The affairs of the United Provinces appeared sufficiently interesting, even to the indolent and voluptuous monarch, to excite his occasional attention. He was earnestly desired by his sister, the princess of Orange, to exert himself in the cause of her husband, and prevent the French from domineering in Holland; and Hertzberg concurred in recommending his interference.

The success of the Americans, in shaking off the British yoke, had stimulated the zeal of a powerful party among their Dutch allies, to make the constitution more decidedly republican than the authority of the stadt-holder allowed it to be. In arguing against the impolicy of submitting to the sway of one man, the leaders of this party were obliged to discuss the origin of government, and refer to the rights of the people; and an opportunity was thus afforded to inferior individuals for the assertion of popular claims, and the formation of a democratic party, not altogether agreeing with the aristocratic opposers of the prince of Orange. Both, however, concurred in the grand object of weakening the power of the stadt-holder,

14 Histoire des principaux Evenemens du Regne de Frederic Guillaume II. Roi de Prusse, par L. P. Ségur.

whose conduct during the war was supposed to have been prejudicial to the interest of the republic.

Three men of talents, weight, and spirit, headed the aristocratic party. These were the pensionaries of Amsterdam, Dordrecht, and Haarlem—van Berkel, Gyzlaar, and Zeebergen,—to whom the rhingrave of Salm, an intriguing adventurer, had strongly attached himself. Van Bleiswyk, the grand pensionary of Holland, was so fully under the influence of van Berkel, that, although considerably superior in official dignity, he was comparatively insignificant. Prince Louis of Brunswick, being still the chief adviser of the stadt-holder, was particularly obnoxious to these confederates, who therefore aimed at his removal from the territories of the republic. Complaints of his arbitrary proceedings and improper advice were loudly repeated; and it was discovered that William, when his minority ceased, had promised to the field-marshal, as an inducement to his continuance at court, constant protection, and support against eventual allegations and charges. The states of Holland and Friseland stigmatised this promise as unconstitutional; and the former assembly prohibited the troops from obeying prince Louis, who was also personally excluded from the province. The states of Utrecht having pronounced a similar vote, he resigned his trust, and, taking advantage of the pretext offered for his retreat by the rupture between the Dutch and the emperor, quitted a country in which for thirty-three years[15] he had enjoyed a commanding influence. Retiring to Aix-la-Chapelle, he gratified his inclination for military parade by attending the reviews of the imperial troops. It was afterwards reported by his enemies, that he had conspired to betray Maestricht into the hands of the emperor. The rhingrave of Salm alleged, that the king of Prussia had informed

15 From the death of William IV. in 1751, to 1784.

him of the intended treachery: but when the affair was investigated, no proof of such a plot could be discovered[16].

The spirit of reform was, at this time, particularly active in the province of Utrecht. Many of the inhabitants of the capital and other towns, deeming the formation of the senate or council too aristocratic, proposed that the members should be chosen by the burghers at large: but neither the senate nor the stadt-holder would accede to this demand. At Utrecht, the contest was warmly maintained; and Ondaatje, the democratic leader, was committed to prison upon a charge of sedition. The council of Amersfort, still more imperious than that of Utrecht, desired the states of the province to procure from the prince of Orange the immediate aid of troops, for the repression of popular turbulence. A committee of the states having applied in the name of the whole assembly, William, too readily, sent a body of horse and foot to Amersfort. This measure, being considered as unnecessarily violent, excited a general alarm, and produced strong remonstrances from different states of the union[17].

The senate of Utrecht, affecting moderation, authorised some of it's members to frame regulations of reform, in concert with delegates named by the citizens. Provisional articles were drawn up, and submitted to public inspection: but the senate did not seem disposed to carry them into effect. A promise of compliance was given: it was soon retracted; and the burghers were threatened with military coercion. The firmness of the latter, however, procured from the council a confirmation of the new ordinances. Still the scheme was not executed; and

16 History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces, from the year 1780, to the Commencement of Hostilities in June 1787; sections 3 and 4.—History of the Revolution of 1787 in the Dutch Republic, sect. 2, 3.

17 History of the United Provinces, sect. 4.

the delay so incensed the democratic party; that recourse was had to means of intimidation. The burghers, appearing under arms, degraded thirty of the senators, and elected new members, who swore to the observance of the recent regulations. The provincial states, offended at these bold proceedings, adjourned their meeting to Amersfort[18].

In the mean time, the prince's opponents in the province of Holland were not inattentive to what they considered as the interest of the republic. By the medium of M. de Maillebois, who, during the contest with the emperor, had been sent from France, with the acquiescence of the stadt-holder, to command the Dutch army, they proposed the formation of a new military board; and, when this scheme had been rejected by a committee of the states-general, because it encroached on the authority of the council of state, their efforts were eagerly directed to the revival of those armed associations among the burghers, which had been deemed necessary during the war, and were now declared to be useful for the prevention of tumults. The spirit of arming, thus encouraged, spread through the chief towns of Holland, Over-Yssel, Groningen, and Utrecht; and the states of the first of those provinces voted, that guards should do duty at the Hague, and that the council of deputies should issue orders for this purpose. The stadt-holder protested, without effect, against a resolution which derogated from his military authority. He soon after repaired to Breda; while the princess, turning a deaf ear to all proposals tending, on pretence of allowing her a high degree of power, to disunite her from her husband, retired into Friseland. In this province, the majority of the regents voted a memorial to the prince, reprobating the ambitious aims of his adversaries[19].

18 Mémoire de M. Caillard sur la Révolution d'Hollande, publié par Ségur.

19 History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 2.

The views of the French were now turned to India, where, they thought, the power of the Dutch might be rendered subservient to a great diminution of that of Britain. The duke de Choiseul, with that intent, had proposed a close union between the French and Dutch East-India companies, not long after the peace of Paris; but the scheme had been relinquished as unseasonable. Van Berkel now endeavoured to carry it into effect. He proposed, that the company should send to the East-Indies about three thousand soldiers; but the directors, pleading poverty, refused to agree to the proposal, and prepared a memorial, requesting the permission of the states-general for a new loan, to provide for those expences which the war with Britain had rendered them unable to defray. Instead of attending to the memorial, the states-general, influenced by the pensionary, declared that the distress of the company was the consequence of directorial mismanagement, and therefore voted that a board of control should be nominated by the states of Holland. The directors, at first, strongly opposed this measure, but were prevailed upon to agree to it with some modifications. The French party advised, that an armament should be immediately sent out, and the charges be defrayed out of the revenues of the province of Holland; that an alliance should be negotiated with the sultan Tippoo and other princes; and that the chief English settlements should be at once attacked by the confederates. This scheme, however, was too serious and important to be hastily adopted. Even among those who were disaffected to the stadt-holder, many began to be jealous of the increasing influence of France, and to disapprove the dangerous projects of Gallic ambition. This jealousy prompted the major part of the council of Amsterdam to gratify the prince with an acknowlegement of his right to the command of the garrison at the Hague. The minority, however, protested against it; and, being

supported by the associations or *free corps*, prevailed over the less resolute majority. It was ordered by the states of Holland, that no military honors should be paid to the prince at the Hague; and his arms were effaced from the colors of the guards[20].

A renewed promise of support was now received from France; and M. de Verac was, at the same time, desired to present a memorial to the states-general, intimating that Louis would neither trouble himself with the internal disputes of the republic, nor suffer any other prince or state to interfere. The British envoy, in a spirited memorial, disclaimed all intentions of improper interference, but expressed an anxious wish that the "government should be preserved in those hands to which it had been intrusted by the constitution, and founded on principles established by the unanimous consent of the nation." To this memorial a respectful answer was proposed to be given; and the assembly, in opposition to the states of Holland, voted that the legion commanded by the rhingrave of Salm should be disbanded.

The conduct of the states-general alarmed the three pensionaries, who called upon the associations to come forward, and resolved to preserve the legion as a provincial corps. The death of the great Frederic, which occurred at this crisis, did not tend to retard their operations. From an unwillingness to embroil himself with the French court, he had recommended moderation to the stadtholder's party; but the new king was more disposed to act in defence of the dignity of his sister, and in support of the prince's claims. Van Berkel, however, hoped to intimidate Frederic William by boasting of the expected aid of France for the patriotic cause.

In the province of Guelderland, the towns of Hattem and Elburg shook off the yoke of the stadt-holder, at

20 History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 4.

the instigation of Gyzlaar: but they did not long remain independent. General Sprengelen was preparing to invest the former, when the free corps retired from it; and, with equal ease, he took possession of the latter. A bold attack was soon after made upon the authority of the prince by the states of Holland. Having procured an order from the states-general for the removal of twelve regiments into that province, they ventured to suspend him from the office of captain-general, and put the military departments into commission[21].

The French court directed M. de Rayneval to propose terms of accommodation: but the conditions were incompatible with the prince's pretensions, and his desire of continued power. He therefore rejected them without hesitation, trusting to the aid of Great-Britain and Prussia. From Sir James Harris he received assurances of vigorous support; and count Gortz, who was deputed from Berlin to negotiate, was equally lavish of professions and promises.

A. D. 1787. The influence of the prince's adversaries in the assembly of the states of Holland did not prove sufficient to procure the adoption of two proposals, one of which tended to make the members responsible to the people for their conduct, while the other related to the occupancy of the Hague by the rhingrave's legion. Another question was productive of long debates. The magistrates, of different towns and provinces, had entered into a public confederacy, and had named a committee for the prosecution of every object connected with the government of the country and the general interest; and many of the inhabitants of Amsterdam, with the same professed view, had called for an extraordinary commission of inquiry. It was now proposed, in the meeting of the states, that fifteen members of that body should

21 History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 4.—History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces, sect. 5 and 6.

be empowered to investigate and ascertain the just prerogatives of the stadt-holder; but, after a protracted discussion, his opponents could not obtain such a committee as they wished.

Vigorous measures were deemed necessary by the party for the reparation of declining credit. The establishment of a paramount authority in Amsterdam being an object of the highest concern, spirited attempts were made to procure a majority in the council. The burghers, surrounding the town-house, enforced by clamor the resignation of nine members, and the appointment of successors friendly to the cause of the pensionaries. At Rotterdam similar steps were taken; and, by these and other measures the party recovered it's ascendency in the states of Holland.

In the province of Utrecht, the collision was more violent, as the adherents of the court were less submissive. The states at Amersfort retracted their promise of accepting the mediation of the rest of the provinces, and resumed an air of boldness and defiance. Irritated by this conduct, the senate of Utrecht ordered, that the quota of revenue, payable by the citizens, should no longer be at the disposal of the seceding states. This prohibition was so resented, that troops were put in motion for the siege of the city. The states of Holland resolved to support the senate by military aid; and, when the states-general had decreed, that no troops should march from one province to another without the consent of the representative assembly of the latter, only a limited acquiescence was given, dependent on the forbearance of all hostile operations by the soldiery of one province against the inhabitants of another, even with the concurrence of the states [22].

The conduct of the court precipitated hostilities. The

22 History of the United Provinces, sect. 6.

count d'Efferen was ordered by the stadt-holder, with the consent of the assembly of Amersfort, to seise the posts of Vreeswyk and Jutphaas. A detachment of the burghers of Utrecht, advancing to obstruct this seisure, received the fire of the count's party, but soon put the enemy to flight. The states of Holland now sent troops to garrison those posts, and defend Utrecht; and, on the other hand, speedy assistance was solicited by the Amersfort leaders from the rest of the provinces.

May 9.

While the two parties were thus inflamed, a riot arose at Amsterdam, where thirty-three thousand persons had signed an address to the states, in support of the prince's authority. The ship-builders and other workmen, instead of waiting the effect of this application, patroled the streets in a disorderly manner, insulted those passengers who favored the republican cause, and wounded some of them with various weapons, but were at length routed. A scene of pillage ensued, many of the houses of both parties being plundered by different divisions of the populace. The armed burghers now appeared; and an attack was made, both with cannon and musquets, on those who had commenced the riot. Lives were lost on both sides, and some of the rioters were judicially punished.

As officers in a regular army are frequently more disposed to obey their chief commander than the legislative assembly by which they are supported, the major part had refused to side with the states of Holland; and almost two-thirds of the common soldiers were now found to be equally refractory. General Van Ryssel diligently strove to check this courtly propensity; and the remaining troops were assisted by the spirit of the volunteers and armed burghers. Five delegates, stationed at Woerden, were not only authorised to superintend the affairs of the army, but to exercise every branch of executive power.

If the republic had been left to itself, the stadt-holder would, in all probability, have been reduced to submission, notwithstanding his influence over the army: but, as Great-Britain and Prussia had so peremptorily interfered, the pensionaries had no hope of success without military aid from France. To that court, therefore, they made frequent applications; but the replies were unsatisfactory. One answer was, that the French could only interfere with propriety, when desired by the representatives of the republic; and that the party had not yet acquired a preponderance in the states-general. Another was, that Louis would join Frederic William and his Britannic majesty in the work of mediation.

The intriguing spirit of the English ambassador was now exerted with considerable effect. He wished to lead the king of Prussia into immediate hostilities; and, with that view, advised the princess of Orange to repair to the Hague, and take an active part in support of the stadt-holder. He thought it not improbable, either that she might be stopped in her journey, or that, if she should be suffered to pass, the populace of the Hague might be influenced, by her appearance and the arts of her emissaries, to rise in defence of the stadt-holder's authority. The opposite party fell into the snare, contrived by diplomatic craft. The princess was stopped, near Schoonhoven, by a detachment of burghers: and, after a short detention, being debarred from pursuing her intended journey, she returned to Nimeguen [23]. June 28.

This insult aroused the indignation of the Prussian monarch, who declared that he considered the offence as committed against himself, and ordered the baron de Thulemeyer to demand complete reparation from the states of Holland. The requisition, being twice evaded, was repeated in a firm tone; and even the French recom-

23 Histoire du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, par Ségur, chap. 4.

mended an apology to the princess, to avert or delay the hostilities of Prussia. No satisfaction being given, the duke of Brunswick began his march toward the Dutch frontiers with eighteen thousand men.

The king of France was willing to gratify the republican party with all the aid that he could afford without engaging in war; and, therefore, still exhorted the leaders to aim at an accommodation. The count de Vergennes was more disposed than his master to enter with zeal into the cause of the Dutch patriots; and, after the death of that minister, the count de Montmorin advised the equipment of an army. The marechal de Ségur, minister of war, repeatedly applied for the pecuniary means of forming a camp at Givet; but the archbishop of Toulouse studiously delayed the decision of the council on this subject, pretending that the menace of arming would be sufficient to intimidate the court of Berlin. M. Barthelemy, however, plenipotentiary at the court of London, announced that succours would be given to the Dutch; and upon that intimation, Great-Britain prepared a fleet and embodied an army.

Sept. 16.

Before this delusive declaration was made, the states of Holland consented to write to the princess an apologetic letter; but the baron de Thulemeyer had already been ordered to present a note, requiring, beside an humble and explicit apology, the exemplary punishment of the republican leaders, and threatening an invasion of Holland, if a satisfactory answer should not be given within four days. At a meeting of the states, Van Berkel declared that this note was too insulting to deserve consideration; and it was merely resolved, that two deputies should be sent to Berlin to explain every circumstance connected with the interruption of the journey meditated by the princess[24].

24 History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 5.

Finding, from the report of officers sent to reconnoitre the camp of Givet, that all apprehensions of the march of a French army were groundless, the duke of Brunswick put his troops in motion, on the receipt of the last answer from Holland. From the dryness of the summer, the inundations to which the adverse party had recourse were not effectual; and, from the choice of a commander on whom no dependence could be placed, the city of Utrecht, which might have been defended for a considerable time, was given up without a blow. Other defensible towns were taken with equal facility; and the partisans of the stadt-holder prognosticated rapid and complete success.

The states-general, pleased at the progress of the Prussians, supported the prince's cause by some spirited resolutions; and the states of Holland, despairing of the accomplishment of their schemes, annulled all votes prejudicial to his interest. The free corps at the Hague being disbanded, the populace, more courtly than republican, gave way to riotous exultation. William gladly re-appeared in the seat of his former power; and the princess afterwards made her public entry, in a carriage drawn by women.

Hostilities, however, did not immediately cease. As it was still supposed that the French court would send some assistance, the republican chiefs, with a view of obtaining better terms, resolved to make a stand at Amsterdam. The avenues to that city were rendered as inaccessible as partial inundations and various modes of defence could make them; and the chevalier de Ternant, an officer of merit, was intrusted with the command of the garrison. But the troops, consisting chiefly of free corps, were not in a high state of discipline, or habituated to strict obedience; and the commandant was in some degree fettered by the authority of the council and the will of the citizens. The duke of Brunswick, on the other hand, was the uncon-

trolled director of that regular piece of mechanism, a Prussian army.

The only practicable approaches were by six roads running along dykes; and the defences formed three parts of a circle from the north-east to the south-west, while the inlet called the Y secured the town on the northern side. A very important post was the Half-Wegen Sluys, which connected the lake of Haarlem with the Y. This was well fortified in point of works, but had not a sufficient garrison. About eight hundred men, being sent in boats at night to the back of this post, made a fierce attack on it's surprised occupants, and soon reduced it. The station of Amstelveen was so strong in front, that an assault upon that part seemed hopeless. The duke, however, made preparations to attack it in person, while a detachment, passing upon a branch of the lake, approached the rear. The latter corps, having stormed a battery and seven traverses, halted near the village. An entrenchment in front was quickly forced by the duke; but, in assaulting another, he was exposed to an incessant cannonade in various directions for four hours, while he waited for the arrival of the detachment, which had been stopped by mistake of orders. When the long-expected division renewed it's operations, the village was forced, and the whole post taken. Other assaults were made on the same morning; but the decisive success of the enemy occurred at Half-Wegen and Amstelveen. The unaccountable neglect of the lake of Haarlem by the Hollanders principally occasioned the duke's speedy triumph [25].

Oct. 1.

Small loss was sustained on the side of the Prussians, if that account be true which limits the number of slain to one hundred and fifty-four. It does not appear that the loss was much greater on the part of the Dutch. The

25 Mémoire de M. Caillard—History of the Dutch Revolution, sect. 5.

citizens evinced great humanity in their treatment of the wounded Prussians, who, in return, feelingly acknowleged the obligation.

The consternation of the magistrates and citizens led to an agreement of surrender. The representatives of the town made their appearance at the Hague, in the provincial assembly, and gave their assent to the recent votes of the states. After some delay, a capitulation was signed, by which the three pensionaries, their bold associate Visscher, and thirteen other individuals, were precluded from ever acting in the public service. Gyzlaar and some others of the party retired from a country which they considered as enslaved: Van Berkel and Zeebergen were among those who remained. Many other persons, disaffected to the stadt-holder, were removed from official stations in the different provinces: not only former prerogatives were restored, but new powers were granted to him; and each of the provincial assemblies guarantied the whole government of the republic.

The triumph of the stadt-holder evinced the decline of the French interest: it also proved that the spirit of the court was at a low ebb. If Louis had acted with the vigor of some of his brave and resolute ancestors, the king of Prussia would have relinquished the contest.

To the interior affairs of France I now call your attention. That kingdom visibly labored under various disorders. The government was unsteady, vacillating from one system to another, or rather influenced by no regular system or well-digested plan. The burthens of the war were still felt: public credit was at a low ebb: many grievances, even under a patriotic monarch, called for redress; commerce and the arts languished; and discontent pervaded the realm. The state of the finances occasioned much discussion, both in the cabinet and throughout the country; and the uneasiness arising from

this source was aggravated by the failure of the Caisse d'Escompte, a bank instituted in 1776, which had acquired sufficient credit for it's stock to rise above par. The inconvenience of this failure was, indeed, soon remedied; and all financial embarrassments might have been gradually removed by circumspect deliberation and enlightened policy; but the ministry did not display that wisdom or judgement which the case required.

While the count de Vergennes (who, after the death of Maurepas in 1781, enjoyed the chief confidence of Louis) directed foreign affairs, M. de Calonne succeeded d'Ormesson in the management of the finances[26]. The queen's interest procured for him an appointment not very desirable at such a conjuncture. He had acted with ability as a solicitor and advocate in some provincial councils and parliaments, and afterwards as an *intendant*; and was supposed to be well acquainted with the constitution, laws, and interests of France. He was, however, more attached to pleasure than to business. He was agreeable in his manners, not strict in his morals; lively, insinuating, and eloquent; quick, bold, and resolute. His friends, particularly the fair sex, pretended to foretell that he would soon restore order to the finances, supply all deficiencies of revenue, and make the state flourish. Not such was the general opinion; for the levity of his character seemed to forbid the hope of deriving substantial or permanent benefit from his administration.

Announcing his readiness to meet the danger, M. de Calonne made some provision for the liquidation of the public debt, by the creation of a sinking fund; but, by having recourse to a considerable annual loan even in time of peace, he increased the national encumbrances. He amused the court with plausible promises, while the volcano which he was inadvertently nursing threatened

26 In November, 1783.

to explode. He smiled at the peril, and ridiculed the alarm.

His attention to the commerce between France and the East-Indies, which had for twelve years been free, and had in his opinion been injured by a want of uniform regulations, induced him to erect a new India company[27]: but, as the growing desire of general liberty included freedom of trade, the renewal of monopoly excited disapprobation and clamor. The commercial treaty with Great-Britain also disgusted the nation, as it was deemed injurious to the rising manufactures of France.

During the administration of Vergennes and Calonne, a remarkable affair occurred, which subjected the queen's character to animadversion and obloquy. Bohmer, jeweller to the court, offered a diamond necklace to her majesty for 1,600,000 livres. She was pleased with it, but declined the purchase. Madame de la Mothe-Valois, an indigent and artful woman, pretended to be a confidential agent of the queen, in whose name she produced a letter, desiring the jeweller to give up the necklace, the value of which would be paid by installments. When Bohmer demanded security for the payment, he was referred to the cardinal de Rohan, who, hoping to recover the favor of Marie Antoinette, which he had lost by speaking too freely of the court of Vienna, engaged to indemnify the suspicious tradesman. The bargain was concluded for 1,400,000 livres; and the necklace was delivered to madame de la Mothe, on the presentation of spurious notes. She declared, that she gave it to the queen, who afterwards returned a part of it in loose diamonds: but it does not clearly appear that her majesty ever had it in her possession. On the non-payment of the first note by M. de Rohan, Bohmer stated the case to a lady of the household; and, when the cardinal appear-

27 In the year 1785.

ed at court as high almoner, he was interrogated by his royal mistress, who asked him how he could suppose for a moment that she should employ, in such a negotiation, a person to whom she had not spoken for eight years, and a woman who was an intriguing and unprincipled adventurer. "I find," said the prelate, "that I have been cruelly deceived." He was reprimanded by the king for his folly and presumption, and sent to the Bastille. The affair being submitted by the cardinal himself to the investigation of the Parisian parliament, he was acquitted of criminality, but was banished to his abbey of Chaise-Dieu: madame de la Mothe was whipped and branded; and her accomplice, the impostor Cagliostro, was exiled from France [28].

The imprisonment and prosecution of a member of the sacred college gave offence to the zealots of the hierarchy; and the pope thought it his duty to take serious notice of such insults. A hint of the expediency of forbearance was given by the French court; and his zeal was moderated by the advice of the cardinals de Bernis and Buoncompagni. He resolved, however, to stigmatise the accused prelate by suspending him from his dignity, for having voluntarily submitted his cause to an incompetent tribunal. The vote of a consistory to this effect, though considered as derogatory from the rights of the parliament and the independence of the Gallican church, was disregarded, but not expressly censured. On the acquittal of Rohan, he was restored to his rank by the pope; and the dispute was thus terminated.

When the parliament of Paris, transferring it's attention to the affairs of the treasury, seriously opposed the system of borrowing, the minister of finance felt a decline of

28 In May, 1786.—Histoire de Louis XVI., tome ii.—In the year 1791, Cagliostro was tried at Rome for a supposed conspiracy against the state, and for his connexions with the free-masons and the *illuminati*; and he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

his usual confidence and spirit. Louis signified his approbation of the measures of the *controleur-général*, and insisted on the registration of the edict for a new loan: but the apprehensions of farther opposition from the magistracy prompted Calonne to advice that the *notables* should be summoned—an assembly of reputable and distinguished persons, selected by the sovereign from the privileged orders. Before they met, the count de Vergennes died, more lamented by the king than by the queen, to whose views for her brother's advantage he had not been tamely subservient. Feb. 18.

This minister was an able statesman; cool, reflecting, and artful; less bold, impetuous, and domineering, than the duke de Choiseul, but more fertile in expedients, equally eager to exalt the glory and promote the supposed interest of France, and, in some respects, more attentive to the internal benefit and happiness of the community. He has been accused of avarice and rapacity; but his biographer has refuted the charge. He was indefatigable in his ministerial duties, orderly and methodical in his arrangements, decorous in his behaviour, plain and unaffected in his manners. His private virtues are said to have been exemplary [29].

I cannot refrain from adding, that, in encouraging Louis to form an alliance with the American revolters, M. de Vergennes showed an interested and time-serving policy, and a very censurable disregard to the faith of treaties. He concluded that Great-Britain would be so weakened by the contest, as to afford France an opportunity of signal triumph. The desire of giving liberty to oppressed provincials could not be supposed to actuate a French minister: it was a wish to take vengeance for the former success of Britain, that stimulated the leading members of the cabinet of Louis. The king foresaw the ill con-

29 Vie Publique et Privée du Comte de Vergennes, par M. de Mayer.

sequences of such a war; but he weakly gave way to sinister advice.

M. de Vergennes, during his last illness, frequently spoke of the expected meeting of the *notables*, and expressed a wish that he might live to witness their deliberations: but his place was occupied by the count de Montmorin. When the expected meeting took place, M. de Calonne mentioned the great extent of the public debt, and the insufficiency of the revenues for the annual expences of the nation. The *deficit*, he said, amounted to a hundred and fifteen millions of livres in a year. To restore the equilibrium, the best impost that he could devise was a land-tax fairly adjusted, from which there should be no exemption; and he also recommended new stamp-duties. As the privileged orders had hitherto paid much less than their fair proportion, a just mode of assessment displeased the self-interested assembly. Necker, referring to the state in which he had left the treasury, accused the financial minister of gross misstatement or of wanton extravagance. The *notables* inveighed against Calonne, demanded exact accounts from him, and refused to agree to his proposal for the convocation of provincial assemblies. Louis, yielding to the clamor, dismissed the financier, who was glad to escape from the kingdom. He also, to evince his impartiality, banished Necker to the distance of twenty leagues from Paris [30].

Feb. 22.

April 7.

On the disgrace of Calonne, the king was advised to appoint M. de Fourqueux to the management of the finances: but the count de Montmorin remonstrated against the choice, alleging that the task was too arduous for the capacity and the strength of that worthy magistrate; and recommended Necker as the person whom the nation wished again to see in that department. Louis

30 Histoire de Louis XVI., tome ii.—Mémoires de Marmontel, livre xii.

expressed his disgust at the pride and domineering spirit of the Swiss banker; and, not being strongly pressed by one who, new in office, felt some timidity on the occasion, he refused to re-admit him into power. M. de la Millière had declined the post; but Fourqueux did not so strenuously resist the importunities of the court. He found himself, upon trial, unequal to the task; and the public credit, under his short administration, hastened to ruin. The king then seemed inclined to recall Necker: but the baron de Breteuil convinced him that such a step would tend to the annihilation of his authority, as a proud and vain man, finding that his services were deemed necessary, and knowing himself to be supported by the general voice, would rise above all control. M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, being recommended in preference, was accepted by Louis, who did not, however, cordially approve the nomination [31].

The prelate who was thus favored, had displayed some share of talent in the states of Languedoc, and in assemblies of the clergy. But his ideas were not profound; he had no extraordinary share of general knowlege: he was more violent than energetic, more self-interested than patriotic. Like Calonne (says Marmontel), he had an imposing quickness and vivacity of manner; but his address was less pleasing. He pretended to entertain great views; yet he had so little originality in his politics, that his chief schemes were borrowed from that minister. Having endeavoured, without effect, to procure the assent of the *notables* to the stamp-duties and the land-tax, he advised a dissolution of the assembly, and resolved to govern by his own arbitrary will. May 25.

While France felt, in various instances, the ill effects of the war, Spain was less sensible of injury from that source, and less deranged in her government. Charles,

31 Mémoires de Marmontel, livre xii.

indeed, like Louis, found difficulty in raising supplies; for a small loan, which his treasurer negotiated in 1783, was scarcely more than half-filled in two years; and a national bank, instituted by the advice of Cabanus, a young Frenchman, could not obtain general confidence. The king, however, prosecuted, with zeal and spirit, various improvements in commerce and political œconomy, and in the elegant as well as useful arts. The prejudices of the people obstructed some of these improvements: but, by the perseverance of the court, and the concurrence of the intelligent part of the community, several beneficial schemes were carried into effect.

The weak and bigoted queen of Portugal was less intent upon reform: yet she checked the exorbitancy of papal power in her dominions, promoted industry and trade, and encouraged some laudable institutions. Being advised to repress, by seasonable and exemplary severity, the horrible practice of assassination, she declared that she would never pardon any one, of whatever rank, who should be guilty of a deliberate murder: but she did not strictly adhere to this resolution; for the malignity of private revenge was still suffered, on many occasions, to shed blood with impunity.

Her eldest son Joseph, prince of Brasil, was a youth of considerable merit, and promised to be a more enlightened sovereign than his mother: but he died of the small-pox at the age of twenty-seven, two years after the death of Don Pedro, the titular king. Joseph had espoused his aunt, but left no issue. His brother John, before he became heir to the crown, gave his hand to a grand-daughter of the king of Spain; and another marriage strengthened the friendship of the two courts, Don Gabriel of Spain being united to a daughter of the queen of Portugal. The count de Florida-Blanca was the chief promoter of these matrimonial connexions. He had before [32]

[32] July 15, 1783.

procured the accession of France to the last treaty between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, so that the houses of Bourbon and Braganza were now closely connected: yet Great-Britain still enjoyed sufficient influence to secure the principal share of the commerce of Portugal.

The catholic king and her most faithful majesty agreed to unite their forces in an attack upon the infidels of Barbary. In one expedition, indeed (that of the year 1783), the Spaniards were unaided by the Portuguese. Don Antonio Barcelo bombarded the Algerine capital for a week, with greater fury than effect; and then returned to Carthagena. In the following year, the Spanish armament was reinforced by Portuguese, Neapolitan, and Maltese vessels; and seven attacks were made upon the place, which, however, was so well defended, that all the efforts of the Christian combatants were fruitless.

The republic of Venice did not join in the war against the Algerines, it's hostile resentment being at that time more particularly directed against the Tunisine state. Of the incidents of this petty war I can find no precise account; nor would the particulars be interesting. A contest had also arisen between the Venetians and the Dutch, in consequence of some mercantile debts and claims which were disallowed by the senate: but the dispute did not proceed to actual hostilities.

The insults and depredations of the corsairs did not so far alarm the pacific sovereign of Tuscany, as to prompt him to send out a fleet against them. That prince continued his reforms; and he now distinguished himself by the enactment of a new code of laws. Long before the promulgation of this celebrated edict, his humanity had prompted him to abolish capital punishment, and mitigate in other respects the rigor of the penal laws. Observing the good effects of these regulations, he extended and confirmed them in an edict consisting of a hundred and nineteen articles. He allowed informations, *ex officio*,

except for slight offences; diminished the frequency and increased the solemnity of oaths; facilitated to accused persons the means of defence; prohibited the admission of presumptive proofs in any case whatever; opposed all delays of justice; exploded the practice of torture for procuring confessions; annulled the right, claimed by individuals, of killing outlawed robbers and assassins; would not suffer even perpetrators of murder to be punished with greater severity than that which was included in the sentence of hard labor for life; abolished branding, mutilation, and the *strappado*[33]; restricted the modes of punishment to flagellation (private or public), the pillory, fine, imprisonment, banishment, and labor; limited the period of accusation for higher offences to ten years, and, for inferior acts of delinquency, to five years[34].

This code, upon the whole, is highly honorable to the memory of Leopold. It rendered justice more prompt, regular, and certain; checked arbitrary imprisonment and oppression; secured life, civil liberty, and property. But, with reference to murder, it did not make such a distinction as the case required. Other crimes may properly be punished without the sacrifice of the offender's life: but wilful homicide is a crime of so black a dye, that nothing short of death can be an adequate punishment for it. Those who are guilty of such an enormity are wholly unworthy of a continuance of life.

Leopold's brother Joseph also aimed at the high character of a legislator. His code abolished the *question* or torture, and nearly excluded death from the number of penal inflictions: but it ordained very severe punishments for small offences, and gave too great authority to the judges in the direction and management of trials. In these two respects it resembled the Turkish system; but

33 Straining or dislocation of limbs by the cord and pulley.

34 Editto dato in Pisa, Nov. 30, 1786, per Pietro Leopoldo, Gran-duca di Toscana.

it did not lead to such flagrant abuses as prevailed under that government, although the reigning sultan had redressed some grievances, and endeavoured to reform the conduct of his officers and magistrates.

Joseph's northern ally, the aspiring Catharine, was employed in the enforcement of her own code, and in providing for the execution of farther schemes of ambition. She kept her subjects in submission, while she encroached on the rights of her Turkish neighbours. Aware of the amity between Sweden and Turkey, she courted and soothed Gustavus, with whom she had an interview on the frontiers. She had no apprehensions of molestation from the Danes, whose court she had long overawed. That nation now enjoyed the beneficent sway of Frederic, the prince-royal, who, being supported by a considerable number of the nobility, and by the generality of the people, had subverted the power of the queen-dowager[35], and procured a decree, importing that no orders of the council of state should have effect unless they should be signed both by the king and his son. The authority which the prince thus acquired, was exercised with such moderation, equity, and judgement, that his popularity was highly augmented, and fixed on a firm basis.

LETTER VIII.

History of France, from the Dismission of the Notables, *to the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, in* 1791.

THE agitation of the public mind in France, the embarrassments of the court, and the unsettled state of the administration, seemed to portend a speedy and important

35 In the year 1784.

change. The glaring inequality of taxation, and the numerous abuses which had long prevailed, could not be expected to subsist unaltered or uncorrected, as the eyes of the people were now opened. The privileged orders, however unwilling to make concessions, were sensible of the expediency of allaying that popular ferment which might otherwise lead to a resolute assertion of rights; and the court, though it's tone was high and it's language arbitrary, could not avoid acknowleging, in moments of cool reflexion, that it was politic to lower the one and soften the other.

When the *notables* were dismissed, they carried into their respective provinces some new information respecting the state of affairs, and some degree of discontent, mingled with the seeds of freedom. The liberty, however, which they desired, was not that of the whole nation, but only of the higher classes. Such limited patriotism was not very honorable to their characters.

The archbishop hoped that the parliament of Paris would not refuse to register his two edicts; and he was so confident in this expectation, that he did not exert his usual arts to procure assent. The air of arrogance which he assumed disgusted the magistracy. To a demand of the financial accounts he refused to agree, although it certainly was reasonable that those who were desired to confirm new imposts should know whether they were really necessary. By ancient practice (says M. Necker) the minister was allowed to with-hold this communication; but, as he had disdained the alliance and sanction of the *notables*, and thus committed a serious error, it would have been better for him to yield to the wish of the parliament, than to engage in a quarrel with the sovereign courts, at a time when the government had lost the support of public opinion[1].

1 De la Révolution Françoise, par Necker, tome i. sect. i.

The desired assent of the parliament not being given, the king held a bed of justice, and commanded instant registration. The magistracy protested against this act of power, and declared that the enforced record was illegal and null. The prelate advised his majesty to disperse the refractory members; but Lamoignon alleged that they would thus be less accessible to negotiation, and proposed that, if any step should be taken in consequence of the royal displeasure, it should only be the removal of the tribunal. Louis then transferred the parliament to Troyes; and the archbishop, by promising the dismissal of Lamoignon (who, by being an advocate for the simplification of legal process, had rendered himself obnoxious to all the courts of law), procured assent to the collection of two twentieths. A dispute, however, arose respecting the mode of assessment. The parliament wished it to remain on the old basis, which favored the privileged orders; while the minister wished for such an inquiry into the exact amount of property, as might render the tax less partial. He proposed that the provinces should compound for the impost: but this compromise was not satisfactory; and the flame of opposition was spreading over the country, when the king promised that the twentieths should be collected in the established mode[2]. Aug. 6, 1787.

Amidst this dispute, the parliament called for a meeting of the states-general, less perhaps from a sincere wish for the convocation of a national council, than from temporary irritation. The nobles and the clergy joined in the call, without expecting that it would be regarded. The people, inflamed with that zeal for liberty, which had been gradually diffusing itself for many years, resolved to insist upon the king's compliance with a constitutional request, and exulted in the hope of procuring, from the

[2] Mémoires de Marmontel, livre xiii.

labors of their representatives, a reform of the government and a regeneration of the state.

M. de Brienne, intending to negotiate a loan of four hundred and twenty million of livres, to be advanced by installments in the course of five years, promised that, on the expiration of that term, the states of the realm should be convoked. A royal sitting was pro-
Nov. 19. claimed: it proved tempestuous. Many of the members arraigned the conduct of the ministry; and some spoke on this occasion with extraordinary vehemence. M. d'Epremesnil said, that the loan would readily be sanctioned, if it should be understood that the king would speedily assemble the states. Louis gave no promise of that kind; and, having ordered the edict to be registered without a calculation of votes, he banished the duke of Orleans to Villers-Cotteret for an uncourtly protest, and imprisoned Freteau and Sabatier for the freedom of their remarks[3].

As the other parliaments sympathised with that of Paris, and the people partook of the rising indignation against the court, the archbishop and the keeper of the seal prepared to oppose the league with spirit. Various schemes were discussed in the cabinet; and it was at length resolved, that bailiwics should be formed,
A. D. 1788. with a view of diminishing the authority and jurisdiction of the parliaments, and also that a plenary court should be erected, consisting of individuals selected by the king from the courts of law, the chief officers of state and of the army, the principal nobility, and knights of different orders. It was intended that these resolutions should be kept secret until a bed of justice should be holden; but M. d'Epremesnil, having discovered the object of the ministerial consultations, prevailed upon the Parisian magistracy to protest by anticipation against

3 Marmontel, livre xiii.—Histoire de Louis XVI., tome ii.

whatever might be proposed at the approaching solemnity. For this bold act he was arrested even in the seat of justice, and sent to a distant prison; and similar violence was exercised on M. de Monsanbert.

The proclaimed session took place, and the two schemes were enforced. The new tribunal became the object of general odium. The emissaries of the parliament excited commotions in the capital; and, in the provinces, alarming associations were formed against the court. The nobles of Bretagne deputed twelve of their number to complain of the late arbitrary measures. The province of Bearn assembled it's three estates; and, in that of Dauphiné, a meeting was called which served as a model for a national assembly. The twelve Breton deputies being sent to the Bastille, fifty-four others were directed to remonstrate; and the former were released. Apprehending serious disturbances, the premier gave up the *cour plenière*, and announced the king's intention of convoking the states-general in the following year. At the same time, the increase of financial embarrassments urged him to propose the recall of Necker, who declared in reply, that he would not act with such a minister. "This answer," said the archbishop, "is my sentence: I must instantly resign." He left the cabinet in confusion, and the treasury nearly in a state of exhaustion[4]. May 8. Aug. 25

The retreat of the minister excited riotous joy. The populace burned his effigy, and intended to set fire to his house and that of his brother: but the soldiery quelled the disturbance by killing many of the rioters. This interference was deemed too precipitate; and the commandant, being blamed for that murderous violence which might have been avoided, was dismissed to another station[5].

4 Necker, sect. i.—Marmontel.—Histoire de France, par Anquetil, tome xiii

5 Histoire de France, par Anquetil, tome xiii.

The first objects of Necker's attention were the affairs of justice and of finance. The parliaments were restored to their authority; and the laws resumed their ordinary course. Instead of notes promised by the late minister, the payments from the treasury were made in cash; and seasonable measures were taken to remove the dread, not only of bankruptcy, but of famine. The next consideration respected the states-general. If the king had not promised that such a meeting should take place, the idea of it's necessity would perhaps have died away. The gradual reforms to which Louis was patriotically inclined, might have contented the generality of the people; and, with the preservation of peace, the country might have flourished. But the promise, having been deliberately and publicly given, could not be revoked without dishonor, or annulled without offence, particularly as it provided for a recurrence to the sound principles of the monarchy. The king, indeed, had no thought of retraction or evasion; and Necker was too fond of a popular government to dissuade him from the strict observance of his promise.

Questions arose with regard to the form and composition of the states—whether the model of 1614 (in which year was the last meeting of the kind) or some preferable plan, should be followed. The parliament of Paris insisted upon an adherence to the plan of that year: but the public in general, and Necker in particular, adverting to the importance of the commons of the realm, proportionally far transcending that of former ages, wished for the delegation of a number of popular representatives at least equal to the aggregate amount of ecclesiastical and noble deputies. For the adjustment of this and other points, the *notables* were again summoned. The majority of that body proposed, that each order should depute an equal number. In this opinion the count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti,

Nov. 3.

concurred; but the count de Provence voted for the double representation desired by the generality of the people. With regard to the mode of voting, it was resolved that the suffrages of each order should be separate, or, in other words, that the votes of the members of all the orders should not be reckoned together. No resolution, it was added, could take effect, unless the majority of each body should agree to it; the dissent of one order would annul any measure in which the other two assemblies had joined. On the subject of elections, a very small degree of property was allowed to be sufficient for the constituent and the deputy.

The *notables* did not inquire what number of deputies ought to be allowed for the whole kingdom; and as they were divided in opinion with regard to the proportional number of representatives of each order, the council of state afterwards discussed those points. It was determined that the amount of the *tiers état*, or third estate, should equal that of the nobles and clergy conjoined. To the mode of voting by all the orders unitedly, the king refused to accede, as it threatened to leave him at the mercy of the commons, after he had allowed them to form so large a proportion as six hundred, being one half of the whole body of national representatives. The adjunction of such nobles and ecclesiastics as they might easily influence, would, he apprehended, give too great a degree of power to factious leaders, who, amidst the present ferment in the minds of men, and the prevailing desire of freedom, might be prompted to an inordinate restriction of the royal authority. Dec. 27.

To the meeting of the states, the people looked forward with anxious eagerness. Almost every one now became a politician, capable, in his own opinion, of discussing important questions of government, of inquiring into the rights of man and the laws of society. Ambitious and intriguing men encouraged this A. D. 1789.

political passion, from a hope of rising by popular favor to eminence and power.

The persons deputed to the assembly formed three classes. The aristocratic members composed one great division, consisting of the majority of the nobles and superior clergy. The popular party formed another class, active and spirited; and individuals more moderate than either, not disposed to be partial to the crown or to depress it, formed the third and less numerous division.

The first of these parties found a great enemy in a prince of the blood, the most opulent subject in the kingdom, from whom the friends of aristocracy might reasonably have expected support. This was the duke of Orleans, who had lost the king's favor by his profligacy, and was hated by the queen for having, among other offences, insulted her (it is said) with declarations of criminal love.

The duke was not a man of talents or judgement: his head was as weak as his heart was depraved. He affected politeness of demeanor, but was deficient in true elegance and refinement of manners. He aimed at the character of a politician, but was merely an intriguer, and a dupe to the arts of those who flattered him with the prospect of power and pre-eminence. On pretence of promoting liberty, he wasted his finances in the encouragement of faction and the subversion of social order. He was prodigal without generosity, splendidly ostentatious without dignity, sensual without taste, amorous without sensibility. Bold in vice, and daring in faction, he yet was destitute of that personal courage for which the nobles of France were long renowned.

This nobleman was suspected, not without reason, of having instigated the populace to a riot in the suburb of St. Antoine, not long before the expected meeting. He probably wished to feel the pulse both of the mob and the soldiery. The paper-manufactory of Reveillon (who

had reproved the democratic spirit of his workmen) and the house of Henriot, another respectable citizen, were plundered and destroyed; and the rioters did not desist before many of their associates were killed by a military detachment[6].

The three orders at length met at Versailles. May 5. The speech with which the king opened the long-expected meeting deserves notice. It was the address of an upright, humane, and patriotic prince, to a respectable assemblage of his subjects, by whose political and legislative exertions he hoped to improve the state of the nation. Although the convocation of the states-general had fallen into disuse, he was inclined, he said, to restore a custom from which the realm might derive new vigor, and which might be productive of an increase of happiness to his people. The general anxiety and prevailing spirit of innovation would, he feared, terminate in a serious distraction of opinions, if speedy recourse should not be had to an union of wise and temperate counsels. He applauded the willingness of the nobles and the clergy to relinquish their pecuniary privileges, and trusted that all the orders would unite for the public good. Lamenting the growing magnitude of the national debt, and that consequent augmentation of taxes which had rendered the inequality of the burthen more sensible, he had given orders for important retrenchments in the expences of the state; but, notwithstanding the most rigid œconomy, his power of relief, he apprehended, would long be inadequate to his wishes. He therefore hoped that his auditors would pay immediate attention to the state of the finances, and take measures for the establishment of public credit. Such an assembly, he added, would without doubt properly appreciate his character and views,

6 Rabaut insinuates, that this tumult was a stratagem devised by some of the ministers, to try how far they might depend on the zeal of the soldiery.

listen only to the dictates of prudence and wisdom, and, discarding all sinister aims, adopt a spirit corresponding with the real sentiments of a generous nation, remarkable for attachment to it's sovereigns.

A long but not very luminous discourse, from Necker, followed a short and unimportant speech delivered by M. Barentin, who had succeeded Lamoignon as keeper of the seal. He investigated the grand question, which had excited such a contrariety of opinion,—whether the three orders should deliberate and vote unitedly or separately. The dispute, he thought, would be best settled by a compromise. In such cases as might require promptness of determination and unity of action, a joint consultation would be preferable, particularly after the promised renunciation of pecuniary privileges by the higher orders should have produced an equality of interest. On other occasions, it might be expedient, with a view of restraining the spirit of innovation and rashness of decision, to vote by orders. For the re-establishment of financial credit, it did not appear to him to be absolutely necessary to convoke the great council of the nation: but he trusted that such a meeting would effectually secure the general prosperity of the kingdom.

The verification of the powers of the deputies soon disturbed the harmony of the states. The commons requested that the other orders would join them in that formality; for they thought that a separation of this preliminary business would be inconsistent with their scheme of forming one assembly. Acrimonious debates arose upon this point; and conciliatory conferences were repeated without effect. The desire of an united verification was renewed in a peremptory manner; and although the nobles disregarded this bold requisition, some members of the clerical order joined the *tiers état*. The ascertainment of powers being at length completed by the commons, they were urged by the abbé Sieyes to

assume the title of the National Assembly. This motion receiving general assent, it was voted, that, as the meeting consisted of representatives returned by almost the whole French community, the absence of some deputies, or even of some classes of citizens, ought not to preclude the members who were present from exercising all their rights; that those only who had proved the validity of their election were authorised to interpret the public will; and that, the national representation being *one and indivisible*, no deputies of any class had a right to act separately from the assembly thus constituted. Target then proposed an oath, which all the members readily took, declaring, before God, their country, and the king, that they would discharge their duty with conscientious zeal[7]. June 17.

The commons now entered upon the national business with a plenitude of assumed authority; and, continuing provisionally the existing taxes, promised to provide for the liquidation of the public debt. Louis, who could not approve of the usurpatory proceedings of the *tiers état*, gave notice of a royal sitting in the hall of the states, and prohibited, in the mean time, the meeting of any of the orders. M. Bailly the astronomer, who was president of the commons, demanded admission into the hall, that the business of the nation might not be neglected; and, when the officer on guard had refused to open the door, about two-thirds of the deputies met in a tennis-court, and bound themselves by oath not to separate finally, until they should have performed the task of political regeneration, and firmly settled the constitution.

The king's renewed appearance was attended with the presentation of a scheme of government, calculated to combine popular liberty with monarch- June 23.

7 Annals of the French Revolution, translated by Dallas from the original manuscript of Bertrand de Moleville, minister of state, chap. 3.—Histoire de la Révolution Françoise, par Rabaut, livre ii.

ical power. He engaged to avoid the imposition of any new taxes without the consent of the representatives of the nation, to permit an equalisation of imposts, allow a general liberty of the press, and forbear (with an exception of extraordinary cases) the emission of *lettres de cachet*. He proposed that the provincial assemblies should be rendered more democratic than they were; and that the crown should be debarred from violating or eluding the acts of the states-general. Other articles of consequence were comprehended in the royal scheme; but it was not offered as a complete project; for Louis added, that he did not wish to circumscribe the zeal of the states within the circle which he had traced, but would gladly adopt every other just or beneficial measure which they might propose[8].

One part of the scheme, though strictly constitutional, disgusted the commons. His majesty insisted on the continuance of the ancient distinction of the three orders, and annulled the late votes of the *tiers état*. The popular leaders, intent on the formation of only one assembly, detained the third order in the hall after the nobility and clergy had retired; and licentious speeches were followed by a declared determination of adhering to the votes, and by a resolution pronouncing the persons of the deputies inviolable.

The orders met separately on the following day. The clergy debated the question of joining the commons; and, notwithstanding all the influence of the dignitaries, one hundred and forty-two out of two hundred and ninety-four ecclesiastics voted for an union. Nine at first refused to vote either for or against it; but, being apprehensive of popular outrage, for which the supposed friends of the court were marked out, they consented to support the proposal of association. The president had

8 Private Memoirs relative to the Reign of Louis XVI. by Bertrand de Molleville; Appendix, No. 1.

previously adjourned the assembly, declaring that the question was decided by one hundred and forty-three voices in the negative: but, the democratic party insisting on a renewal of suffrage, and putting a temporary president in the chair, the addition of nine turned the scale. The majority of nobles, on the other hand, voted for separate deliberation: but the minority, conducted by the duke of Orleans, joined the *tiers état* in defiance of the vote. This accession was no great cause of exultation to the commons, as only forty-four out of three hundred had joined them. They hoped, however, by intrigue and by intimidation, soon to behold in their hall the greater part of the noble deputies. They now began to make frequent use of a term, not offensive or odious in itself, to designate all who did not fully concur in the scheme of depressing and humbling the court. Not only every courtier was said to be an *aristocrat*, but every moderate man was pointed out as an object of odium under that appellation.

The clamors of the people at length induced the king to request, and even to order, that the nobles would join the *tiers état* and the clergy, to accelerate the accomplishment of his views for the benefit of the nation. Many of them foresaw the mischiefs that would follow their compliance; but the majority agreed to the measure, and the union was hailed by the *democrats* with peculiar joy [9]. June 27.

The popular cause seemed now to be triumphant. The ministers dreaded the immoderate circumscription of the royal power, and held anxious consultations respecting the means of obviating the danger. The leaders of the opposing party had secured the aid of the rabble; and with a machine so easily moved they expected to perform great exploits, and to meet with rapid success.

9 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 5.—Mémoires de Marmontel, livre xv.

To check the spirit of turbulence, Louis commanded the advance of several regiments toward the capital, and stationed troops with artillery in the neighbourhood of Versailles. Mirabeau called the attention of the assembly to these acts of precaution, exaggerated the number of the soldiery, and misrepresented the object of the preparations; and an address was voted, conjuring his majesty to send back the troops to their former posts, and trust to the loyalty of the citizens. The answer imported, that none but ill-disposed persons would persuade the people to misinterpret the motives for assembling troops, as a military force was obviously requisite to secure the public tranquillity, amidst popular agitation and disorder. Not satisfied with this answer, the leaders of the assembly propagated new apprehensions of a scarcity of provisions, in consequence of the extravagant consumption of different articles by the troops cantoned near Paris: but this artifice had no effect.

M Necker's conduct having excited doubts of his ministerial capacity, and even of the rectitude of his intentions, the king was advised to dismiss him. He had absented himself from the late royal sitting, which he had recommended; had courted the commons by an obsequious letter to their president; and seemed more sensible of the idle gratifications of vanity, than capable of acting well, or disposed to do his duty. By a royal letter, he was discarded, and desired to retire from France.

July 11.

So great was the popularity of this minister, that his dismission occasioned loud clamors and furious commotions. Camille Des-Moulins, haranguing the Parisian rabble, added fuel to the bursting flame. Some barriers were set on fire; but the arrival of troops checked the effervescence of licentiousness. The eagerness of the prince de Lambesc, in pursuit of the retiring populace, inflicted wounds (it is said) on some inoffensive indivi-

duals. According to another account, the prince, after repelling an attack from a disloyal party of French guards, patiently sustained farther aggression from the insolence of the multitude, until the danger became so urgent, as to prompt him to make use of his sabre upon a forward assailant. This point is not very material, as it has been ascertained who were the aggressors in subsequent commotions of a much more serious nature.

Clamorous for bread, a riotous mob afterwards attacked the convent of St. Lazare, plundered and burned it. Another disorderly party carried off arms from the Garde-Meuble: a third set rushed into the hotel de la Force, and liberated the prisoners, but, instead of granting the same favor to those of the Chatelet, assisted the keeper in preventing their escape, and even killed some who were pushing forward with that view[10].

The perturbations of the metropolis furnished the electors of the *tiers état* with a pretence for the assumption of high authority. They appointed a committee to attend to the restoration of tranquillity; issued orders to the sixty districts into which Necker had divided Paris; and prepared to organise a numerous body of militia, for which, however, they condescended to solicit the assent of the national representatives. Deputies were sent by the assembly, in consequence of this application, to request that the king would withdraw the troops, and establish the militia. Louis replied, that the proposed measures did not appear to be necessary. The assembly censured the answer, and renewed it's offensive resolutions.

The effect of the seditious machinations of ambitious men now appeared, in the execution of a scheme calculated to confound the court. The populace seised all the arms deposited in the hotel of Invalides, where not

10 Marmontel.—Bertrand.

only musquets, but cannon also, were found. Many passed over a wall into one of the courts of the Bastille; and some of these intruders were wounded by a discharge from the castle. The artillery now began to play upon the fortress; and, after a short defence, the marquis de Launay, having a very insufficient garrison under his command, offered to surrender, on terms of safety for himself and his soldiers. Such a promise being given, he ordered a draw-bridge to be lowered, and the besiegers took possession of the place[11].

July 14.

No real foundation appears for the charge of treachery imputed to the governor. As the great danger of such an act was evident, it is highly improbable that he would have ordered his men to fire upon the people, after many had been admitted on a promise of his forbearance; for this is the import of the accusation. He was obnoxious to the infuriate rabble, merely for having dared to defend the Bastille. Torn from the protection of some who had acted as officers at the siege, he was bitterly reviled, wounded, and heheaded. Many of his soldiers are said to have been put to death for the same offence: but the interposition of the guards saved the rest. M. de Flesselles, who had presided in the committee of electors, being suddenly suspected of (or, as some say, detected in) a correspondence with the court, could not escape the fury of the multitude: he was shot as he was retiring from the town-hall.

So comparatively mild had been the government of Louis, that only *seven* prisoners, four of whom were accused of forgery, were found in the Bastille[12]. As it's dungeons, however, had formerly been the receptacles even of innocent objects of tyranny, the odium of the name produced the destruction of the edifice and it's fortifications.

11 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 8. 12 Marmontel, livre xvii.—Bertrand.

This exploit was not yet known at Versailles, when Louis, having received another application for a removal of the troops, merely ordered the departure of the regiments from the Champ de Mars. The assembly demanded the retreat of other divisions of the army; and, the next morning, a full knowlege of the insurrection of the Parisians prompted the terrified monarch to court the protection of the popular representatives, and dismiss all the troops from the environs of Paris and of Versailles. Thus did that portentous revolution commence, which has since produced such wonderful effects[13].

Deputies were sent to Paris to communicate to the citizens the pleasing intelligence of the king's submission to the domineering assembly, and restore peace and subordination. The marquis de la Fayette, whose services in the cause of American freedom pointed him out as a proper person for the command of the new militia or city guard, had accepted the appointment with joy; and, addressing the Parisians in the town-hall, he announced the patriotic intentions of their sovereign, which excited rapturous applause.

When Necker was dismissed, M. de Montmorin and two other ministers had also been desired to resign; and, in the new arrangements, the baron de Breteuil had been authorised to act as premier. The assembly now requested that the new ministers might be removed, and Necker recalled. The king readily complied with the demand; and, to testify his exterior joy at the late reconciliation, visited Paris with a train of deputies. The keys of the city were presented to him by the new mayor, M. Bailly, who observed that they were the same keys which had been delivered to Henry IV. "That prince (he added) conquered his people: but now the people have conquered their king." This language could not

13 Histoire de la Révolution, par Rabaut, livre iii.

be agreeable to Louis; nor did he seem pleased at the substitution of the cry of *Vive la Nation!* for *Vive le Roi!* I do not mean to insinuate, that he disregarded the interest of the nation, or considered it as separate from his own: but he probably thought that the exclaimers were disposed to treat him as an insignificant appendage to the all-grasping assembly. When he appeared in the town-hall, he was welcomed with congratulatory and applausive speeches, among which that of Lally-Tolendal was eminently distinguished. In return for the acclamations of the numerous auditors, he said with visible emotion, "My people may always depend upon my regard and affection[14]."

The endeavours of the commandant of the Parisian guard, for the repression of turbulence, were exerted with greater diligence than success. He wished to rescue M. Foulon from the hands of the murderous rabble, not from any esteem for his character, but because he thought every accused or suspected person had a right to a fair trial. That unfortunate old man, and his respectable son-in-law Berthier, were put to death for their connexion with the ministers who had succeeded Necker and his associates, notwithstanding all the entreaties and remonstrances of la Fayette and of Bailly.

Returning from exile, Necker was gratified with a flattering reception from the people and from the assembly; and he procured, for his friend the archbishop of Bourdeaux, the office of keeper of the seal, while M. Paulin was constituted director of the military department. Soon after these appointments, the privileges of the nobility and clergy were taken into consideration; and it was resolved, with few exceptions, that they should be abolished; and those of provinces and of towns were also annulled. These votes involved

Aug. 4.

14 Bertrand.—Marmontel.

an extraordinary change in the state of property. Persons of every description were pronounced equally admissible to military, civil, and ecclesiastical employments; and the prince from whose patriotism these and other concessions were obtained for the public good, was proclaimed the Restorer of French Liberty[15].

While the late important resolutions were yet unsanctioned by the king, the extent of the negative to be allowed to him was frequently debated; and three questions upon that head were put to the vote. One was, whether he might refuse his assent to the acts of the assembly; which passed almost unanimously. The second was, whether the refusal should be absolute or merely suspensive; and it was determined according to the latter mode. The third point related to the term of suspension; and this was fixed for two assemblies.

The votes for the annulment of privileges were not, in every particular, agreeable to Louis: but, as he approved their general spirit, he ordered their promulgation. He was aware, indeed, that resistance would be of little use. He had in a manner disarmed himself, and bared his breast to the blows of democracy.

A financial report from Necker did not greatly retard the constitutional settlement; for his plan, instead of being amply discussed, was accepted through confidence in him, corroborated by the opinion of a committee. His calculations were not very consolatory to the nation; for he estimated the annual deficiency at sixty-one millions of livres, and stated the necessity of levying eighty millions by immediate taxes, as a new loan was impracticable. The clergy offered, toward the supply, all the plate which did not appear to be indispensably necessary for the exterior purposes of divine worship; and con-

15 Berrand's Annals, chap. 13.—Rabaut, livre iii.

tributions from all parts of the kingdom were sent to the assembly.

With a view of having the king more completely in their power, the revolutionary chiefs resolved to procure a removal of the assembly to the metropolis, where riots might easily be excited for the purpose of intimidation. Malouet, and other members who did not wish for the humiliation of their sovereign, proposed in private meetings, that Tours should be fixed upon as a more tranquil spot; and it was expected that above three hundred of the commons, besides a majority of the nobles and clergy, would concur in the proposal. Louis objected to the measure, alleging that it was unnecessary, and might create disturbance. A hint of the scheme being given to Mirabeau, he propagated a report of a conspiracy to carry off the king to a fortified town, and assemble an army for the subjugation of the national representatives. He continued his machinations for the production of such a riot as might over-awe the court, and draw the royal family and the assembly to Paris. Louis, to secure himself against an attack, sent for a regiment of regular troops. The officers of the *garde-du-corps* having given an entertainment at the palace to those of the newly-arrived soldiery, the loyal festivity which prevailed was misrepresented as an insult to the nation; and it was pretended that the king and queen, who appeared at the lively scene, encouraged the hostile intentions of the jovial party against the patriots. Invidious mention was made of this banquet to the assembly, for the purpose of procuring a vote by which it might be stigmatised: but the majority declined to animadvert upon it, and took into consideration the answer which had been given by his majesty on the subject of some new political regulations. He would only assent to them on condition of the allowance of sufficient dignity and power, in the general result

of the settlement, to the royal administrator of the national affairs. This reply was so unsatisfactory, that the assembly sent a deputation to the palace, to procure an unconditional assent [16].

The intrigues of the democratic faction were prosecuted with success. Men and women of the lowest class were instigated to go to Versailles to demand bread; and a formidable body commenced for that purpose a disorderly march. M. de la Fayette, whom the ministry had lately courted to assist the king against the violent party, was requested by the grenadiers of the national guard to accompany them to Versailles. He expostulated with them in vain, and consented, at the desire of the municipality, to undertake the journey. A party of females first appeared in the avenues to the hall of the assembly; and their leader Maillard, presenting himself at the bar, implored relief for the starving Parisians. Mounier was sent at the head of a deputation to inform the king of the distresses of his people; and his majesty not only ordered corn to be sent to the capital from various places, but gave the desired assent to the constitutional articles [17].

When La Fayette arrived with the Parisian guard, he found the hall partly occupied by the rabble. The royal guards had been insulted by the populace; but their patience and moderation prevented, at that time, serious mischief; and, though some grounds of apprehension remained, the king and his family, trusting to the professions of the popular commandant, retired to rest. The next morning, the mob approached the palace with hostile intentions. Two of the guards were attacked at the entrance; and, when one of them had fallen, pierced with many wounds, the assailants entered the palace, denouncing vengeance against the queen. She had opportunely escaped to the king's apartment,

Oct. 6.

16 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 15. 17 Bertrand, chap. 16.

where her children, at her earnest request, were brought to her. In defending the approaches to this place of refuge, some of the guards were wounded, and one was killed; but, by the efforts of a party of grenadiers, who were induced to believe that the guards had no ill intentions against the people, the rioters were driven out of the palace. Many of the royal soldiers were pursued through the streets by the populace, and by the disloyal militia of Versailles: but La Fayette, having shaken off that sleep in which he ought not to have indulged himself, saved, by his remonstrances and exertions, the endangered defenders of their sovereign[18].

While Louis was consulting his ministers at this crisis, the tutored insurgents called out, "The king must go to Paris." Before he complied with this offensive and imperious requisition, he desired the assembly to deliberate on the subject in the palace: but the influence of the artful Mirabeau produced a contrary vote; and the king then consented to repair to the capital. The duke of Orleans, for whom Mirabeau wished to procure the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, entered the royal apartment to observe the effect of the conspiracy; but he was soon repelled by looks of contempt and gestures of indignation. The assembly, being informed of the king's determination, voted itself inseparable from the court; and preparations were made for the immediate progress of one hundred members, in company with the royal family. The heads of the two victims were carried upon pikes by the advanced guard of the rabble: the Parisian militia followed; "and the royal captives (in the forcible and indignant language of Burke) were slowly moved along, amidst the horrid yells, and

18 Bertrand, chap. 17.—Anquetil, tome xiii.—De la Révolution Françoise, par Necker, tome ii. sect. 2.—Histoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orleans. According to Bertrand's account, only two of the guards lost their lives, and some others were wounded; and one of the *brigands* fell by a shot intended for a royalist. Prudhomme says, that fourteen of the guards perished.

shrill screams, and frantic dances, and infamous contumelies, and all the unutterable abominations of the furies of hell, in the abused shape of the vilest of women."

This triumph of faction over royalty so disgusted many of the representatives, that they seceded from the assembly. The deliberations were now transferred to Paris; and an inquiry was ordered to be made into the late riots and outrages; but it was not expected that the conspirators would be punished. The king was constrained to dismiss the *gardes-du-corps* from the precincts of the palace: his ministers were harassed with suspicions and calumnies; and his views and intentions were studiously misrepresented[19].

In the progress of varied arrangements, important alterations were made in the state of the church, in law and policy, and in almost every object that could be comprehended within the scope of legislative consideration. The property of the church excited the early cupidity of the assembly; and it was proposed by Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, that all ecclesiastical and monastic possessions should be at the disposal of the nation, with the proviso of a competent allowance to the ministers of religion, and to the expelled monks and nuns. This motion was strongly opposed; but it passed by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two. The parliaments, and assemblies of the provincial states, were suppressed; and, though some courts of law were suffered to act, justice could scarcely be said to be administered. Financial difficulties and embarrassments led to the emission of *assignats*, as substitutes for money;—a delusive and mischievous contrivance. The most oppressive of the old taxes were abolished. Companies for exclusive commerce were dissolved, and various

Nov. 2.

19 Rabaut, in his history, endeavours to perpetuate those misrepresentations; but the judicious readers of his work will be on their guard against his prejudices.

branches of monopoly annulled. A new form was given to municipal corporations; and other changes were rapidly introduced.

The French were, perhaps, of all the European nations, except the Turks, the most incapable of profiting by a revolution. Being of warm and impetuous dispositions, they were ready to rush into violent changes. Having little patience and less judgement, they did not give a fair trial to their innovations, or reflect with coolness on the nature of their crude schemes. Instead of a deliberate correction of abuses and a gradual reform, they blindly and precipitately destroyed old establishments, rooted up the wheat with the tares, and annulled at once both good and bad institutions. By absurd and inconsistent regulations, they weakened the effect of those parts of the new government which were unobjectionable, and introduced such confusion as paved the way for the appeal of artful men to the passions of the rabble, and for the rise of arbitrary power in an altered form.

The labors of the assembly were not accompanied with national tranquillity. Commotions, which you will not expect me to particularise, arose in various parts of the kingdom from the effervescence of faction, from a spirit of licentiousness, and the rancor of animosity. Disputes led to the effusion of blood. Rapacity and malice occasioned the pillage and destruction of many of the seats of nobles. To exemplify this havock, it will be sufficient to mention, that sixty-seven mansions were burned to the ground within the narrow compass of the Maconnois and Beaujolois. The populace seemed to think that the privileged orders were combined in a league with the king to smother liberty in it's cradle. On a charge of this kind, the marquis de Favras, the count de Puysegur, marechal Broglio, and others, were tried
A. D. 1790. by the judges of the Chatelet; and, if the

first of these had not been condemned and executed, the ferocious rabble would, without doubt, have hanged him *à la lanterne* [20].

These commotions deeply affected Louis; and, in the hope of allaying the ferment, he resolved to concur without reserve in the views of the assembly, and gratify the people by a frank and full assent to the new system. Repairing to the hall, he addressed the members in a long speech, in which he took a review of the state of affairs, and feelingly lamented the distractions of the realm, but hoped that effectual reform and improvement might be prosecuted without farther convulsions or disturbances. He declared his approbation of the scheme for dividing the kingdom into eighty-three departments, and introducing such an uniform organisation as would much better connect the whole than the former provincial divisions, in which an inconvenient dissimilarity of laws and usages prevailed. He urged his hearers to devote their whole attention to the public good; to establish a degree of freedom not incompatible with social peace and order, reclaim the unthinking and deluded portion of the community to a due sense of propriety and justice, and put an end to those vexations and oppressions which had already impelled many citizens to seek security in a foreign land. Feb. 4.

One effect of the royal speech was the adoption of a new oath, importing that every representative would be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and would maintain to the utmost of his power the constitution decreed by the assembly, and accepted by his majesty. Another effect was the presentation of applausive addresses from the different municipalities: but the impression made by the conduct of Louis was not permanently beneficial.

20 Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes, commis pendant la Révolution Françoise, tome iii.

In the financial discussions, the prodigality of the court was censured; and the *red book* was demanded by the king's adversaries, to remove all doubts upon that subject. It was pretended, when the book had been examined, that the annual expenditure, with common prudence and œconomy, might have been diminished in the proportion of one-fifth: but moderate and unbiassed members affirmed, that the charge was ill-founded.

By the oratorical plausibility of Necker, the means of supplying the deficiency of the revenue were magnified; and the prospect of a speedy restoration of order to the finances, and of providing funds for the gradual liquidation of the public debt, removed from the sanguine the dread of a dangerous insolvency. The king, being desired by the assembly to fix the civil list on such a basis as would correspond with the dignity of his throne, replied, that he would studiously endeavour to combine œconomy with a respectability of appearance worthy of the head of a great nation. But, while the royal dignity was thus allowed to be maintained, the annulment of titles and the extinction of hereditary nobility weakened one of the props and safeguards of the throne. Lambel having made a motion for this purpose, the democrats would scarcely suffer it to be debated, and it was sanctioned by a commanding majority [21].

June 19.

As the anniversary of the revolution (which was reckoned from the reduction of the Bastile) approached, great preparations were made for the celebrity of a national *confederation*, a public covenant, or constitutional league. A spacious amphitheatre was erected in the Champ de Mars: mass was solemnly performed; and, when the king had taken an oath of fidelity to the constitution, the assembly, the delegates who had been invited from the provinces, the regular troops, the militia, and the spectators, bound themselves by a similar sanction.

21 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 25, 26.

After an interval of comparative tranquillity, new disturbances arose. These were chiefly imputable to the arts of a democratic society, notorious for the profligacy, villany, and cruelty, not of it's original members, but of the individuals of whom it was subsequently composed. It was the offspring or continuation of a club instituted in the year 1789, by the Breton deputies; and, as it's place of meeting was the hall of an edifice lately occupied by *Jacobin* monks, this designation was assumed by the society. Some of the members soon seceded from it, and formed a new society, which was eclipsed by the superior ability and influence of the Jacobins. The latter took every opportunity of inflaming the minds of the people, not only against the court, but even against the assembly, when it's proceedings and resolutions were not so bold or violent as to suit the views of the ambitious incendiaries of the club. Societies, corresponding with the Jacobin fraternity of Paris, were established in the provinces. Seditious intrigues and machinations prevailed. The soldier and the seaman, the tradesman and the mechanic, were seduced from their allegiance; and the members of liberal professions were courted to assist in the great work of reforming and perfecting political institutions.

The duke of Orleans, whose great opulence had been devoted to the purposes of faction, had been denounced by the moderate reformists as an enemy of the state: but he continued his intrigues for power, calumniated the character and conduct of his royal relative, and even aimed at the acquisition of sovereignty, which he hoped to attain amidst the disorders and confusion of the realm[22].

That spirit of insubordination which was thus artfully promoted, was particularly evinced at Nanci. The gar-

22 Histoire de la Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans.

rison mutinied against the officers; extorted from them, on pretence of a lawful claim, considerable sums of money; and seised the chests of the regiments. Complaint was made of these proceedings to the assembly; and consequent orders were given for the enforcement of a new decree against military treason or rebellion. The marquis de Bouillé, having in vain demanded the surrender of the chief mutineers, and the release of the officers whom they had imprisoned, advanced toward Nanci with a small army. On his approach, the officers were liberated; the garrison seemed ready to leave the town; and an accommodation was confidently expected. But the obstinacy of two battalions of Swiss led to a different result. They declared that they would not submit, and urged the rest of the garrison to support them in their resistance. Posted at one of the gates, they commenced hostilities, when they were summoned to open it; and fifty of Bouillé's men were killed by a furious discharge of cannon and musquetry. Aug. 31. Enraged at this assault, the rest of his soldiers rushed into the town, and slew all whom they met. Many of the inhabitants fired upon them from the houses; and, for three hours, a dreadful conflict raged. Four battalions belonging to the garrison took no part in the action, but remained in their barracks, anxiously watching the progress of the battle. If they had joined the Swiss, the marquis might perhaps have been overpowered[23].

Having subdued all resistance, M. de Bouillé reinstated the municipality, which had lost it's authority during the mutiny. He not only received the thanks of the king for his services on this occasion, but was complimented with

23 Memoirs relating to the French Revolution, translated from the manuscript of the marquis de Bouillé.—Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes de la Révolution, tome iii.—Prudhomme says, that fifteen hundred persons were killed on both sides. Twenty-three of the Swiss insurgents were afterwards condemned to death.

the approbation of the ruling assembly. The populace, however, inveighed against him as a sanguinary aristocrat, who deserved to lose his head for the horrible massacre committed by his orders.

From a different cause, Angers, in the following week, became a scene of riot and bloodshed. The people called for a diminution of the high price of bread; the magistrates reduced it; and the clamor seemed to subside. But a renewal of tumult followed; and the red flag was hoisted *in terrorem*. A body of workmen, not intimidated, fired upon the soldiers, without mortally wounding any of them. The troops returned the fire, and killed fifty-one persons[24].

The inquiry into the riot at Versailles had occupied for a considerable time the court of the Chatelet; and an elaborate report was at length presented to the assembly. It sufficiently appeared that the outrages arose from a plot of the Orleans faction, not from casual or unpremeditated turbulence: but the arts and influence of the violent party obstructed the demands of justice; and not only the chief conspirators, but also the most active agents in the riot, were suffered to avoid merited punishment.

As Necker was unfriendly to some of the innovating decrees of the assembly, and was not a violent democrat, he had lost his influence in the national council; and, as he was the object of satirical effusions and libellous attacks, he found his situation very unpleasing, and even dangerous. The revival of commotion furnished a pretence for imputing, to his want of energy and to the inability of his colleagues, the obstacles which retarded the regeneration of the state. Thus assailed, he resigned all concern in the administration, and returned to his native country.

24 Histoire des Erreurs, &c. tome iii.

An insurrection at Brest hastened the retreat of the naval minister, M. de la Luzerne, who was succeeded by Fleurieu. M. de la Tour du Pin afterwards relinquished the direction of military affairs; and M. du Portail was appointed to that station. Duport du Tertre became keeper of the great seal; and, before the end of the year, Blondel was named minister of the interior, on the resignation of M. de St. Priest, who was too firm a royalist to please the ruling party. Lambert regulated the finances for a short time, and then gave way to M. de Lessart.

The disgust of the clergy at the seisure of their property, and at the alterations made by the assembly in the disposal of benefices and in spiritual discipline, increased the public disorder. They refused to acquiesce in the new decrees, and exclaimed against the violent spirit of the representatives of the nation. The debates of the assembly, with reference to the clerical order, were very animated. Voidel stigmatised the refractory spirit of the majority of the ecclesiastics; urged them to renounce their prejudices, and think no more of the privileges and opulence of which they had been justly deprived; and, in the name of a committee, proposed a decree, commanding them to take the new oath without delay, on pain of losing their stipends, being subjected to farther penalties, and declared incapable of holding any public office. The motion was ably opposed by Maury and other speakers; but, being artfully defended by the democratic orators, it received general assent. The king delayed his sanction to it, on account of it's importance and severity: but, to prevent importunities and clamors, he confirmed it. Sixty representative ecclesiastics now took the oath; but it was declined by the far greater part of the clerical body in the assembly. Two months were allowed for re-consideration; and the decree was then enforced by the appointment of constitutional bishops and priests.

Nov. 27.

A. D. 1791.

Mirabeau had been one of the most strenuous supporters of ecclesiastical reform: but his zeal in the cause seemed to abate; and he endeavoured to allay the violence of the storm which threatened the clergy. He was now chosen president of the assembly; and was, at the same time, engaged in a secret negotiation with the court. A friend having represented him as one who might easily be brought back to monarchical principles, if those of public liberty should still be preserved, Louis made such overtures as induced him to devote himself to the royal service. Having a satisfactory pledge of the king's good intentions, he expressed a hope of checking revolutionary extravagance and licentiousness; but he found it necessary to disguise his sentiments, that he might not lose that popularity which might enable him to act with greater efficacy. In a masterly memorial, he discussed the subject of the revolution, exposed the views of the different parties, and illustrated the general state of affairs; and, to remedy the evils which had arisen, he proposed the convocation of an assembly better constituted than the present, and the formation of a new code of law and government, according to the wishes of the people, signified in the instructions of the electors. The minister Montmorin, and Malouet, were apprehensive of the danger of dissolving the assembly; and Louis declared that he would not adopt any scheme which might lead to a civil war: but Mirabeau was encouraged to form a party with zeal and diligence [25].

The chair was filled by this distinguished deputy with impressive dignity; and he ably steered between the extremes of courtly subserviency and democratic zeal. The king did not doubt the sincerity of his conversion; and the leading party still considered him as friendly to the popular cause, though he sometimes took an opportunity of reprehending the spirit of faction.

25 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 20.

In a debate on the propriety of restraining emigration, he spoke more decisively than either party seemed to expect. The democrats wished to prevent any person from quitting the kingdom, as emigration would be invidious, and might injure the public cause: but the president condemned the proposed restriction as tyrannical, and asserted that a general law of that kind would be disregarded, and indeed ought not to be obeyed. It was postponed after a clamorous meeting.

Emigration being considered as an insult to the prevailing party, renewed attempts were made to prevent it; and the intended departure of Adelaide and Victoire, the king's aunts, aroused a malignant spirit of opposition. Those princesses were known to have supported their father and the chancellor Maupeou in the arbitrary proceedings against the parliaments; and it was strongly suspected that they had advised their nephew to check, by firmness and vigor, the progress of democracy. Affecting to dread the operation of their political intrigues in foreign courts, the majority of the sections of Paris requested the king and the assembly to prohibit their departure; but, after warm debates, they were allowed to commence their journey. At Arnai, they were stopped in their progress, until a courier arrived from Paris with full permission for their departure. At the foot of Mount Cenis they were met by the count d'Artois, who had already emigrated. While they were at Turin, the encouragement supposed to be given to their countrymen by the king of Sardinia, occasioned a riot at Chamberi; and, by the violent interference of the troops, about fifty persons were wounded. The princesses hastened to Rome, and were treated by the pope with high respect[26].

The negotiation with Mirabeau being continued, emis-

26 Mémoires Historiques de Mes-Dames Adelaide et Victoire de France, Filles de Louis XV.

saries were employed in sounding the inclinations of the principal inhabitants of the departments; and M. de Bouillé took an active part in the promotion of a scheme calculated to restore the balance in favor of royalty. M. de la Fayette was also meditating a political plan, but not in concert with Mirabeau, for whom he had no regard, and by whom he was despised. He wished to consolidate the revolution in such a mode as might preserve the monarchy, which, however, he was too much inclined to depress. This commander kept the king almost a prisoner at the Tuileries. When some commotions had alarmed his majesty, about three hundred royalists hastened to defend him: but the officers of the national guard insisted on their retiring, after the surrender of their arms to the king, who was not only obliged by La Fayette to deliver up the arms, but was prohibited from admitting any strangers into the palace. These insults made a deep impression upon the feelings of the harassed prince, who was soon after seised with a fever. His recovery was celebrated with illuminations; and even the assembly expressed joy on the occasion.

While the king's new friend was maturing his important scheme, he contracted an illness which hurried him to his grave. The suspicion of his being poisoned was wholly unfounded. His death was generally lamented; and his memory was honored by a public and magnificent funeral. He was a man of great abilities, a commanding orator, a powerful reasoner, and an intelligent statesman. But his private character was not the most honorable or correct; for he was faithless, selfish, and profligate. Ambition led him to promote revolutionary disorder: but he was ready to support the royal cause when attractive offers appealed to his self interest. April 2.

Affected at the loss of Mirabeau's expected services, and weary of captivity, Louis was inclined to seek comfort and protection at a distance from his turbulent ca-

pital. He was advised by M. de Montmorin to propose to the emperor the formation of such a league among the continental powers, as might, without actual war, intimidate the assembly into respect and moderation. All the arts of persuasion, and all the efficacy of bribes, were in the mean time to be employed in influencing the deputies, the Jacobin club, the national guard, and the *commune* of Paris. On pretence of averting hostilities, the king was to negotiate with the combined powers, and to put the army on an orderly and respectable footing. He was then to proceed to the frontiers, command the emigrants to return and join his troops, form a new administration, and summon the assembly to deliberate under his eye. The electoral assemblies were to be consulted; and a plan of government, providing for the continuance of the monarchy, yet not inconsistent with reasonable liberty, was to be settled with general consent. After the adjustment of an accommodation with foreign powers, Louis was to return to Paris; and affairs, it was fondly hoped, would then proceed in a prosperous train[27].

The emperor was pleased with the propositions, and promised to treat with those princes who were unfriendly to democratic usurpation. M. de Gilliers was authorised to disclose the scheme to the emigrants in general, and to the count d'Artois in particular. This prince was eager to promote the confederacy; but he rather hoped than expected that it would have the desired effect.

April 23. A declaration which Montmorin was ordered to send to the French ambassadors at different courts, tended to degrade the king, as it asserted known falsehoods; and it produced no effect to his advantage. In consequence of an offer of service from the brothers of the name of Lameth, who had considerable influence over the assembly, he declared that he was *happy* and

27 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 39.

free (at a time when he was agitated with chagrin and anxiety, and was not even suffered to make an excursion from one palace to another, or follow his own will in any respect, if it did not agree with that of the people or their representatives), and that he cordially approved the constitution which had been framed by the wisdom of patriotic delegates. The applause of the assembly was lavished on him for his kindness and condescension; and the president, observing that the hydra of faction had a hundred heads, congratulated him on having stricken off the last. This speaker either did not mean what he said, or was not actuated by the spirit of prophecy.

Montmorin, who had reluctantly complied with the earnest entreaties of Louis, in signing a declaration which militated against his scheme, continued to treat with the count de Merci; and, during this negotiation, M. d'Artois had an interview at Mantua with the emperor. The chief points of the conversation were committed to writing by M. de Calonne; and a *projet*, corrected by his imperial majesty, was transmitted to the French court. Leopold engaged to send thirty-five thousand men to the frontiers: Spain and other powers agreed to put armies in motion: a declaration was to be prepared in the name of the family of Bourbon, and to be succeeded by a manifesto of the allies, stating the motives and the expediency of their interference: the parliaments of the realm were to be re-assembled; and the king, resuming his authority, was to regulate it according to his own wish, with a reasonable attention to the desires already expressed by the electors of the states-general[28]. May 20.

The assembly, in the mean time, hastened to complete the constitution. The people loudly called for dispatch;

[28] Bertrand's Annals, chap. 10.

and, in compliance with the general wish, a time was fixed for the convocation of primary assemblies, that the constituent body might be succeeded by a legislative council, from which the present national representatives should be excluded.

Disgusted at the insults to which he was subjected, and desirous of a full freedom of action, Louis had formed the resolution (in compliance with the suggestions of Mirabeau and other advisers) of retiring from Paris to a less turbulent town, where he might be surrounded by loyal troops and well-disposed subjects. Having great confidence in M. de Bouillé, he imparted the scheme to that nobleman, and desired him to fix the place. Bouillé answered, that an amicable invasion of France on the part of the emperor would furnish a pretence for levying an army; that the king might assume the personal command of this force, and, thus supported, might obtain from the assembly a sufficient degree of power to ensure his independence and respectability. The journey was so long delayed, that the time when it was undertaken was very unfavorable to it's success. The Jacobins had augmented their influence and extended their power: a general distrust of the king's views seemed to prevail; and the loyalty even of the army under Bouillé visibly declined[29].

On the departure of Louis and his family, a declaration was addressed to all the inhabitants of France, exhibiting a view of the calamitous effects of the revolution—the violation of property and of personal security, the impunity of crimes, the want of a regular government, the annihilation of the authority of a prince who had given the strongest testimonies of regard for his people, and the ruin of that executive power which might have crushed faction and preserved order. The journey was

29 Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé.

represented by the king as the means of recovering liberty for the court, and of enabling himself to provide for the establishment of internal peace and security.

The king and queen, with their children and the princess Elizabeth, left Paris, in the hope of reaching Mont-Medi. They proceeded without molestation to Varennes, but were stopped at that town in consequence of the unfortunate discovery of their rank by the post-master Drouet, who, concerting measures with Sause, the attorney or agent of the *commune*, alarmed the country, and found means to assemble fifteen thousand men, furnished with various offensive weapons. Louis would not suffer his guards to attack the obstructors of his progress; and Bouillé was prevented by the militia and the peasantry from rescuing his endangered sovereign, who was detained by the municipality until instructions arrived from the capital[30]. June 21.

It has been suspected, by partial writers, that M. de la Fayette was acquainted with the king's intention of retiring, and, having suffered him to commence his journey, took measures for it's frustration: but there is no proof of this act of treachery. He informed the assembly, however, that the royal family had disappeared from the Tuileries; adding, that the vigilance of the people would probably soon discover the fugitives.

Surprise was the first sensation of the Parisians on the occasion: indignation then arose; and a calm followed, as if the people had been relieved from a burthen. The Jacobins were pleased at the flight, as it tended to promote their views of republicanism. The assembly decreed that the ministers should not attend to any orders which they might receive from the king. Couriers were sent to all the departments, to stop travellers, and put the magistrates and people on their guard; and an oath of

30 Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé.—Mémoires Politiques et Militaires, pour servir à l'Histoire secrète de la Révolution Françoise, tome i.

fidelity to the nation was exacted from every individual in the army or in office[31].

The royal fugitives were escorted back to Paris by the soldiery and the rabble. By torturing the import of an article of the new code, the king's adversaries endeavoured to prove that he had abdicated the throne; but the efforts of Barnave and other deputies, who at this time joined the party of La Fayette, from a disapprobation of the views of the Jacobins, and formed the moderate and constitutional club of *Feuillans*, baffled the views of the opposers of royalty.

The republican violence of the Jacobins urged them to represent the king's flight as a sufficient ground for his dethronement. Pethion did not scruple to propose, that Louis should be brought to trial, as his declared inviolability could only be applied to acts of royalty: but the assembly rejected the motion as unconstitutional. At a meeting of the seditious club, Brissot maintained, in a studied harangue, that it was not merely lawful, but an act of duty, to try the king; and pamphlets to that effect were industriously dispersed. The friends of the constitution discouraged such doctrines, without manifesting that spirit which the danger of their sovereign required them to exert.

The Jacobin club, the society of *Cordeliers* (so called from meeting in a convent formerly belonging to that order), and other democratic associations, continued to inveigh against the king, and demand his punishment. Their arts and clamors having occasioned a tumultuous meeting in the Champ de Mars, the mayor proclaimed martial law: the national guard, attacked by the
July 17. mob, fired, and killed or wounded thirty or forty of the rioters. For this violation of the sovereignty of

31 Histoire du dernier Regne de la Monarchie Françoise, chap. i.

the people, Bailly was never forgiven by the Jacobins[32].

A continuance of deliberation and discussion at length completed the expected code. A deputation being escorted by troops to the palace, Thouret thus addressed the king: "The representatives of the nation present to your majesty the constitutional act, which consecrates the inalienable rights of the French people, tends to establish the true dignity of the throne, and regenerates the government of the empire." Louis promised to examine it, and state his opinion of it with all reasonable dispatch. After an interval of ten days, he declared his acceptance of it. If it had been presented to him at the moment of his departure from Paris, he could not have prevailed upon himself to accept it: but, as it had been, since that time, improved in various respects, had been rendered more promotive of good government and order, and had secured a more general sanction in the public opinion, he now engaged to maintain it at home, defend it against attacks from abroad, and endeavour to carry it into complete effect. He added, however, that he did not perceive, in the means allowed to the executive power, all the energy necessary for concentration and unity; and he subjoined a caution against that discord which might lead to anarchy. On the following day he appeared in the hall of the assembly, took an oath for the observance of the new constitution, and signed the act. The president, in a posture of *nonchalance*, without rising from his seat, congratulated Louis on his enjoyment of the most desirable crown in the universe, secured by the permanent and decisive authority of a constitution freely decreed. Sept. 14.

A ceremonious proclamation followed. The Parisian municipality announced, with military parade, that the

32 Bertrand's Annals, chap. 43.

national assembly, having finished (within the space of two years and two months) their constitutional labors, had consigned the act, confirmed by the king, to the fidelity of the legislative body, as a sacred deposit,—to the vigilance of the fathers and mothers of families, the affections of the young citizens, and the courage and zeal of all Frenchmen.

At the time of completing this boasted work of human wisdom, or (as some have termed it) monument of human folly, an act of revolutionary rapacity was committed by the assembly: I allude to the seisure of the Comtat Venaissin. A motion for it's union with the French monarchy had before been rejected by the moderation of the majority; but this forbearance was not permanent. An intestine war had arisen in the *comtat*, from the violence of the Jacobin faction. An army of revolutionists from Avignon had attacked Cavaillon, and massacred many of the inhabitants. Jourdan, a sanguinary ruffian, besieged Carpentras, and perpetrated horrible outrages; and most of the towns of the Venaissin were at length intimidated into an application for such a settlement as might extinguish in that territory the power of the pope.

From the death of Ganganelli to the prosecution of the cardinal de Rohan, no important or serious contest had occurred between the courts of Versailles and Rome: and, after that extraordinary affair, Louis and Pius were again on friendly terms. But, when the revolution had broken out, the very nature of the explosion presaged a breach between the altered government and the administrator of a superstitious system. The discontinuance of the payment of first-fruits, and the vote which declared the possessions of the church to be national property, gave great disgust to the pope; and the proceedings of the assembly, on the subject of his territories in France, filled him with indignation. After the renewal of commotions at Avignon, it was proposed that the whole

Venaissin should be re-annexed to the Gallic realm; and, because the measure was *convenient*, it was pronounced to be *just* and *lawful*.

Louis seemed now to have recovered his popularity. He was considered as a constitutional king, and hailed as a friend to his country. But he was still in a state of anxiety. He dreaded the intrigues of the Jacobins, and apprehended great danger from their restless and violent spirit. He saw the defects and absurdities of the constitution, and did not expect to be allowed freely to exercise the power which it assigned to him.

He again attended the assembly, to witness it's dissolution. "Return to your families," he then said, "and tell your fellow-citizens, that I have no interest but that of the nation; that I will exert all the powers with which I am intrusted to give full efficacy to the new system, and will prove, in every thing, that I can rejoice only when my people are happy." Sept. 30.

Although the constitution thus ordained did not promise to be permanent, some notice must be taken of it's chief contents, and some remarks are due to the importance of the subject. A declaration of rights formed the first article: these were declared to be liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. After an exemplification of these rights, as modified by a regard to social order, fundamental regulations were enacted, importing that all persons who had virtue and talents were admissible to public employments; that all taxes should be fairly divided among the citizens, in proportion to the ability of paying them; that the same crimes should be punished in the same manner, by whatever individuals they were committed; that every one might freely speak, write, and publish his thoughts, and might exercise that religious worship to which he was attached; that citizens might elect ministers of their own persuasion; and that a plan of public instruction, partly gratuitous,

should be organised. The general freedom, it was added, was not to preclude punishment for acts invasive of the rights of others, or injurious to the public safety.

Each community of French citizens, in towns and the neighbouring districts, might make choice of municipal officers, for the management of public concerns. The quality of a citizen might be lost by legal penalties which involved degradation, by a sentence of contumacy, by naturalisation in a different country, or by an association with foreign orders of chivalry, nobility, or religion. Marriage was pronounced to be solely a civil contract.

The sovereignty was acknowleged to reside in the people: but, as they could only exercise their powers by delegation, they were to be represented by an assembly, consisting of seven hundred and forty-five individuals, freely chosen for two years. In the election of a third part of the number, the proportion of territory was to be followed; with regard to another third, population was to be the criterion; and the rest were to be chosen according to the direct contribution to the exigencies of the state. Primary assemblies, composed of active citizens (who had completed twenty-five years of age, paid taxes, were not in a servile station, and were in the list of the national guard), were to nominate one elector for every hundred of those who did or might attend the meeting. The electors were to be far superior, in point of property, to the ordinary citizens; and they were to choose representatives from the active citizens of the department to which they belonged. Ministers of state, and all public officers, were to be excluded from the national assembly. The members were required to pronounce, in a body, an oath intimating that they would live free or die, and, individually, to swear fidelity to the new constitution, to the nation, the law, and the king. Inviolability was so far annexed to the character of a representative, that he was not to be examined, ac-

cused, or judged, at any time, for what he had said, written, or done, in the exercise of his functions. For a crime he might be seised in the act, or arrested by order; but immediate notice was to be given to the legislative body, which would be allowed to decide whether a sufficient ground of accusation existed.

As the sovereignty belonging to the nation was declared to be one and indivisible, so was the royalty: but, while the former was inalienable and imprescriptible, the latter might be forfeited or lost in various ways; namely, by not taking the constitutional oath within a month after a request from the legislature, or by retracting it,—by acting with an army against the nation, or not opposing hostile measures taken in the royal name,—or by not returning within two months after leaving France. The person of the king was pronounced sacred and inviolable: he could only be tried for acts posterior to abdication. He was to enjoy the supreme executive power, promulgate the laws, appoint ministers, command the army and navy (without naming all the officers in those departments), and superintend all the administrative bodies of the realm. He might propose war, but not declare or commence it without the assent of the legislature; and, whenever the assembly should desire peace, he was bound to commence a negotiation for that purpose. He might negotiate; but no treaty of peace, alliance, or commerce, could have effect without the ratification of the assembly. His refusal of enactment to any decree of the legislative body could only suspend, not annul it. His ministers were responsible for all the acts or measures of the cabinet: no order from the king could protect or indemnify them: but, to prosecute them criminally, a decree of the assembly was necessary.

Justice was to be gratuitously administered. The people were to appoint the judges and public accusers; and trial by jury was allowed. No person could be ap-

prehended or detained, without an order from some tribunal, the officers of police, or the legislature. Examination was to follow arrest within twenty-four hours: and, if no grounds of suspicion should be apparent, the individual was to be restored to liberty.

As all human institutions occasionally require alteration and reform, it was ordained, that, when three successive legislative bodies should have concurred in wishing for the change of any constitutional article, a fourth legislature, consisting of two hundred and forty-nine members added to the ordinary number, should be authorised to perform the task of revision and improvement; and that, as soon as the object in question should be completed, the supernumerary deputies should resign their seats.

This fabric of power was ill-cemented and unsound. It was denominated a monarchy; but it contained so strong a mixture of democracy, that the former term was inapplicable to the system. It rendered the king a mere instrument in the hands of a domineering assembly: his prerogative was inefficient, and his authority inadequate even to the preservation of order and tranquillity. A *veto*, to be useful, ought to be absolute; for a temporary prohibition of enactment cannot command respect, except from a well-constituted assembly. I am aware that the suspensive *veto* has been applauded by the vanity of it's proposer[33], as a happy effort of political sagacity, calculated to give time for the zeal of a popular assembly to subside into moderation: but I am rather disposed to consider it as a feeble tie, invidious without being authoritative, seemingly arbitrary without the energy of perseverance.

The constitution had a multiplicity of parts; but they did not form a regular chain; they did not smoothly slide into each other. The theory could not easily be reduced

[33] M. Necker.

to practice. Indeed, if the code had been truely excellent, and much more practicable than it was, the exorbitancy of Jacobinical ambition, and the anarchical licentiousness of faction, would not long have suffered it to be operative and efficacious.

LETTER IX.

History of France, continued to the Trial and Death of Louis XVI: and the Commencement of the War with Great-Britain and Holland.

THE progress of the constitution, and the eventful scenes which occurred while it was yet unfinished, gave the French ample time to reflect on the nature and tendency of their revolution. The royalists, for obvious reasons, could not view it with satisfaction: the nobility were not pleased at being reduced to a level with the mass of the people; and the clergy complained of the diminution of their privileges and revenues; while the nation in general still hoped and expected to derive benefit from the change.

When the newly-elected assembly commenced it's career, three parties were distinctly observable among the members—the friends of the new constitution (including the Feuillans), the independents, and the violent faction, which consisted of Jacobins and Cordeliers. Dumas, Dumolard, and Girardin, headed the first party: La-Croix was the chief director of the second; Brissot (for Robespierre was not among the deputies) had the principal influence over the third[1]. Oct. 1.

1 Histoire du dernier Règne de la Monarchie Françoise, chap. 2.

The constitutional code, being presented in form to the new legislature, was hailed as the pledge of peace and union. Cerutti then moved, that thanks should be voted to the constituent assembly for having saved and regenerated the French empire, for having destroyed, by the labors of three years, the abuses of fourteen centuries, and paved the way for ages of happiness. The motion was applauded, and readily sanctioned; and a mere doubt expressed by Chabot, whether the constitution was the most perfect of all works, produced general murmurs. This was literally a modest hint from one who was considered as a man of extraordinary impudence[2]: but it was deemed a profanation of the *gospel of the constitution.*

In a judicious speech from the king, proper objects were recommended to the attention of the deputies. He requested them to facilitate the operations of government, strengthen the army and navy, establish public credit, improve the civil laws, render the attainment of justice more prompt and easy, and frame a system of national education. To this advice little attention was paid. The assembly evinced a deficiency of wisdom and of patriotism; frequently discussed trifles and decreed absurdities; enacted unjust laws; connived at the licentiousness and brutality of the rabble; insulted and degraded the king; and encouraged factious anarchy.

An early attack was made upon the emigrants, many of whom were embodied in Germany. Their supposed views of hostility were mentioned with indignation in the assembly; and it was decreed that, if they should remain in a body, and not return into France before the first day of the next year, they should be punished with death where-ever they might be found[3]. This infamous law originated with Brissot's party; and a decree for the punishment of all priests who refused to take

Nov. 9.

2 *Un Ex-Capucin* (says Necker) *d'une rare impudence.*

3 De la Révolution Françoise, par Necker, tome ii. sect. 4.

the civic oath, or who excited disturbances, arose from the intolerant spirit of the same faction. From these ordinances Louis with-held his sanction; and his refusal did not, at first, seem to give serious disgust.

The preparations of the emigrants continued to be productive of warm debates, and formed the chief feature of a manifesto written by Condorcet, and adopted by the assembly. In this composition plausible professions of general moderation were mingled with vindictive denunciations against the *rebels* who menaced their native country with sanguinary convulsions. The hostile views imputed to the emperor were also a subject of animated discussion. Some vassals of the empire having complained, that their feudal rights in Alsace and Lorrain had been invaded by the constituent assembly, Leopold promised to assert their claims; and, not approving the indemnification offered by Louis, he demanded a re-establishment of those possessions on the footing prescribed by treaties. He also intimated a desire, that the elector of Treves might not be attacked, as that prince had engaged to put a stop to the assembling of emigrants in his dominions. In communicating the imperial dispatches to the legislative body, the king declared, that, if the elector should not fully perform his promise, he would have recourse to arms. M. de Narbonne, the minister of war, was sent to the frontiers to examine the state of the army and fortified towns. He made a favorable report, and assured the assembly that the French were well prepared to resist aggression. Dec. 29. A.D. 1792.

The ambition of Brissot urged him to depress and humble the king, that, by his influence over the assembly, he might himself, in a great measure, act the part of a sovereign. He was a man of low birth, but not ill educated. He had served as an attorney's clerk: he

afterwards became a journalist, and was admitted into the household of the duke of Orleans, by whose interest he was chosen a representative of Paris. He had already evinced an inclination for a republican government; and, by promoting a war with Austria, he hoped to embarrass and confound the court, as it would be easy to find opportunities of calumniating a prince who would be the ostensible director of hostilities which in his heart he disapproved. He was supported in his views by the most eloquent members of the assembly: but, in the Jacobin club, Robespierre opposed him on this subject, alleging that the court would, in case of war, betray the nation, and that it would be more prudent to wait until the people had fully established their rights, and secured their interest in the government.

By the intrigues of Brissot, an address was procured from the assembly, desiring Louis to remonstrate with the emperor upon his infraction of the treaty of alliance concluded with France in the year 1756, and demand an explicit answer to the question, whether he intended to live in peace and amity with the French nation. In reply to the king's remonstrances, Leopold declared that he had no intention of assisting the elector of Treves, unless the French should attack that prince, even after he had dismissed the emigrants, or restrained them from assembling; and that the concert of princes had now in a great measure ceased, as the French monarch seemed to be no longer in captivity; but that it was still expedient to guard against the artifices of a violent faction, which, establishing a state within a state, and founding it's illegal ascendency on troubles and confusion, had no other means of supporting itself amidst the embarrassments and commotions in which it had involved the nation, than the excitation of still more serious disturbances, calculated to forward it's schemes for the sub-

version of the monarchy. These intelligible hints inflamed the wrath of the Jacobins, who loudly called for a speedy war[4].

M. De-Lessart, who had been appointed minister for foreign affairs on the resignation of Montmorin, had endeavoured (as we are informed by M. Bertrand de Moleville, then minister of the marine) to draw Brissot and some of his friends into the court party by pecuniary offers: but the pay which they demanded being deemed too high by De-Lessart, the negotiation failed; and he became the object of peculiar animosity. The court seemed less eager to form an association with M. d'Orleans, who had made overtures for that purpose: but, if he had been fully determined on a reconciliation, it might have been easily adjusted.

On pretence of his being too pacific for the honor of France, and of his having betrayed the interest of his country, De-Lessart was impeached and imprisoned. Moleville resigned his office, after he had ably defended himself against Jacobinical denunciation. March 10. Narbonne was dismissed by the king, for courting the party of Brissot, though it does not appear that his motives were disloyal. The other ministers at the same time retired; and the cabinet was filled with the associates or the friends of Brissot.

Dumouriez, who was a man of talents, and a moderate (not an anarchical) Jacobin, now became minister for the foreign department. De-Grave, a young and inexperienced man, succeeded Narbonne: to La-Coste was committed the superintendence of the navy: Duranthon and Clavière were the new ministers of justice and of finance; and Roland, an old man who enjoyed a greater reputation for integrity and virtue than he deserved, was gratified with the administration of the interior. The

[4] Coxe's History of the House of Austria.

last-named politician was governed by his wife, a bold revolutionist, who studiously propagated an unfavorable opinion of the king, encouraged wild speculations and disorganising schemes, and made her house the rendezvous of faction.

Dumouriez had not long been in power, when such instructions were sent to M. de Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna, as tended to precipitate a war. Complaint was made of Leopold's military preparations, which were not discontinued by his successor Francis; and this prince was desired to annul all treaties or conventions derogatory from the honor, interest, or safety of France, and not reinforce his troops, or assemble them on his frontiers. No satisfactory answer being given, Louis was advised by his ministers to propose to the assembly a declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia. It was voted with little deliberation; and the

April 20. decree intimated, that the French were compelled to take arms by the counter-revolutionary proceedings and unequivocally-hostile views of the young monarch[5].

The Feuillans did not venture to oppose the war in the assembly; but they took other opportunities of condemning it as rash and unnecessary, and also unconstitutional, because it was not merely defensive. On these grounds, some general officers of that party resigned their commissions: but La Fayette, having acquired the regard of the soldiery, and being fond of power, was unwilling to relinquish his command. The marechal de Rochambeau likewise consented to act, although he disapproved the war. The former wished to enjoy the chief command; but Dumouriez did not consider him, from his character or talents, as entitled to that distinction. He obtained it in effect, however, on the indisposition of the marechal[6].

5 Appendix to the Annual Register, vol. XXXIV.
6 La Vie de M. Dumouriez, livre iv. chap. 2, 3.

La Fayette was directed by the minister of war (or rather by Dumouriez, who made a cipher of M. De-Grave) to commence the campaign with an attempt upon Namur; while lieutenant-general Biron, with a smaller force, was to attack Mons. When this officer approached the heights near that city, two regiments of dragoons suddenly began to retreat, exclaiming that they were betrayed; and the disordered infantry joined in the flight. Some of them even fired at the officers who endeavoured to rally them. Pursued by five hundred Austrian *chasseurs*, they hastened to Valenciennes, and gave a loose to that spirit of mutiny which arose from the calumnious insinuations of the anarchists. Dillon, who had previously marched from Lisle, was more unfortunate than Biron; for his troops, after a disgraceful flight, murdered him and one of his officers, and perpetrated other enormities [7]. April 30.

La Fayette, instead of reducing Namur, remained for some weeks unemployed; and, when his troops began to act, M. Gouvion was surprised near Philippeville. The same officer was a second time attacked with loss; but, in a different part of the Netherlands, marechal Luckner made some progress. The towns which he reduced, however, were not retained; for, after general Jarry had burned the suburbs of Courtray, the French retired within their own frontiers.

The minister of war who succeeded M. De-Grave was Servan, an intelligent but factious man. He was influenced by Madame Roland to oppose Dumouriez, with whom her husband and Clavière were disgusted for his ascendency in the cabinet. He proposed to the assembly that an encampment of twenty thousand men should be formed near Paris. The Feuillans resisted the motion; but, as the independents joined the Jacobins in it's sup-

7 Vie de M. Dumouriez, livre iv. chap. 4.

port, it was adopted by the majority. The king declared his disapprobation of this scheme, and of an ordinance for the transportation or imprisonment of ecclesiastical non-jurors. Roland importuned him on these unpleasing subjects, and also insulted him in an acrimonious letter, which, although that minister promised to keep it secret, was published with views of seditious irritation. Louis had been recently offended by a dismissal of his guards; and he declared that he could no longer submit to the insolence of the three factious ministers, whom he therefore discarded with indignation. Dumouriez was requested to name successors; but he urged the king, at the same time, to sanction the two decrees, as his refusal would give the Jacobins a pretence for inveighing against him with increased asperity. As Louis was firm in his opposition to one decree, because it threatened to enslave him, and to the other, because it tended to the ruin of conscientious men, Dumouriez resigned his office in disgust. He was now courted by the Feuillans to join them; but he rejected the overture with disdain[8].

June 13.

Incensed at the conduct of the ministers and the assembly, La Fayette sent a letter from his camp, imputing all the disorders of France to the arts and malignity of the Jacobins, and exhorting the national representatives to shake off the disgraceful yoke of that vile faction, restore the energy of law, and save their country and their king[9]. The majority of the deputies applauded

8 De la Révolution Françoise, par Necker, tome ii.—Dumouriez.

9 Mr. Adolphus, in his Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution, affirms, that the indignation of La Fayette was "directed rather against the persons than the principles of the Jacobin rulers," and that "he was again ready to have assumed the lead of a factious populace." These observations require a comment, as the writer is a man of merit and reputation. He confounds one of the primary actors in the revolution,—one whose intentions appear to have been upright, however he may have occasionally erred,—with vile conspirators and sanguinary anarchists. But La Fayette, like Mr. Fox, had dared to speak of the *sacred duty of insurrection*; and such a remark, although it was confined to cases of flagrant oppression and

the epistle: but the gloomy hall of the Jacobin club resounded with clamor and invective against the bold denunciator of incendiary guilt.

The dismission of the three friends of Brissot, and the attack upon the factious leaders, accelerated the explosion of an insurrective conspiracy. Danton, who, during a former administration, had received occasional bribes for favoring the court in the debates of the clubs, concurred with Chabot and Santerre in stimulating the rabble of the suburbs to such acts of sedition as might either intimidate the king and his new ministers into humble acquiescence, or provoke a resistance which might be misconstrued into tyrannical hostility. Brissot was an abettor of the scheme. He was hurried by ambition into violations of public tranquillity and of social order, without reflecting that he afforded a precedent for future insurrections, by which his own power and security might be endangered. He taught the people to believe that the king was guided by an Austrian committee, and that the most nefarious plots were in agitation among the royalists, who ought, therefore, to be crushed by the power of the patriots.

A multitude of armed men, appearing with a petition against the king, were suffered to pass in array through the hall of the assembly. They then proceeded to the palace, unrestrained by Pethion the mayor, who was satisfied with assurances that property would be respected. Lajarre, the minister of war, as soon as the ruffians had forced their way into the apartments, placed a party of grenadiers about the royal person, which was menaced with sanguinary violence. Louis faced the storm with unusual spirit. Unmoved by reproaches and June 20.

tyranny, can never be pardoned by courtly writers. If the discrimination of this author had been unclouded by prejudice, he would have perceived a wide difference between La Fayette and Brissot, and a still greater dissimilarity between the former and Robespierre.

insults, he declared that he would observe the constitution, which justified him in the use of a suspensive *veto*. No fear of personal injury, he said, should induce him to violate his conscience, or agree to what he considered as injurious to the national interest. Elizabeth, his affectionate sister, stood by his side, manifesting equal fortitude. The queen and her children were in another apartment, exposed to the insolence of Santerre. At length Pethion arrived, and desired the citizens to quit the palace, not without praising their intentions and their conduct[10].

The king's behaviour on this occasion elevated his character in the opinion of all unprejudiced men; and the proceedings of the violent party were severely arraigned. The friends of the constitution more eagerly promoted his cause. La Fayette, leaving the camp, repaired to the metropolis, and, in the name of the soldiery, requested the assembly to punish the authors of the late disgraceful tumults. But his address was ineffectual; and his private offers of service to the royal family, whose escape from Paris to the army he hoped to facilitate, were coolly received.

Violent schemes were still entertained by the Jacobins and the Cordeliers; and their views were promoted by the alarm of Prussian hostilities. Frederic William, having engaged to co-operate with Francis, had levied a great army, of which the duke of Brunswick assumed the command. The union of these despots enraged the French; and the duke's manifesto excited the strongest reprobation. In this arbitrary proclamation, the troops and the people were peremptorily desired to return to their former habits of loyalty and submission, and all the representatives of the nation, members of the department, district, and municipality

July 25.

10 Necker, tome ii.

of Paris, and the national guard, were threatened with death, if the king should not be immediately and fully restored to power; and the dreadful excesses of military outrage were denounced against the whole city. In an additional declaration, all towns and places, through which the inhabitants should suffer the king, or any individual of the royal family, to be carried off by their enemies, were likewise menaced with military execution. Such wild threats, and such domineering arrogance, were ridiculed by the violent party, while moderate and well-disposed citizens were grieved to find that the duke was on this occasion deserted by his usual good sense.

The emperor and the king of Prussia, in a new manifesto, panegyrised the patriotic conduct of Louis, reprobated the continued injustice of the constituent and legislative assemblies, and lamented the enormities which had rendered France a scene of terror and confusion. They declared that the revolution was unjust and illegal in it's principle, horrible in it's means, and calamitous in it's effects; that it was the work of a faction, not of the nation; that it's leaders had systematically invaded the rights of foreign princes; and that their doctrines, and their acts, threatened to convulse the civilised world, and dissolve all political society. For these reasons, the allies were fully determined to exert the most vigorous efforts for the restoration of order and security in France, to punish severely all resistance to their arms, and to give up Paris to the inflictions of terrible justice, if the least outrage or insult should be offered to the king or his family. Aug. 4.

A declaration was also issued by the emigrant brothers and relatives of Louis, inveighing against the revolution, and ordering, in the name of the captive king an immediate submission of the people to his lawful authority. Aug. 8.

The disloyal party, far from being inclined to acquiesce

in the return of Louis to a plenitude of royal power, prepared for the extinction of his sway. Bodies of Marseillois and other provincials, who had arrived in Paris to commemorate the revolution, were detained by Brissot, and Danton, for the execution of a scheme calculated for the abolition of royalty.

The plan was formed with deliberate atrocity. The troops of the Parisian *fauxbourgs*, and their provincial confederates, were organised and prepared for action; and so far were the conspirators from affecting secresy, that the arrangements were known to the inhabitants of distant departments for some days before the dreadful explosion. Pethion intimated to the national assembly, that the alarm-bell would sound at midnight; and he expressed an apprehension of his inability of repressing the commotions which were expected to arise. He, indeed, did not wish to prevent the meditated insurrection; for he was closely connected with the conspiring incendiaries[11].

Preparations for defence were not wholly neglected by the court. The Swiss guards, amounting to nine hundred and fifty men, were reviewed by M. Maillardor, who acted as commandant in lieu of M. d'Affry; sixteen battalions of native troops were sent by. M. Mandat to the Tuileries, with orders to repel every act of aggression. A great number of gentlemen also resolved to defend their sovereign against the intended attack.

At the sound of the *tocsin*, in irregular meetings of the sections, a new revolutionary municipality was formed under the eye of Danton. Mandat, who was not aware of this *manœuvre*, obeyed an order for his appear-
Aug. 10. ance, and was murdered near the town-hall, in consequence of a signal from Huguenin, president of the *commune*. Santerre was appointed to succeed Mandat

11 This conclusion may be drawn even from his own *Compte Rendu*.

as commander of the national guard; but he was not actively employed in the execution of the plot. Pethion had attended the king at the palace, and surveyed with a treacherous eye the dispositions for defence; and then, presenting himself before the assembly, made a report of the disordered state of Paris.

After a sleepless night, Louis reviewed the troops in the courts of the palace, and consented that the assembled gentlemen should co-operate in his defence, under the orders of the mareschal de Mailly. In a consultation with his ministers, he was advised by Rœderer, who attended him in the name of the department, to seek protection among the national representatives, as otherwise he and his family might be in extreme danger. The queen, concluding that this advice was intended to facilitate and promote the success of the assailants, declared that she would rather be nailed to the walls of the castle than leave it: but, relaxing in her firmness, she agreed to accompany the king to the riding-house, opposite the garden of the Tuileries, where the deputies were assembled[12].

The departure of the royal family was the signal for insubordination at the palace. The spirit of defence seemed to be paralysed. The national guard thought more of escape than of resistance; and even the Swiss gave way to disorder and confusion. But the loyalty of the latter soon revived: they assumed a firm countenance, and prepared to resist the Marseillois, who, supported by six pieces of artillery, advanced to the front of the castle. Some blood had already been shed; for the abbé Bouyon and eight other royalists had been seised by the rabble and put to death at the instigation of the revolutionary amazon, Theroigne de Méricourt.

12 Histoire du dernier Regne de la Monarchie Françoise, chap. iii.—Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple, par M. Cléry.—Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Août, par M. de Sainte-Croix.

A small party first approached, and disarmed the most forward of the Swiss, who, on the advance of a numerous body of insurgents, were cruelly murdered. M. de Castelberg now ordered his countrymen to fire upon the disloyal and sanguinary aggressors[13]. The discharge had an electrical effect. The ruffians fled with dreadful yells: musquets, pikes, and grenadiers' caps, strewed the courts; and the *quais*, ramparts, and streets, were filled with fugitives. In another part, a body of Swiss carried off three pieces of cannon, after the loss of many lives on both sides. One troop of cavalry, on hearing the sound of artillery, commenced a disgraceful flight. Another troop, having lost nearly one fourth of it's number (while waiting for orders) by the firing from the castle and from the people, joined the insurgents.

In the mean time, the assembly, in which Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, successively presided, acted with an indecision which argued a connivance in the conspiracy. Twelve commissaries were, indeed, sent to tranquillise the people; but no measures adequate to the exigency were adopted. Hearing the populace cry out, *Vive la Nation*, the members rose in a body, and exclaimed, *Vive la Liberté!* Again rising, all swore that they were ready to die in defence of freedom and equality.

At a time when the Swiss were on the point of being victorious, an order arrived from the king for the cessation of the conflict. A party under captain Turler now repaired to the assembly, and, after considerable loss during the march, submitted to the disgrace of being disarmed. A reinforcement of men and cannon having reached the scene of action, the Swiss who remained, and their associates, were re-attacked with fury, and at length overwhelmed. In their endeavours to escape, they were

13 It has been doubted whether the Marseillois, or the Swiss, fired first; but it appears that the latter did not fire before five of their comrades had been assassinated.

assailed from all quarters; but about a hundred and eighty of the foreigners, and the majority of the gentlemen, saved their lives by dispersion and concealment.

This conspiracy may be said, in a republican sense, to have completed the revolution. The factious leaders had furnished themselves with a pretence for affirming, that the king had made war upon his people, and had thus forfeited all claim to indulgence and to a continuance of power. Vergniaud now proposed, in the name of an extraordinary committee, that a national convention should be formed, and that the "chief of the executive power" should be suspended from his functions, until the new assembly should take such measures as might seem expedient for securing the sovereignty of the people and the reign of liberty and equality. These and other propositions, calculated to promote the views of democracy, were readily adopted. The king and his family were detained as prisoners, under the "guard of the citizens and of the law;" and the council-general of the *commune* fixed upon the Temple for the scene of their confinement[14].

Even the limited degree of royalty which the constitution had permitted to remain in France, now ceased to exist. The municipality of Paris domineered over the state; for the assembly seemed to act rather as the executive power of the *commune*, than as the representative body of the nation. Robespierre and his Myrmidons, indeed, now reigned triumphant.

When M. de la Fayette was informed of the victory obtained by the Jacobins over the royalists, he endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops to the constitution, by exacting from them a new oath for it's support. A man of a decided and energetic character would have urged them to adopt the resolution of crushing the sanguinary faction which domineered at Paris: but La Fay-

14 Histoire du dernier Regne, chap. iii.

ette was too imbecile for so bold an attempt. He had not sufficient spirit or address to check the accelerated course of the revolution. He found that men more daring than himself had seised the chief power, and enslaved the king. At a time when his troops were inflamed with indignation, he ought to have directed the rising flame to the extinction of the Jacobin society: but his efforts were weak and nugatory. He merely ordered the detention of three commissioners who had been sent to the army to observe his conduct; and then fled into the Netherlands, where he was treated as a prisoner by the Prussians, whose sovereign considered him as a betrayer of Louis. Dumouriez, who had caballed against him, was appointed his successor[15].

By the prevailing party, Servan, Roland, and Clavière, were restored to their offices; the Cordelier Danton, now a Jacobin, was declared minister of justice; and Le Brun was nominated to the foreign department. A declaration, written by Condorcet, was issued by the assembly, vindicating the suspension of royalty by allegations of the treachery of Louis.

The external enemies of France approached the frontiers with a firm countenance. One division formed the siege of Thionville: another body invested and bombarded Longuy, which was quickly surrendered by the terrified garrison. Thionville, being well defended, escaped capture.

Affairs were in a critical state on the surrender of Longuy and the desertion of La Fayette. Faction divided the army: it was weak, and ill-provided with officers: the new general had never enjoyed a separate command, and his zeal and his intentions were doubted; and many of the frontier towns were not expected to be long defended. A council of war being called, lieutenant-general Dillon proposed that the troops should, by a rapid march,

15 Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution, by Adolphus, vol. i.

reach Chalons, defend the passage of the Marne, and wait for reinforcements. The other field-officers concurred with him, except Dumouriez himself, who, in a subsequent consultation with Thouvenot, represented the forest of Argonne as the best station that could then be occupied. "That post (said he) may prove the Thermopylæ of France: if I can seise it before the Prussians arrive there, all will go well." Thouvenot applauded the idea; and arrangements were instantly made for the execution of the scheme. While Dillon's division occupied Les Islettes, near the high road leading to Paris from Verdun, the general took a more advantageous position with the main body at Grand-Pré, near the road to Rheims. He was now informed of the surrender of Verdun, and the death of it's commandant Beaurepaire, who, being compelled by the magistrates and the people to relinquish defence, had committed an act of suicide. Concluding that the king and the duke of Brunswick would hasten their march towards Paris, and might think it easy to force his station, he improved it's defensibility by entrenchments and inundations, and disposed his comparatively small force with caution and judgement[16].

The French out-posts were attacked; but not one was forced. Intelligence of these assaults having excited great consternation in Paris, Dumouriez was desired, by mareschal Luckner and the minister of war, to retreat behind the Marne; and orders were given for assembling an army at Chalons, that the dreaded advance of the enemy might be obstructed. Entrenchments were formed, and various works thrown up, near Paris; and, that the aristocrats might have no opportunity of exciting commotions, a great number of suspected individuals were arrested and imprisoned. A nefarious scheme was then formed, to diminish the number of the supposed enemies of the new government.

16 La Vie du General Dumouriez, livre v. chap. 6, 7.

The murder of the prisoners cannot be mentioned without indignation and horror. The minister of *justice* concurred with the execrable Marat and the cool-blooded tyrant Robespierre, with Billaud de Varennes, Manuel, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Camille Des-Moulins, in these acts of cowardly atrocity. Billaud sent twenty objects of suspicion, on pretence of a plot against the patriots, to the abbey of St. Germain. Four of these individuals were saved by a committee of one of the sections: the rest were assassinated. Eighty other prisoners were placed in a hall, and most of these were put to death. On the following day, other victims were sacrificed, so as to extend the amount at the abbey to a hundred and thirty-one. At the Conciergerie, two hundred and eighty-nine were murdered; at the Chatelet, two hundred and sixteen; in the Hotel de la Force, a hundred and sixty, of whom one was the widow of the prince de Lamballe. In other houses of arrest at Paris, above five hundred persons, among whom were two hundred and fifty priests and thirty-five women, were deprived of life by democratic fury [17].

Sept. 2.

There is no doubt that the assembly might either have totally prevented these massacres, or at least have greatly diminished the number of victims. But the members seemed to be intimidated, and contented themselves with naming two deputations to stop the career of villany. No benefit resulted from the weak efforts of the deputies: the murders were continued even before their eyes.

17 Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes, tome iv.—Prudhomme affirms, that in the massacre at the Hotel de la Force, some Englishmen in disguise, guests of the duke of Orleans, were observed in the crowd, directing the operations of the assassins. This assertion is so improbable, that, without being suspected of national partiality, I may venture to pronounce it a malignant libel.

Some accounts have extended the number of victims to five thousand; and it is not improbable that the amount considerably exceeded Prudhomme's calculation.

Necker and others affirm, that the villains who thus thinned the prisons received pay from the *commune* for their *patriotic* services; and the assertion is worthy of credit.

Instructions were sent by the commune of Paris to many of the departments, for the execution of *summary justice* (as it was called) upon the traitors who were ready to co-operate with the foreign enemies of France. But only a few municipalities, or rather some Jacobin leaders of the mob, adopted the sanguinary hint. Fifty-seven prisoners were transferred from Orleans to Versailles, and murdered with twenty-one others. The duke de Brisac defended himself against the assassins with great courage, but had no hope of escape. Some fell at Rheims, Meaux, and Lyons; and the once-popular duke de la Rochefoucault was killed near Gisors, by emissaries of the metropolitan commune.

If Brissot and his friends did not openly concur in these infamous acts, it is sufficiently evident that they connived at them, or did not (as men of spirit and virtue would) endeavour to prevent the perpetration of such enormities. They denied the connexion between the massacre and the *glorious revolution* of the 10th of August; and affirmed, that the recent outrages, instead of confirming it, tended only to disgrace it, and to render it's influence less operative and powerful.

While Danton and his associates were using every effort to procure a majority in the approaching convention, by bribing many of the electors with public money or the treasures of M. d'Orleans, and by intimidating the rest, the legislative assembly announced the termination of it's labors. It was a less respectable body than that which preceded it; and the new assembly had still less claim to praise. Thus the revolution degenerated. Men who had some share of honor and patriotism gave way to those who had less; and these, having taken their turn, were overpowered by the most daring and profligate incendiaries that ever infested society. Sept. 21.

Although hints of having recourse to a republican

government had been thrown out by the factious leaders, no precise scheme had been formed at their meetings: but, at the first sitting of the convention, when the extinction of the monarchy was suddenly proposed by a vulgar and brutal Jacobin, it met with general assent. "It was a theatrical king, a crowned player (says Necker), who proposed to the most illustrious of nations the abolition of real royalty,—the royalty of the house of Clovis, of Charlemagne, and of Capet,—a royalty that could not be stripped, even in it's fall, of the august character which fourteen centuries had impressed upon it." The motion of Collot d'Herbois was thus worded: "Royalty is abolished in France;" and it was decreed by acclamation, consequent on an universal rising of the deputies[18].

Although Brissot and Roland readily concurred with Robespierre and Danton in voting for a republic, the separation of party was now marked. The two former politicians began to be shocked at the sanguinary spirit of the latter, and to dread the farther attempts of such villanous anarchists. Some of their adherents took an early opportunity of exposing the dictatorial and liberticide aims of the two Jacobin chiefs and their accomplice Marat. Robespierre feebly defended himself: Danton boldly denied the charge; and Marat boasted of his wishes and schemes of slaughter, until some of the indignant members silenced him by force. The convention, however, tamely suffered the triumvirate to escape it's immediate vengeance.

As some of the chief supporters of Brissot were representatives of the department of the Gironde[19], the name of Girondists became the designation of the party; and the faction of Robespierre, from sitting on the more

18 Necker, tome ii. sect. vii.

19 Part of the ancient province of Guienne.

elevated benches, received the appellation of the mountain. The Girondists (also called Brissotins or Rolandists) formed the majority; but the minority, having a more ferocious character, and a greater skill in revolutionary *manœuvres*, pertinaciously contended for victory and pre-eminence.

The military defence of the new republic urgently required the attention of it's conventional rulers; and the minister Servan was ordered to attend with zeal and diligence to all the duties of his station. The Prussians threatened Grand-Pré, and seised the important post of Croix-aux-Bois, which was soon recovered by Chazot, but was again lost. The division of the Austrian general Clairfait might now have flanked the chief position of Dumouriez; and, if the duke of Brunswick had attacked him in front without delay, it is supposed that he would have been successful. The French commander, sensible of his danger, ordered Kellermann and Beurnonville to join him as soon as possible, and hastened to St. Menehould. During the retreat, ten thousand of his men fled in a panic before fifteen hundred of their adversaries; but the efforts of Miranda, a brave South-American, rallied the fugitives[20].

A rainy season, and a great scarcity of provisions (for the invaders imprudently trusted, for a considerable part of their supplies, to the country through which they passed), had seriously weakened the army of Frederic William. A dysentery and other complaints prevailed; and, in the lamentable progress of disorder, discouragement could not avoid obtruding itself. The king reproached the chief emigrants with having allured him to an invasion by false representations of the state of France. The bulk of the nation, he said, supported the existing

20 La Vie du General Dumouriez, livre v. chap. 8.—History of the Campaign of 1792, by J. Money, mareschal-de-camp in the service of Louis XVI.

government; and the prospect of a strong co-operation in the interior was visionary. He resolved, however, to make another effort; and, when Kellermann approached the heights of Valmy, the duke of Brunswick, commenced a fierce cannonade, which was warmly returned; but, on either side, the loss was not very considerable.

The duke was now posted between Paris and the French army; but the march to that capital was not so easy as some might have supposed. Various reinforcements had augmented the force of Dumouriez to fifty thousand men; and other armies were ready to march from different quarters. The Prussians were nearly in the centre of these levies, entangled in a barren country, and continued to be in want of bread, water, and forage. If they should advance towards Paris, they were exposed to the danger of being surrounded. They might gain a victory; but it might be indecisive; and a defeat might prove ruinous. Reflecting on these circumstances, the king sent colonel Manstein to treat with Dumouriez, and request him to join in promoting a counter-revolution. The general declined the hazardous proposal, but intimated a wish for a pacification with Prussia. During the conferences, the duke of Brunswick sent to Dumouriez, a copy of an imperious declaration, insisting on the immediate restoration of Louis to liberty, safety, and royal dignity, and declaring that a non-compliance with this demand would entail just and exemplary vengeance on the adversaries of that prince. The negotiation was now broken off by the French commander; and, two days afterward, the duke commenced a retreat[21].

Sept. 28.

Dumouriez remained in his camp for five days after the Prussians had retired, seemingly content with their

21 La Vie du General Dumouriez, livre v. chap. 10, 11.—Histoire des principaux Evenemens du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, tome ii.

decampment. But, in his own account of his life, he represents himself as having been anxious for the ruin of the enemy, and blames Kellermann for having obstructed the execution of his orders by the recall of general Valence, who had begun to harass the retiring foe. Leaving fresh instructions for a vigorous pursuit, he returned to Paris. The pursuers were within cannon-shot of the duke's head-quarters, when it was agreed that the Prussians should not be molested, if they would restore Longuy and Verdun. The count de Kalkreuth readily surrendered those towns; and the French exulted in the enforced retreat of their enemies.

The forces of the emperor had obtained an advantage at the camp of Maulde; but they were baffled by the strength of Lisle, which they fiercely bombarded without the labor of investment. Instead of invading, they were now obliged to act against invaders; for the French soon directed their march into the Austrian Netherlands.

After a short continuance in Paris, Dumouriez resumed the command of the army, for the performance of a promise which he had made to both parties. He had engaged to subdue the Netherlands before the end of the year. If he could have subdued the Jacobin phalanx, he would have deserved still higher praise. He had exhorted the Girondists to form a close union with Danton, whose commanding spirit, and vigor of mind, might enable them, he said, to save the king and country from the violence of the anarchists: but, instead of courting one who might have proved a very useful auxiliary, they thwarted his views, and roused his resentment. Disgusted at their imprudence in this respect, and not pleased at their neglect of his own services, Dumouriez left them to their Machiavelian intrigues and short-sighted policy[22].

With an ill-provided but numerous army, the enter-

22 Vie du General Dumouriez, livre vi. chap. 1.

prising general invaded Brabant, and advanced to Gemappe (or rather Genap), where the Austrians, under the duke of Saxe-Teschen, were stationed on the heights. About twenty thousand men defended the post against forty thousand. Beurnonville, with the right wing, commenced the attack; but he was so harassed by the fire of five redoubts, that he made little impression. The aged Ferrand, with the left division, seemed to be so inactive, that Thouvenot was sent to supersede him; and this officer assaulted the works at Quareignon with great impetuosity. The central body being thrown into disorder, the active courage of Baptiste Renard, the *valet* of the general, rallied a retiring brigade, and produced a spirited renewal of conflict. The duke de Chartres was equally successful in restoring energy to another column of the centre; and three stories of redoubts were gallantly stormed. Observing the tardy progress and the danger of Beurnonville, Dumouriez hastened to the right; and the republicans at length prevailed at every point of attack. Above three thousand of their number, and four thousand of the Austrians, may be supposed to have been killed or wounded[23].

Nov. 6.

The effect of this victory was greater than could reasonably have been expected. The French were received by the inhabitants of Mons as protectors rather than as enemies; and Dumouriez, in return for their good-will, promised not to violate the constitutional rights of the Netherland provinces La bourdonnaye, however, commenced at Tournay a system of violence and of spoliation, which excited loud complaints. Dumouriez, incensed at this injustice, procured the removal of the offender to Lisle, and gave the command of his division to Miranda. The whole province of Flanders was quickly seised; and that of Brabant, after the capture of Anderlecht, was

23 La Vie de M. Dumouriez, livre vi. chap. 5.

weakly defended. The general entered Brussels in triumph, and superintended the formation of such an administrative body as the citizens wished to establish. Proceeding against the army of the duke of Saxe-Teschen, he prevailed in a conflict near Tillemont, and in another at Roucoux; and then obtained possession of Liege. The citadel of Antwerp had already surrendered to Miranda; and Namur was taken, after a short siege, by Valence, who was ably assisted by Le Veneur. Roermond was also reduced; and all the Netherland provinces, except that of Luxembourg, were rapidly subdued[24].

The readiness of the Belgians to shake off the Austrian yoke, had encouraged the French convention to propagate a similar spirit among other communities; and a decree was promulgated, promising aid to all people who wished to procure that liberty which their rulers withheld from them. Another decree, equally arrogant, and still more subversive of the independence of other nations, soon followed. This edict not only ordered, in all countries invaded by French troops, a suppression of the constituted authorities, an abolition of all aristocratic privileges, and a convocation of primary assemblies, but declared that the republic would consider as enemies all who, refusing the offered boon of freedom, should continue to submit to tyrants[25]. Such a decree combined glaring insolence with atrocious injustice.

Nov. 19.

Dec. 15.

The French pretended to declare the Belgic territories independent: but, in the case of Savoy, they displayed a desire of conquest. General Montesquieu was ordered to chastise the king of Sardinia, whose alliance with the royal family of France, and strong aversion to democratic principles, had induced him to grant protection to the

24 La Vie de M. Dumouriez, livre vi. chap. 6. 9.—Money's History of the Campaign, second Part.

25 La Moniteur.

emigrants, and promote the concert of princes. The mere invasion of Savoy was equivalent to a conquest, as the inhabitants did not resist the intruders. The city of Chamberi tamely admitted a foreign garrison: the whole province was democratised, and added to the list of French departments.

An easy success also attended the march of general Anselme, who, having passed the Var with the van of his army, summoned the governor of Montalban to surrender that fortress, and quickly obtained his wish. He then seised Ville-Franche, and took Nice without opposition. The troops of the king of Sardinia had formed a line from Saorgio to Tendè; but they did not quit their entrenchments to attack the invaders, who repaired the fortifications of Nice, and acted as masters of the country. Deputies were sent to Paris, by the provisory administrators of the capital, to solicit the union of the county with the French republic: but the application was rejected, as it did not proceed from regular representatives of the people.

Admiral Trogoffe was less successful. He sailed to Sardinia, and, appearing before Cagliari, bombarded and pillaged that capital, but was constrained to retire without subduing the island.

Hostilities had also arisen in Germany. A considerable magazine being deposited at Spire, for the service of the Austrian troops, lieutenant-general Custine (who had served under Rochambeau in the American war) was ordered by Biron to take possession of it, without regard to the neutrality of the empire. He soon repelled the small force stationed near the city, forced open the gates, and, after some skirmishes in the streets, overpowered all resistance. He sent two thousand five hundred prisoners into France, that they might imbibe revolutionary ideas; planted the tree of liberty in the town, and exacted five hundred thousand livres from the bishop, the re-

ligious communities, and the magistrates. Influenced by the persuasions of some German mal-contents, who represented Worms as an asylum of French emigrants, he sent a detachment to demand a large sum of money from the superior classes of the inhabitants; and, as they could not immediately grant the whole demand, they were obliged to give hostages for their future compliance. Hearing that Mentz was ill-garrisoned, and that a great proportion of the inhabitants were disposed to assist him, he turned his arms against that city, and summoned the governor to surrender it, offering the alternative of fraternity or destruction. Not without general surprise, a capitulation was speedily adjusted for a large, strong, and well-garrisoned place. Oct. 21.

Custine was now advised to attack Coblentz, which he might easily have reduced: but he was more inclined to improve the fortifications and the defensibility of Mentz. From motives of rapacity, however, he made an excursion to Franckfort, where he compelled the principal citizens to pay various sums, on pretence of their having favored the emigrants. He then issued a general manifesto, addressed to the people of Germany, whom he invited to assist "a generous nation" in crushing tyrants, and establishing the reign of universal liberty. In a particular address to the soldiers of Hesse-Cassel, he exclaimed against the inhuman despotism of a prince who trafficked in the blood of his subjects, and offered ample stipends and liberal treatment to all who were willing to enter into the French service [26].

The towns which the French had seised were left for some time to their former government: but this affected moderation at length gave way to a desire of assimilating the administration to that of France; and municipalities were formed by the direction of Custine. While he thus

26 Mémoires Posthumes du Général François, Comte de Custine; rediges par un de ses Aides de Camp;—tome i.

domineered, he was alarmed at the advance of an army of Prussians and Hessians, who soon re-took Franckfort, and threatened Mentz. This city, and the neighbouring post of Cassel, were capable of a long defence; and, to superintend the efforts of the garrison, Reubel and two other deputies were sent by the convention [27].

The success of Custine in Germany encouraged the assembly to extend it's views to farther conquests: but it's present attention was chiefly devoted to the impolitic and unjust process against the deposed representative of the house of Bourbon. When it was proposed that he should be tried for his offences against the state, Robespierre and other Jacobins denied the necessity of a trial; alleging that his criminality was by no means doubtful, and that immediate condemnation was the proper treatment of a tyrant. But the Girondists, while they admitted his guilt, insisted on a previous inquiry.

Before the commencement of the process, the leaders of the Gironde party had an opportunity of crushing the king's chief adversaries, if energy of character had accompanied their oratorical talents. Information of the violent schemes and arbitrary views of Robespierre being communicated to the convention, in a memorial from Roland, he declared that every part of the charge was calumnious, and that no member would dare to accuse him to his face. A short and slender figure, with a pale countenance, fixed his indignant eyes on the sanguinary dictator, and exclaimed, "I dare accuse you." Robespierre, appalled by the boldness of this member and the murmurs of the deputies, retired from the *tribune*; and, Danton having in vain endeavoured to prevent Louvet from being heard, this accuser traced the progress of the demagogue from his first appearance in the Jacobin club, detailed his arts for the establishment of his influence,

27 Mémoires de Custine, tome ii.

imputed to his instigation the massacre of the prisoners, and reproached him with aiming at the proscription of the true friends of the republic. If Pethion, Guadet, and Vergniaud, had answered Louvet's repeated calls, and had boldly declared what they knew of the enormities of the pretended patriot, he and Danton, in all probability, would have been instantly arrested. But the assembly gratified Robespierre with a week's delay; and, in the mean time, he strengthened his interest by intrigue and by intimidation. On the day assigned for his defence, he filled the gallery with his partisans of both sexes. In an artful harangue, he vindicated his patriotism, calumniated his adversaries, ridiculed the idea of his endeavouring to make himself a dictator, and apologised for some acts of popular outrage, as the usual concomitants of great revolutions, but denied that he had any concern in the death of the prisoners. The timid Girondists, affecting to think that Robespierre, even if the charges should be relinquished, would be so disgraced as to lose his influence, suffered him to escape by passing to the order of the day; an instance of weakness which proved them to be unfit to contend with the Jacobin faction [28].

Thus encouraged by the imbecility of their opponents, the Jacobins prepared to wreak their vengeance on the royal prisoner. When the enunciation of facts (or the indictment) had been read, Barrère, the president, said to the king, "Louis, you are accused by the French nation of having committed a multitude of crimes for the purpose of re-establishing your tyranny by the destruction of liberty. Soon after the meeting of the states-general, you encroached on the sovereignty of the people by suspending the assemblies of their representatives; you presented two declarations subversive Dec. 11.

28 Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire et le Récit de mes Périls, par J. B. Louvet.

of all liberty; you ordered troops to march against the citizens of Paris, and did not withdraw your army before the transactions at the Bastille had announced that the people were victorious."—"No existing laws," replied Louis, "prohibited me from acting as I did. I had no wish to injure my subjects, no intention of shedding their blood."—"You eluded for a long time," said the president, "the execution of the decrees for the abolition of personal servitude, of tithes, and of feudal usages and claims: you long refused to agree to the declaration of the rights of man: you augmented the number of your guards, and suffered them in their orgies to blaspheme the nation: you gave occasion for a new insurrection: you took, at the confederation, an oath which you did not observe: and you encouraged Mirabeau to project a counter-revolution."—"These points and incidents, if true," said the king, "were anterior to my acceptance of the constitution[29]."

The flight from Paris being adduced as a weighty charge against Louis, he did not specifically vindicate himself from it, but merely referred to the answers which he had given on that subject to the constituent assembly. To a conspiracy on his part the effusion of blood in the Champ de Mars was imputed; and it was affirmed, that he had paid enormous sums for journals and pamphlets, to discredit the *assignats*, support the cause of the emigrants, and check the progress of liberty. These charges he disclaimed, as well as the imputation of having connived at counter-revolutionary disturbances at Nimes and other places. When his silence with regard to the convention of Pilnitz was represented as criminal, he replied that he had given notice of it as soon as it came to his knowlege, and that his ministers, by the constitution, were responsible for it. He was accused of having sent

29 Histoire du dernier Regne de la Monarchie Françoise, chap. 5.

money for the use of the *ci-devant gardes-du-corps*, and also to M. de Bouillé and other enemies of the revolution. To the guards, he said, he had discontinued his remittances as soon as he was informed of their being embodied on the right bank of the Rhine; and of the latter part of the charge he had no consciousness or recollection. An alleged correspondence with his brothers, subsequent to the enactment of the constitution, he disavowed. The imputed neglect of the military and naval service he denied. A concurrence in the coalition of foreign powers against France, an encouragement of refractory priests and fanatics, and attempts to suborn many of the deputies, were asserted, not proved, against him. His non-confirmation of various decrees he justified by his own sense of their impropriety or inutility, and by his allowed constitutional prerogative. On the subject of the defence of his palace, he mentioned it as his duty to take some measures of precaution, when it was threatened with an attack. He certainly was not answerable for the effects of a conflict which he earnestly wished to avoid. Of a great number of papers shewn to him by order of the president, he declared that he had no knowlege; and some which he had before seen contained no proofs of his criminality.

Three persons of respectability were allowed to plead in behalf of the accused prince. M. De-Seze entered fully into every part of the subject, and demonstrated the invalidity and injustice of the charges. Dec. 26. Louis then rose, and said, with some emotion: "As you have thus been informed of the grounds of my vindication, it is unnecessary for me to re-state them. In addressing you perhaps for the last time, I declare that my conscience does not reproach me with any crime, and that my advocates have not transgressed the bounds of truth. I have never been unwilling to submit my whole conduct to public examination: but my feelings have

been particularly wounded by finding, in the act of accusation, that I am charged with being eager or ready to shed the blood of my people, and that the misfortunes of the 10th of August are attributed to my aggression. The multiplied proofs of my regard for my people, and the whole course of my behaviour and conduct, would, I thought, have convinced every one, that I would have risqued my own safety to spare their blood, and ought to have shielded me against such an imputation."

Unmoved by this affecting appeal, Duhem proposed that the convention should instantly do justice, and that the members should individually answer the question, whether Louis should, or should not, be punished with death. Lanjuinais, very properly, advised a reference to the primary assemblies. After a tumultuous debate, it was resolved that the discussion should be opened without delay, and continued in preference to ordinary business. Vergniaud and other eloquent members denied the competency of legislators to act as judges: but their arguments had not sufficient weight with the assembly.

A. D. 1793. It was voted, that the national representatives should judge the important cause, determine the propriety or expediency of an appeal to the people, and fix the mode of punishment.

The first question was thus stated: Is Louis guilty of treason against the nation, and of a conspiracy against the safety of the state? The names of the deputies being called over according to the order of the departments, some delivered to the secretaries a written opinion; others, mounting the tribune, orally stated their sentiments. Fauchet, a constitutional bishop, said, "As a citizen and legislator, I answer the question in the affirmative: but, as a judge, I am not competent to determine." Du-bois du-Bais declared that Louis was guilty, but did not consider the convention as authorised to decide upon his fate. Taveau said, "He has

Jan. 15.

drawn our enemies upon us: they have ravaged our frontiers: fifty thousand Frenchmen have lost their lives: I therefore pronounce him guilty." Of his criminality Chambon had no doubt: Salicetti, the Corsican, declared against him, thinking that, as a citizen, he was bound so to determine; Giroust voted to the same purpose, as a legislator; Le-Marechal, from a regard for the public safety; and Pélet, as member of a legislative and political body, gave a similar suffrage. Osselin thus commenced the declaration which he signed: "Among the serious charges against Louis, I have particularly noticed that which relates to the pay allowed by him to his guard, though it had been disbanded, and though almost all the individuals who composed it had not merely emigrated, but were employed at Coblentz or had enlisted in the hostile army." De-la-Haye said, "I read upon the walls of Paris these words, traced with the blood of our brethren —*Louis is guilty.*" Noël, though he had lost a son by the war, declared that "he could not act as a judge of one who might be considered as the principal author of that death which he lamented[30]."

After these and other speeches, the unfortunate prince was stigmatised as guilty by the votes of six hundred and eighty-three members, while only thirty-seven of those who were present were inclined to think more favorably of his conduct.

The second question was, whether an appeal should be made to the people on the momentous subject. Dubois Crancé exclaimed, "Such an appeal is treason against the nation!" Baudin more properly remarked, that four years of experience in the primary assemblies compelled him to vote for a reference to the body of the nation. Rabaut de St. Etienne said, "I am convinced that the people did not intend to confer, on their represen-

30 Histoire du dernier Regne de la Monarchie Françoise, chap. 10.

tatives, the functions of accuser, judge, and juror; and, as no insults or menaces shall ever deter me from doing my duty, I boldly vote for the affirmative." Ysarn-Valadi, with equal boldness, said, "I am neither the friend of kings, nor the infamous tool of any of the ambitious incendiaries who surround us. On great occasions, the judicial power ought to revert to it's source, in a regenerated community: let us now begin the practice." Barbaroux thus spoke: "The oath which I took in an electoral assembly to judge Louis Capet, does not exclude the sanction of the people. I therefore vote for that sanction, because it is time that people of all the departments should exercise their aggregate sovereignty, and, by the manifestation of their supreme will, crush a faction in the midst of which I perceive Philip of Orleans, and which I denounce to the republic, coolly devoting myself to the poignards of it's murderous members. At the same time, I declare that the tyrant is odious to me; that I strenuously co-operated for his dethronement; and that I will doom him to the severest punishment." De-perret voted for the appeal, out of respect for the people, and also because he saw a Cromwell behind the curtain[31].

La-Rivière said, "As a statement of reasons or motives would weaken a self-evident proposition, I announce my wish merely by saying *aye* to the question." Milhaud represented the sovereignty of nature as paramount to that of the people, who had no right to pardon tyrants. Even if a national declaration should authorise impunity to a royal delinquent, nature, he said, would reserve to every citizen the right of imitating the example of Brutus. The short speech of the ferocious Carrier was to this effect: "As I fear no one, and can arm myself against a future tyrant, whatever denomination he may assume, I say *no*." Bellegarde excited a laugh by saying, "With

31 Histoire du dernier Regne, chap. 11.

all possible force of *affirmation*, I maintain the *negative*." Bernard thought, that the crime and the criminal would be too much honored, if the people should be required to meet for the purpose of judging Louis. "The best mode of doing homage to the sovereignty of the people," said Julien, "is to exercise it ourselves for the preservation of the republic." Vallée said, that the people could not conveniently try Louis in a judicial way, but might easily determine what steps ought to be taken after conviction. Pethion wished, for the sake of the public tranquillity, that the votes which should prevail in this question might be much more numerous than he apprehended they would prove to be. He added, that an appeal ought to be adopted. The words of Lanjuinais were, "I say *yes*, if you condemn Louis to death; in the contrary case, I say *no*."

Louvet voted for the proposed reference, because it was not a judicial act upon which the people were to be consulted, but only a measure of general safety. "I am of opinion," said Salle, "that the only method of giving to the people an attitude truely republican, is to demand their interference in this cause." Lequinio resisted the appeal, because foreign powers were likely to take advantage of it, for the propagation of discord. Poultier said, "If I wished for the revival of royalty, I would say *yes:* but, as I am a republican, I say *no*." Aoust gave the same vote, because the revolution was not completed. Massieu alleged, as a reason for his negative, an apprehension of the effect of English guineas, German florins, and Spanish piastres, and also a dread of civil war. Anacharsis Clbots, a Prussian enthusiast, said, "I know no other sovereign than the human race; that is, universal reason. I say *no*."

Bourdon de l'Oise argued, that, as a judgement was an application of the law, and the law was the general will, it would be ridiculous to have recourse to the sove-

reign power for the application of it's own already-understood will. Manuel said, "As much for the honor as for the safety of the people, I demand their sanction." Billaud-Varennes thought, that no one ought to hesitate in this case, as the elder Brutus did not scruple to sacrifice even his own children. Marat accused the advocates for the appeal, of being the tyrant's accomplices. "Delegated individuals (said Couthon) have no right to transform the constituent power into a simple constituted authority. Such conduct would be highly injurious to the general welfare, and would lead the republic into an abyss of evils." Bancal said, that, as individual wills were contending against the general will, the only means of extinguishing such factious contests would be an appeal to the will of the nation; that, as a more serious war than that of the preceding year was approaching, the people, to support it, must rise in a body; that a sense of this danger would tend to strengthen the national union and the indivisibility of the republic; but that no danger would attend the consultation of the primary assemblies on the fate of Louis. Biroteau, dreading the attempts of ambitious men to rise upon the fall of Louis to individual power, and having a better opinion of the people than to suppose that the majority were either aristocrats or factious men, wished for the appeal. "Justice, reason, and policy," said Laurent, "require that we should definitively judge Louis."

Gorsas pointedly observed, that, as royalty and faction could not be legally or effectually swept away from the territory of the republic before the people had declared that they would neither have kings nor factions, nor be subject to any species of tyranny,—as the mere idea of an eventual civil war from an appeal was an insult to the nation,—as such a reference would on the contrary be a due homage to that sovereignty which he much more sincerely and cordially acknowleged than those who had

the phrase continually in their mouths,—and as, amidst the dangers of anarchy, it was a mark of courage to give a vote contradictory to the wishes and destructive of the aims of anarchists,—he insisted on the subjection of the case to popular deliberation.

Being of opinion that the people ought never to act as judges, Boileau affected to prophesy, that, if the convention should appeal to them, they would be seduced by aristocratic intrigues to exercise an indulgence which might have ruinous consequences; that anarchy would thus be prolonged; that the precinct of the Temple would be the garden of the Hesperides; Louis would be the golden fleece; and all the aristocrats, at home and abroad, would incessantly endeavour, like so many Argonauts, to obtain the prize, to the mischievous annoyance of good citizens.

When the numbers were reckoned, it appeared that the violent party had a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine; not so ample as to be sufficient for the honorable attainment of it's purpose, but adequate to the accomplishment of it's sinister views. The votes were, four hundred and twenty-five against the appeal, and two hundred and eighty-six for it.

The mode of punishment formed the third question. Royer thus commenced the debate: "The result of deliberation I respect, whatever the opinion may be. In abolishing royalty, we have decreed the unity and indivisibility of the republic: we have recognised the sovereignty of the people: we have demanded their sanction to the constitution. I was inclined to think that my duty to my constituents required me to consult them upon the judgement which we are going to pronounce: but, as you have not allowed such an appeal, I vote for the confinement of Louis during the war, and for his banishment at the return of peace." Condorcet said, "Death is the

usual punishment of conspirators; but, as such a sentence is repugnant to my principles, I never will concur in it. For detention I cannot vote, as there is no law for it. I therefore propose the infliction of the severest punishment in the penal code, that cannot affect life." Du-Pin agreed to this proposition, from a dread of the factious convulsions which would follow the capital condemnation of Louis. Serres exclaimed, "I love my country; I hate tyrants; and I have a conscience. Thus impelled, I vote for imprisonment and subsequent exile." Saint-Martin said, "I am content that Louis should live, because his prétensions to royalty will not be dangerous while they rest on that contemptible head. Let him remain a prisoner." Gaston said, "In my opinion, reason, justice, humanity, the laws, heaven, and earth, condemn Louis to death." Rabaut recommended detention and banishment, because the example of a tyrant suffered to live in ignominy would afford a more instructive lesson to the world than that of his death. "I wish to display to my countrymen," he added, "not the ferocity of a murderous tiger, but the disdainful courage of a lion." Louchet, boasting of his conscientious regard for justice and the public interest, proposed that Louis should be put to death within twenty-four hours. Du-prat voted for the death of *the traitor*. Barbaroux, besides concurring in that vote, wished for the expulsion of the whole family of Bourbon. Du-mont thought, that the execution of Louis would provoke a dangerous war, and that it was politic to keep him as a hostage for the neutrality of Great-Britain, Holland, and Spain [32].

No punishment less severe than death seemed to Bazire to promise tranquillity to the republic. Lindet protested against moderation, as only serving to embolden

[32] Histoire du dernier Regne, chap. 12.

tyrants, and lead to mischief; and De-la-Croix reprobated that partiality which would save a royal offender, and condemn an ordinary conspirator.

Brissot lamented the rejection of the motion of appeal, saying, "The evil genius which influenced the majority so to vote, has prepared incalculable mischiefs for France." He proceeded to observe, that in confinement he saw the germ of troubles, and, in a sentence of death, the signal of a dreadful war, which might be prevented by an appeal to the people, as the tyrants would be constrained to respect a judgement sanctioned by a whole nation. He had long reflected on that kind of punishment which would most effectually tend to unite justice with the public interest; and he was inclined to vote for death, with the proviso suggested by Louvet,—that it should be postponed until the people should have accepted the new constitution. This suspension, he thought, would put the judgement of the convention under the national shield, give it an air of disinterestedness and magnanimity, and secure to it that weight and sanction which would tend to allay internal commotions, and repel external insults and injuries. "My opinion," he added, "will be calumniated: but I will answer all calumnies by an irreproachable life, by honorable poverty, and by an indefatigable zeal for the maintenance of a system of order, without which a republic is only a den of *brigands*. Upon this point I insist: if we do not extirpate that disorganising principle which now assails us, the republic will soon cease to exist."

Vergniaud and Guadet admitted, that death was the punishment decreed by law for the offences of which Louis had been guilty: but both concurred with Mailhe in recommending a subsequent deliberation of the assembly on the expediency of enforcing, or suspending, the execution of such a sentence. Cambacères wished for a

suspension until hostilities should cease; but, if France should be actually invaded, he was willing to acquiesce in an immediate enforcement of the law.

The opinion of Robespierre was anticipated by every one. He ridiculed that distinction between a judge and a representative politician, which found an individual guilty, and would yet forbear to inflict merited punishment. "I cannot," he added, "so far outrage reason and justice as to deem the life of a despot more valuable than that of a simple citizen, or torture my understanding to devise the means of rescuing the greatest of criminals from the punishment pronounced by law for offences comparatively trivial. I am inflexible toward oppressors, because I feel compassion for the oppressed. I am not inspired with that kind of humanity which puts the people to death, and spares the lives of despots. No dread of the appearance of future or unknown tyrants ought to prevent me from condemning one who has been convicted by an almost unanimous assembly. Real or imaginary factions are no reasons for sparing him; for such indulgence tends rather to multiply them. I advise you, in the first place, to crush the king's faction, and, secondly, to erect and consolidate the republican edifice upon the ruin of all anti-popular parties."

Danton would allow no compromise with a tyrant: Collot d'Herbois affirmed, that the death for which he conscientiously voted would be the means of destroying all factions: Camille des-Moulins hinted, that the sentence which he hoped would now be pronounced would be too late for the honor of the convention; an unfeeling and illiberal insinuation, for which he was called to order by some of his indignant hearers. M. Egalité (for the duke of Orleans had assumed that name) said, "Solely intent on my duty, and convinced that all who invade and counteract the sovereignty of the people deserve death,

I vote for the infliction of that punishment." The cool barbarity of this betrayer of his family disgusted every moderate member of the convention.

"If the manners of the French," said Barrère, "were sufficiently mild, and public education sufficiently perfected, to admit a high improvement of social institutions, I would vote for the abolition of capital punishment, and give an opinion less barbarous than that which the existing law now obliges me to pronounce." It may here be remarked, that the blood-thirsty Robespierre had hypocritically proposed to the constituent assembly that abolition which some humane philosophers have recommended. "By natural as well as positive law," Barrère added, "he who unjustly causes human blood to flow, is deemed a proper object of exemplary and capital severity. To this consideration I sacrifice the mildness of my private sentiments [33]."

"Faithful to the declaration of rights," said Ferraud, "I vote for death."—Chasset did not concur in the policy of such a sentence, however just it might be; and he therefore recommended the confinement of Louis to the end of the war. Patrin affirmed, with an unfeeling disregard to truth, that the accused prince had deserved death a thousand times; but he added, that, as the misfortunes and innocence of the son might render him an object of compassion and interest after the father's death, it would be prudent to avoid the infliction of capital punishment. The clerical revolutionist Sieyes, the metaphysical advocate of the rights of man, voted for death *sans phrase*, without entering into any discussion. Pocholle, adverting to the apprehended attempts of some ambitious man to acquire the sovereignty after the death of Louis, could not conceive how the chastisement of a tyrant could operate as an encouragement to usurpation;

33 Histoire du dernier Regne, chap. 12.

nor could he believe that the French would be so mean as to submit to a new tyrant, when they still shuddered at the recollection of their slavery.—In the sequel of the history, my son, you will find that M. Pocholle had not the gift of prophecy.

The votes being calculated, it was announced that three hundred and sixty-five members had voted absolutely for death, thirty-five for the same punishment conditionally, and three hundred and twenty-one for detention. This calculation being deemed inaccurate by some members, all were required to repeat their suffrages; and it then appeared, that three hundred and sixty-one (or according to some accounts, three hundred and sixty-six) voted peremptorily for death, out of seven hundred and twenty-one deputies who were present[34]. When the president had pronounced the fatal judgement, a respite was demanded; and the debates were renewed with spirit.

It was urged by Condorcet, that prudence and policy required a suspension of the enforcement of the severe decree, as the despots who were unfriendly to the revolution would be enabled, by the horror which an act of regicide would excite, to injure the new republic. Casenave said, that such an act would not only be the signal for intestine convulsions, but for the hostile movements of all Europe. Barbaroux, on the other hand, maintained that, as the decree had been pronounced, it ought to be carried into effect without delay; for the desired respite would not save France from the intended hostilities of the powers that detested her revolution: and Thuriot strongly opposed a respite, as it might afford to the tyrant the means of escape.

34 For detention, and banishment on the conclusion of peace, or for immediate exile, or for perpetual imprisonment, with a proviso (from many of the deputies) for the infliction of death if the country should be invaded, two hundred and eighty-eight votes were given, and seventy-two decreed death, but with a respite.

Buzot called the attention of the assembly to a point which he thought highly important. No decision, he justly observed, ought to prevail in a case of death, unless it should be pronounced by a much more considerable majority than that which the ascertained calculation of votes exhibited. He hinted that, if every member had been uninfluenced by faction and unawed by terror, even the small majority against Louis would not have been obtained. Brissot called for a respite, not only because the death of the *ci-devant* king would be useless to the cause of liberty, but because it would give the tyrants of Europe an opportunity of rendering the war popular among their subjects. Thomas Paine, whose republican zeal had procured for an English outlaw a seat among the representatives of France, did not think that the interest of the new government required the death of Louis. Liberty, in his opinion, would be more effectually promoted by humanity, moderation, and magnanimity, than by vindictive rigor or cruelty. He did not wish for a formal appeal to the primary assemblies on the subject; but, as a new constitution would soon be offered for general acceptance, and a new national assembly, acquainted with the sentiments of the people, would succeed, the important affair might then be regularly decided. Barrère professed to argue the case coolly; and he counter-acted, with unfeeling ease, all suspension of the decreed punishment[35].

The votes for a speedy execution of the sentence amounted to three hundred and eighty; Jan. 19. while those for a postponement to various periods did not exceed three hundred and ten. It was then ordered, that the result of these proceedings should be intimated to Louis, and that he should suffer death within twenty-four hours after the notification. M. De-Seze now came

35 Histoire du dernier Regne, chap. 13.

forward to finish his duty, as an advocate for his royal master; presenting a written appeal from Louis to the nation, against that judgement of it's representatives which imputed to him such crimes as he was not conscious of having committed. The paper was read, without making the desired impression. De-Seze contended for the propriety of attending to so reasonable a request; and, adverting to the small majority, maintained that, as the penal code required the concurrence of three-fourths of the jurors in a verdict against an ordinary individual, there ought at least to be as great a majority in the present case. Malesherbes also wished to call the assembly to a sense of justice; but he found himself so confused, that he requested to be heard at the next sitting, as his ideas would by that time be methodised and matured. Robespierre pardoned the zeal of the defenders of Louis, but declared that the decree was irrevocable, and ought not for a moment to be called in question. A reference to the people, besides being unnecessary, appeared to him to be pregnant with mischief. "I therefore desire, citizens (said he), that you will reject the pretended appeal now intimated to you, as repugnant to the true principles of public power, to the rights of the nation, and the authority of popular representatives; and that you will prohibit every person whatever from the prosecution of it, on pain of being brought to justice as a disturber of the general tranquillity." Guadet opposed the appeal, as leading to an entire revision of the process. The tribunal which had already pronounced a verdict of guilt, could have no superior, he said, in the hierarchy of judicial order. No ratification was requisite; yet the affair of the majority might be re-considered. The appeal was disallowed, and no farther hearing granted to the defenders of Louis[36].

[36] Histoire du dernier Regne. chap. 14

M. de Malesherbes, from whom Louis expected an account of the proceedings against him, threw himself with a melancholy aspect at the feet of the deposed prince, unable from emotion to speak. At length he said, "The fatal judgement cannot be concealed from you."—"It is well," replied Louis; "I am no longer in suspense." When Cléry, his faithful *valet*, expressed a hope that the sentence might be superseded, he said, "I do not amuse myself with hopes; but I am shocked to think that one of my own relatives could be induced to vote for my death." Cléry observed, that the people in general condemned the infamous conduct of M. d'Orleans; that loud clamors had arisen in the city against the convention; and that a popular insurrection seemed to be threatened. "I deprecate," said Louis, "such a calamity; for then there will be new victims. For myself, I am not alarmed at the prospect of death; but I cannot think, without horror, of the sufferings to which my family, and all who are attached to me, will be exposed. The people, I foresee, will be a prey to anarchy, will become the victims of every faction; crimes will succeed crimes; and France will be convulsed with long dissensions. My God! is this the reward for all my sacrifices, for all my endeavours to ensure the happiness of the nation[47]?"

The late decrees of the convention being announced to Louis by the executive council, the charge of conspiring against the people excited on his countenance a smile of contempt. He heard without emotion the denunciation of death; and, having in vain requested a delay of three days, coolly prepared for his fate. With his family he had an affectionate and mournful interview; and he promised to renew it in the morning: but his afflicted wife, his sister, and his children, saw him no more. He slept

47 Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple, pendant la Captivité de Louis XVI. par M. Cléry.

calmly for some hours; rose early; sent for his confessor Edgeworth; and performed devotional exercises [38].

Jan. 21. Paris resounded with the beat of drums, the clash of arms, and the bustle of preparation. The gates of the Temple were opened: the commandant Santerre entered, with a party of soldiers and some municipal officers. Passing slowly in a carriage through streets lined with troops, the devoted victim arrived with his confessor at the *Place de Louis XV*, or (as newly styled) the Square of the Revolution. As soon as he had alighted, he sternly ordered the drummers to desist: they obeyed; but resumed their employment at the more authoritative command of Santerre. Finding that he could not be heard, he exclaimed, "What treason! I am ruined!" He knelt down to receive the last blessing from the priest, and then with a firm step mounted the scaffold. He seemed to feel a sudden shock when one of the executioners began to bind his hands; but, recovering himself, he said, "You may do whatever you please." He then made a signal for a cessation of drumming, and said, in a spirited tone, "I die perfectly innocent of all the pretended crimes of which I am accused. I forgive those who have caused my misfortunes. I even hope that the effusion of my blood will contribute to the happiness of France [39]. And you, unfortunate people"—— The progress of his speech was stopped by the brutal commandant, who called out, "I brought you hither not to harangue, but to die." The drums again thundered: the executioners rudely took hold of him, and fixed him upon the plank; and he was instantly decapitated.

The first misfortune of this prince arose from that jealousy which had usually prompted the French court to

38 Journal, par Cléry.

39 "Je meurs parfaitement innocent de tous les prétendus crimes dont on m'a chargé. Je pardonne à ceux qui sont la cause de mes infortunes. J'espère même que l'effusion de mon sang contribuera au bonheur de la France." *Histoire du dernier Regne*, chap. 15.

withhold, from the heir of the crown, all concern in the administration. After he had ascended the throne, that misfortune long remained without an adequate remedy; for the count de Maurepas, taking advantage of his sovereign's inexperience, studiously kept him in the back-ground, and treated him as a child or a cipher, rather than as a man or a king. Yet, when Louis ventured to display himself or to act without control, he generally manifested sense and knowlege. If he had checked the prodigality of his brothers and the rapacity of his courtiers, his own prudence and œconomy might have averted the ruin of his finances. If, instead of yielding to the importunities of his counsellors, he had observed a strict neutrality during the American war, the horrors of the revolution might have been avoided. He was ill served by the majority of his ministers; and his people made an ill return for that regard which he showed to their interest. His general conduct falsified the imputation of tyranny; and his convocation of the states-general, so long discontinued, ought alone to have secured him from the murderous rage of faction. He thus afforded to his people an opportunity of correcting gross abuses, and even of framing a new constitution. It may be said, that he did not spontaneously assemble the states of his realm, and that, in this respect, he reluctantly complied with the general wish. But, if he had been (as the orators of the convention styled him) a tyrant, he might as easily have precluded the session of the states, as Louis XV. prevented the parliaments from continuing to sit. He was disposed, however, to yield to the desires of his people; from whom, in return, he only met with ingratitude.

The murder of Louis excited general horror. Despotic princes would have inveighed against the atrocity of the act, even if the royal sufferer had been a blood-thirsty tyrant: but all governments concurred in condemning the conduct of the regicides. The voice of

detestation, however, did not check the career of the sanguinary faction; nor did the Girondists, whose want of spirit had given the Jacobins an opportunity of triumphing over the king, neglect the means of vigorous hostility, as they foresaw that the war would soon be extended. They concluded, from the dismission of Chauvelin, that the indignation of his Britannic majesty against revolutionary regicides would prompt him to take arms, and therefore resolved to accelerate what they could not long prevent.

A report from the committee of general defence, respecting the conduct of the British court, was presented to the convention by Brissot, who, inveighing against the inimical spirit and hostile views of his majesty and the prince of Orange, and enumerating their various "acts of aggression," proposed a declaration of war on the ground of self-defence. The proposal was received with applause, and a consequent decree promulgated[40].

Feb. 1.

The court of Madrid, which had interceded in behalf of Louis, now manifested an inclination to take arms against the French. It was therefore declared by the convention, that "the republic was at war with the king of Spain;" and strict orders were given to the executive council to repel every aggression, and support the dignity and interest of the nation.

March 7.

Amidst the contests of party, a conspiracy was at this time formed, of which different accounts have been given. It has been severally attributed to the royalists, to the Brissotins, to the Jacobins: but it appears to have been contrived by the last of these factions and by the Cordeliers, who wished for the speedy overthrow of the Girondists. An insurrection for that purpose was intended to commence at Paris; and it was to be diffused among

40 See the remarks on the question of aggression, in Letter X.

the departments, where-ever the adherents of Brissot had the chief power. Some movements were made by the conspirators: but the ministers were upon their guard, troops were ready for defence, and the violent scheme proved abortive[41].

To the influence of the Jacobins, who had not so matured this conspiracy as to render it effectual, may be ascribed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal, from which no appeal was allowed. It was decreed that the judges of this court, as well as the public accuser, should be appointed by the convention; and that the verdict in every trial should be pronounced by twelve jurors or three substitutes.

By the interest of the Gironde party, an order was soon after procured from the convention, for the arrest of the members of a committee self-styled that of *insurrection*. The object of this decree was well understood: but Garat pretended that no such committee existed. He had not the courage or (as he says) the means of arresting the Jacobin club, to which the order evidently referred. The club, indeed, and it's extensive ramifications, had shot forth with such potent luxuriancy, as to defy all attempts at eradication, except from hearts and hands endued with the most determined vigor.

LETTER X.

A View of the Affairs of Great-Britain, from the Peace of 1783 *to the Commencement of the War, in* 1793, *between that Kingdom and the French Republic.*

THE articles of peace were condemned by the spirit of party, rather than by unbiassed reason and argument.

41 Mémoires sur la Révolution, par J. D. Garat.

The aspiring Fox had formed a coalition with lord North, that he might force his way into the cabinet. He became the friend of one whom he had frequently called the enemy of his country, and was glad to profit by the assistance of men who had shown themselves unfriendly to the liberties of the people, and to that constitution which he professed to admire. The two factions who thus coalesced against the Shelburne party, vilified the preliminary treaty; and, by procuring a majority in the house of commons, constrained the king to discard the ministers who had superintended the negotiation. It may here be observed, that the peace of the year 1763 was inadequate to the success of the war which preceded it: that of the year 1783 was less censurable, because it followed an ill-conducted and unfortunate war.

The successor of lord Shelburne was the duke of Portland[1]. Lord John Cavendish regained his former post: Mr. Fox and lord North were the two secretaries of state; and lord Stormont was appointed president of the council. The duke of Manchester was sent to France to conclude definitive treaties on the basis of the preliminaries; for the new ministers thought themselves bound to adhere even to articles which they highly disapproved. The prohibitions of trade with the inhabitants of the thirteen provinces were revoked; and the king was authorised to regulate the intercourse.

The new ministry paid little attention to those objects of reform which Mr. Fox and his party had frequently

1 Above five weeks elapsed from the condemnation of the peace, before his majesty sanctioned the arrangements proposed by Mr. Fox; and the party found it necessary to vote an address, requesting that the king would take into his serious consideration "the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, after a long and exhausting war," and comply with the wishes of the house, "by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of the people." As the royal answer was not sufficiently explicit, the earl of Surrey proposed an address couched in more forcible and peremptory terms; to which the majority would have agreed, if it had not been hinted that the sovereign was on the point of yielding to the desire of the house.

represented as necessary. A bill was enacted for the regulation of the exchequer by a reduction of salaries and perquisites; but it's tendency to a diminution of the influence of the crown was very inconsiderable. A more general bill of reform was introduced by Mr. Pitt; but, though it was suffered to pass through the house of commons, it did not so far obtain the support of the cabinet, as to make it's way through the upper-house.

A great share of ministerial attention was devoted to the affairs of British India. The government of that country, and the management of the concerns of the company, required a change of system to secure the establishment. To prevent the mischiefs which might flow from the unrestrained career of the directors, Mr. Fox proposed that the authority of those incapable managers should be suspended, and that commissioners appointed by the parliament should enjoy full power of superintendence and control. The scheme being adopted by the cabinet, two bills were submitted to the consideration of both houses. One prescribed a variety of regulations for the conduct of the governors of India and the other servants of the company; while the second transferred, to seven friends of the ministry[2], a degree of power which ambition might envy, and provided for their continuance in the directorial functions during four years, without the risque of being superseded, unless an address should be voted by either house, requesting the king to dismiss them.

The opponents of the coalition attacked, with great asperity, the bill which thus encroached on the rights of the company. They inveighed against what they termed the bold iniquity and dangerous ambition of the minister, who wished to disfranchise a chartered body without

2 Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Frederic Montagu, lord Lewisham, sir Gilbert Elliot, sir Henry Fletcher, Mr. Robert Gregory, and the eldest son of lord North.

proof of guilt, and to secure to himself an extent of power and patronage which might enable him to over-awe his sovereign. These points were urged with great eloquence, but not with such effect as to convince the majority of the impropriety of suspending the operation of a charter which had been grossly abused (particularly one which, by the grant of a monopoly, interfered with general rights), or to excite an apprehension, that the balance of constitutional power would be lost. The bill being voted by a majority of one hundred and six, was sent to the peers; by whom, though it was strongly supported by many respectable members of their house, it was rejected as a violent measure[3].

As it was known that the declared opinion of the king, on the subject of this bill, had principally occasioned it's failure, the advocates for the scheme resolved to stigmatise a conduct which was deemed hostile to the spirit of the constitution; and, by a considerable majority, a vote of censure was pronounced. The courtier who had privately reported the opinion of his sovereign, was earl Temple, who at the same time advised that Mr. Pitt should be taken into his majesty's service.

Disgusted at the proceedings of Mr. Fox and lord North, the king sent a messenger to require their instant resignation; and the marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. Townshend (created baron Sydney) were the new secretaries. Lord Thurlow, who had warmly opposed the India bill, was again declared chancellor of the realm; and earl Gower was placed at the head of the privy-council, while the eloquent son of the first earl of Chatham, young in point of existence, but supposed to be old in wisdom, was appointed to the direction of the treasury, and to the chief management of the affairs of a great nation.

3 The difference of votes did not exceed nineteen, ninety-five being against the bill, and seventy-six for it.

The leaders of the coalition, confiding in their parliamentary strength, resolved to obstruct the career of their rivals by spirited and vigorous efforts. They procured, from the majority of the commons, an address against a prorogation or dissolution of the parliament. The business of the treasury was impeded by restrictive votes: the bill against mutiny was deferred: a bill framed by Mr. Pitt, for the better government of British India, was exploded; and strong resolutions were fulminated against the court, for encouraging ministers who did not enjoy the confidence of an assembly that represented the nation and spoke the sense of the people. But, as the king found that the house did not on this occasion utter the popular voice, he firmly resisted every application for a change; and his perseverance subdued the spirit of his adversaries, who did not dare to withhold the supplies requisite for the public service. A.D. 1784.

The strength of the party, although the number of it's supporters had gradually declined during the contest, appeared to the court to be sufficiently formidable to require an appeal to the people; and, when a dissolution had resulted from the lawful exercise of the prerogative, so many of the friends of the two discarded secretaries were succeeded by politicians of the opposite party, that Mr. Pitt considered himself as securely established in the plenitude of power.

After a tumultuous contest for Westminster, Mr. Fox would have been excluded from the house by a scrutiny which one of his opponents demanded, if an admiration of his abilities and supposed patriotism had not procured him the unexpected honor of being elected for some associated boroughs in North-Britain. He accused Mr. Pitt of having endeavoured to disgrace him from motives of malignant animosity; and the debates on the subject

were embittered by the acrimony of reproach. Ashamed of the prolongation of the scrutiny, the house (but not before the next year) ordered the high bailiff to close it; and, in the return signed by that officer, Mr. Fox was declared member with sir Samuel Hood, who had acquired fame and an Irish peerage by his exertions in the West-Indies.

The chief points stated in the royal speech, at the opening of the session, were these;—the expediency of checking "the alarming progress of frauds in the revenue," and the propriety of adjusting the affairs of the India company, which formed "an object of deliberation deeply connected with the general interests of this country."

To the repression of clandestine trade three statutes were directed. One of these acts allowed the officers of the revenue to make seisures as far as six leagues from the coast, and restricted the building and arming of vessels. By another bill, the duties on British spirits, and on those which might be imported from the West-Indies, were so modified as to render smuggling less likely to be risqued; and, by the third act, tea, the favorite beverage of the nation, was only taxed in a comparatively small degree; but the people were obliged to pay for this reduction of duty, as, in lieu of it, the admission of the common benefit of light into a house was additionally charged. These measures had a considerable effect in checking fraudulent evasions of duty.

The India bill of reform was strongly contested. It seems to have been the original wish of Mr. Pitt to transfer, to the crown, the influence which Mr. Fox would have given to the two houses, and to render the company entirely dependent on ministerial commissioners appointed by the king: but he condescended, on farther consideration, to allow the directors some degree of

power, in addition to the management of commercial affairs[4]. He affected an earnest desire of punishing offences committed in India, with a rigor which might ensure future propriety of conduct: but the tribunal which he proposed did not promise impartiality of decision or strict justice. He consented to some alterations of his bill in it's progress to enactment; and, in a subsequent session, it was supposed to require various emendations, to render it more generally acceptable to the company and the public.

A reform of the popular representation in parliament had been repeatedly proposed by Mr. Pitt, when he was not in the enjoyment of political power. An investigation of the subject was now recommended by Mr. Sawbridge: but the minister wished it to be postponed; and when he brought forward his own plan in the following year, it was exploded after a spirited debate.

The disordered state of Ireland demanding the king's attention, the minister proposed that the two nations should be more closely connected by commercial ties than they already were. The people of the former realm had not derived that rapid benefit which they expected from the indulgences allowed to them, in point of trade, in the year 1779. Artisans complained of a deficiency of employment; and agreements were concluded against the importation of British manufactures. The embarrassments still continuing, propositions were framed for as close a conjunction of commercial interests as the difference of particular circumstances would permit. The Irish house of commons voted ten resolutions on this subject; the first of which imported, that A. D. 1785. "the trade between Great-Britain and Ireland should be encouraged and extended as much as possible, and the

4 From the declaratory bill of 1788, it appears that he did not really intend to allow them even the power of refusing to pay for what they did not authorise or approve.

intercourse and commerce be finally regulated and settled, on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries." In the nine articles founded on this basis, the outlines of the scheme were given; and Mr. Pitt afterwards developed the plan to the representatives of the British nation. It was opposed by our merchants and manufacturers, as being too favorable to the Irish, who would be enabled to undersell them both at home and abroad; and the anti-ministerial party unreasonably declaimed against an additional article, which required, that the British laws, both old and new, for regulating trade and navigation, if they operated equally on the subjects of each realm, should also have validity in Ireland, on being re-enacted by the parliament of that kingdom. Although this stipulation was the fair result of a system of commercial equality, it was represented as an infringement of that compact which had established the legislative independence of Ireland. The articles were sanctioned by both houses; but the commons of Ireland, misled by the animated eloquence of Grattan and the cool plausibility of Flood, only voted, by a majority of nineteen, for the presentation of the bill which included the various arrangements. The ministry considered this division as a defeat rather than a victory, and ceased to prosecute the scheme.

Still intent on commercial views, Mr. Pitt resolved to open a negotiation with the French. When the ministers of queen Anne concluded a peace with Louis the Fourteenth, they also adjusted a treaty of commerce: but it was not confirmed by the parliament. The attempt was now renewed; and some judicious arrangements were made for that important purpose. The treaty, however, was not completed before the autumn of the following year.

In the mean time, the chief promoter of this negotiation encouraged a scheme of a less amicable nature, cal-

culated for the defence of the island against the French or any other enemies. The master-general of the ordnance (the duke of Richmond), reflecting on the danger to which the chief naval arsenals had been exposed, when the fleets of France and Spain rode triumphant in the channel, had proposed a great extension of the fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth: but, when his scheme was submitted to the consideration of the commons, it was ridiculed and reprobated by Mr. Sheridan and other speakers, as ill-judged, unnecessary, and degrading to the maritime service. The votes being equal, Mr. Cornwall, who filled the chair of the house, turned the scale against it; and public applause attended his decision. A. D. 1786.

One branch of Mr. Sheridan's argument against the duke's scheme, was it's tendency to endanger the liberties of the people; and a similarity of reasoning was urged against the extension of martial law to officers who had only the king's *brevet*, instead of a regular commission for service. This was termed an encroachment on civil and constitutional rights: but it was voted by a considerable majority.

The domineering influence of the crown had been checked, soon after the retreat of lord North from the cabinet, by the enactment of bills against the parliamentary election of contractors and the votes of revenue-officers. For the same reasons, Mr. Marsham now introduced a bill to annul the votes of the holders of places in the navy office and in the ordnance department: but the house deemed it unnecessary and improper.

As the enormous increase of the national debt, in consequence of the late war, rendered the taxes severely oppressive, it became the urgent duty of the minister to lighten the burthen. Of the appropriated taxes, not one, he thought, could be conveniently taken off; nor was it his wish or intention to pay off, immediately, any part of

the debt: but his object was the formation of a fund, similar to that sinking fund which had been *created* (not *established)* by sir Robert Walpole. He proposed, that, in raising the supplies, a million should be annually reserved as a growing fund, which, by the gradual accession of compound interest, would at length form a very large sum, applicable to the relief of the burthened public. The scheme, in the adjustment of which he had the assistance of Dr. Price, was approved by the parliament; and it's progress flattered the hopes of the sanguine, while those who apprehended that a fresh accumulation of debt might arise at a period not very distant, still admitted the partial utility of the measure.

At a time when the chief speakers of opposition seemed to be at a loss for new grounds of attack, a subject was brought forward, in which they did not expect the concurrence of the premier. This was an accusatory process against Mr. Hastings, who, in the opinion of Mr. Burke and other politicians, had been guilty of great enormities while he acted as governor-general of British India. When all the charges had been presented to the house, two were debated in this session. The war against the Rohilla nation was condemned by Mr. Burke with all the energy of just indignation, and all the warmth of manly eloquence. He pronounced it to be a combination of injustice, treachery, and cruelty, more disgraceful to an English governor than to the Indian despot[5] whom he had assisted, and highly injurious to the British name and character. But the majority of the members did not concur in these censures; and the house refused to impeach Mr. Hastings upon this article. In another charge, the accuser was less unfortunate. Mr. Pitt condescended to promote the purposes of justice, by supporting the charge of rapacity in the case of the rajah of

5 The ruler of Oude, usually styled the nabob vizir.

Benares, over whom the governor had also tyrannised in other respects; and it was now voted, that he should be impeached for his conduct toward that zemindar[6]. In the following session, Mr. Sheridan, in a very long and impressive harangue, developed the oppression and cruelties to which the *begums* (the mother and grandmother of the nabob vizir) had been subjected by the arbitrary and rapacious spirit of Hastings. The ill-treatment of the nabob of Farruck-abad, and of Fizoula, the rajah of Rampour; the systematic prodigality of the governor; his acceptance or rather extortion of valuable presents from the native princes and their ministers; and his encouragement of the mal-administration of Oude; were the subjects of other charges which the house voted. It was then resolved, that he should be impeached; and preparations were made for his trial; but it did not commence before the year 1788.

It was supposed that the king was not pleased with the impeachment; but that circumstance, whatever effect it might have upon the decision of the cause, did not impede it's regular progress. While the affair was depending in the house of commons, his majesty had an opportunity of receiving proofs of general affection, if a multiplicity of loyal addresses may be considered as *criteria* of popular regard. These addresses were presented in congratulation of his escape from the peril with which he was threatened by an attack from a woman disordered in her intellects; who, not being deemed intentionally guilty, was subjected to perpetual confinement as a dangerous lunatic.

Amidst the joy which arose from the king's safety, intelligence arrived of the conclusion of the treaty of commerce with France. As, from the unsettled state of that kingdom, the treaty was not permanently effective, I shall

6 A holder of lands, not as sovereign, but with qualified or limited rights.

not enter into a detail of it's provisions, but shall merely observe, that the French considered it as less beneficial to them than to our countrymen; that it was supported, as might have been expected, by a commanding majority in parliament; and that the arguments of it's chief opposers were cavils rather than fair objections.

A. D. 1787.

While the British and Gallic nations seemed thus to relinquish their mutual animosity, a political connexion with an old ally was endangered by the intrigues of the French, who had so strengthened their influence in Holland, that the power of the prince of Orange was nearly annihilated. A British fleet, and a Prussian army, were therefore equipped; and, as I stated in a former letter, the authority of the stadt-holder was restored and extended.

The pusillanimity of the French, in the contest with Great-Britain and Prussia, respecting the settlement of the affairs of Holland, excited the ridicule of Europe. It was, however, sufficiently accounted for, by that derangement of the finances, and that disordered state of the government, which led to the convocation of the *notables*. The English minister, reflecting with pleasure on his own financial arrangements, compared the state of Britain (even after a disastrous war) with that of France, and exulted in the contrast.

The chief features of the ensuing session of parliament were the declaratory bill and the trial of Hastings. The bill was professedly intended to declare the true meaning of Mr. Pitt's act respecting India, as the power of the board of control had been disputed by the company. The commissioners had sent out troops, for whose establishment the directors refused to pay. The minister insisted upon their compliance, and brought forward the new bill to enforce their obedience. It was contended by the speakers of opposition, that, if the

A. D. 1788.

prior act gave the power in question, it diminished the company's rights much more than it's framer then pretended to wish; and that, if it did not, there was an insidious meanness in claiming new rights, not openly and manfully, but under the pretence of only declaring what was law before. The debates on the subject were very long and vehement: one, in particular, continued about sixteen hours. The court triumphed on every division; but Mr. Pitt's credit was impaired by the measure.

The trial was opened by Mr. Burke with an eloquence which charmed his auditors. At the first four meetings of the court of peers, he ably expatiated on the history of India and the delinquencies of the governor-general. Mr. Fox afterwards illustrated and enforced the Benares charge: Mr. Grey also exposed the rapacity and tyranny to which the rajah had been subjected; and Mr. Sheridan, with indignant sarcasm, lively wit, and spirited eloquence, traced the conduct of Hastings toward the begums of Oude. The process might have been concluded in one year, if the managers had been disposed to expedite it: but it was prolonged for many years.

During the session, the king took measures for cementing his alliance with the Dutch republic. It was agreed, that, if the subjects or dominions of the states-general should be at any time attacked, his Britannic majesty should send eight thousand five hundred infantry, two thousand cavalry, twelve ships of the line, and eight frigates, within two months after a demand of aid; that, if these succours should appear to be insufficient, they should be successively augmented, so as to comprehend the whole force of the kingdom; but that the states should not, on any occasion whatever, be required to furnish above ten thousand foot-soldiers, two thousand horse, sixteen sail of the line, and the same number of frigates. It was also stipulated, that Great-Britain should, in the most effectual manner, guaranty April 15.

the dignity of hereditary stadt-holder to the prince of Orange, and secure to him all the rights lately confirmed by the states. In point of trade, each nation engaged to treat the other as the most favored community, until a regular commercial treaty should be concluded[7].

After the prorogation, their majesties repaired to Cheltenham; and in that part of the country they remained five weeks. The springs of the place did not relieve the king, whose health had been for some time declining. In the autumn, he became more seriously indisposed; and his disorder at length assumed the aspect of delirium. Sir George Baker, Dr. Warren, and other eminent physicians, declared that they could not ascertain the cause of his malady, and could not even give a plausible opinion upon the subject; but Dr. Willis, "from a very particular detail of his majesty's mode of life for twenty-seven years," imagined, that "weighty business, severe exercise, too great abstemiousness, and little rest, had been too much for his constitution."

As the king was thus, by the visitation of God, rendered incapable of exercising his political functions, the consideration of a regency occupied the thoughts of persons of all ranks. When the affair was mentioned in the house of commons, Mr. Fox affirmed that the prince of Wales had an unquestionable right to the regency. The eagerness of that aspiring senator to obtain ministerial power, prompted him to express a wish for the immediate assumption of the reins of government by the heir apparent. Mr. Pitt exclaimed, with warmth, that such an opinion nearly amounted to treason against the constitution. Mr. Fox then qualified his assertion by saying, he did not mean that the prince ought to assume the regency before the two houses had recognised the

7 Appendix to the Annual Register, vol. XXX.

claim: yet he was inclined to treat this recognition as a mere matter of form, not requiring deliberation, or admitting refusal. The minister, however, contended that the prince had no more right than any other subject, and that the lords and commons had the privilege of selection; and he resolved to submit the point to regular discussion. He allowed, that no cases, exactly agreeing with the present, appeared on record. There were instances of occasional incapacity in the sovereign; but there was then no heir apparent of full age: yet, from the manner in which the two houses had formerly supplied the deficiency, it was evident that they claimed the power of acting at discretion. At the Revolution, also, the chief power of the state was considered, by the true friends of the constitution, as residing with those assemblies until they had renewed the integrity of the executive power.

Three resolutions, proposed by Mr. Pitt, were adopted by both houses. The first merely stated the fact of the king's temporary inability of governing. The second was thus worded: "It is the right and duty of the lords and commons of Great-Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require." The third resolution was of the following tenor: "For this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords and commons should determine the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during his majesty's present indisposition."

When these constitutional points had been settled, the

A. D. 1789. chancellor put the seal to a commission for opening and holding the parliament, in defiance of all the objections of the prince's party. A bill was then brought forward, by which the prince was restricted in the grant of employments and the honors of peerage, and exposed to the opposition of all the officers of the household, who were to act under the queen's orders. This bill, however, was not completed; for, after an indisposition of four months, the king recovered his intellects. A thanksgiving was ordered in consequence of this fortunate event; and the royal family publicly expressed fervent gratitude to Heaven in the principal church of the metropolis.

After the revival of a regular parliament, few very interesting debates occurred; and only the case of the dissenters, and the slave trade, seem to require specific notice. The test act, and that which concerned the members of corporations, were so offensive to the nonconformists, that they renewed their endeavours for a repeal of the obnoxious clauses. Their pretensions were plausibly supported. It was alleged, that, as every man had a right to judge for himself in the affairs of religion, it was unjust to punish or stigmatise any one for the exercise of that right; that a denunciation of official disability was not merely a stigma, but a punishment for opinions which were not prohibited; that, as dissenters were allowed to sit in parliament, there was an inconsistency in declaring them incapable of office; and that their regard for the constitution, and for the reigning family, obviated all apprehension of danger from the grant of their requests. On the other hand, it was denied that the exclusion was either a disgrace or a punishment, as only those could justly expect to be employed who were ready to accede to such conditions as every government had a right to impose; and it was affirmed, that the acts in question could not be annulled without danger

to the establishment. By a majority of twenty, the motion for relief was exploded.

The enemies of the slave trade had, in May 1787, formed a committee, consisting of Mr. Granville Sharp, Mr. Clarkson, and ten other gentlemen. They were so intent on the promotion of their philanthropic purpose, that they held fifty-one meetings in thirteen months, and distributed (besides reports and other small papers) above fifty-one thousand four hundred and thirty copies of pamphlets or books. Their appeals to the public were so far successful, within the time specified, as to produce (says Mr. Clarkson) "a kind of holy flame or enthusiasm, to a degree and to an extent never before witnessed. Of the purity of this flame (he adds) no better proof can be offered, than that even bishops deigned to address an obscure committee, consisting principally of Quakers, and that churchmen and dissenters forgot their difference of religious opinion, and joined their hands, all over the kingdom, in it's support [8]."

To the honor of Mr. Wilberforce be it mentioned, that he readily offered to submit the subject to the notice of the commons, and to promote with the utmost zeal the abolition of the nefarious traffic. He harangued the house with ability, and represented the trade as one mass of iniquity from the beginning to the end. From the evidence adduced before the privy council, he framed twelve propositions; intimating, that the number of slaves annually carried from the coast of Africa, in British vessels, amounted to thirty-eight thousand, of which, upon an average, twenty-two thousand five hundred were conveyed to the British islands; that these slaves consisted of prisoners of war, free persons sold for debt or for supposed offences, servants sold by their masters arbitrarily or for alleged criminality, and individuals made

8 History of the Origin, Progress, and Accomplishment, of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament; by Thomas Clarkson, A. M.

slaves by the violence or fraud of African princes or private persons, or by the avarice of European traders; that the traffic so carried on had necessarily a tendency to occasion wars among the natives, to encourage injustice and oppression, and obstruct the civilisation of the people and the improvement of the country; that Africa was adapted to the production of various articles of commerce, which might be advantageously taken (instead of slaves) in return for our commodities; that the trade in question was peculiarly destructive to seamen, as the mortality had been found much greater in the slave ships than in any British vessels employed upon the same coast in any other service or traffic; that the mode of transporting the negroes to the West-Indies exposed them to grievous sufferings, for which no regulations could provide an adequate remedy, and which had occasioned the annual loss of a considerable number during the voyage; that many of the slaves also perished in the West-Indian ports, from the diseases contracted in the voyage, and this loss amounted to four and a half *per cent.* of the imported negroes; that the loss, within the three first years after importation, bore a large proportion to the whole number imported; that the natural increase of population, among the slaves in the islands, appeared to have been checked by the ill-treatment which they received, by that dissoluteness of manners which their employers suffered to prevail instead of encouraging matrimony, and by other causes; that, in Jamaica, the annual excess of deaths above births might be estimated, on the average, at seven-eighths *per cent.*; that, in Barbadoes, the proportion was rather less; and that, upon a survey of the present state of those islands, and also of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and the Leeward Isles, united with a consideration of the means of obviating the causes which had impeded the natural increase of the number of slaves, and of lessening the demand for manual labor,

without diminishing the profits of the planters, no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the importation of negroes[9].

As the question seemed, to the majority of the members, too important to be hastily decided, it was postponed to the next year; and, in the mean time, both houses renewed a bill which had lately been enacted for giving the slaves a greater space in the ships, and better accommodation.

The affairs of Great-Britain, during the remainder of the year, were not strikingly important. The king had no relapse; and the people in general enjoyed comfort and tranquillity. All ranks watched the progress of the French revolution; and the reasonings and reflexions of politicians were engrossed by that momentous subject. It was transiently noticed by the king in his speech to the lords and commons; and, in several debates on other topics, it was introduced with high praise or with strong censure. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke differed so seriously in their opinions of it, that the friends of both orators apprehended a dissolution of their long-subsisting friendship. A. D. 1790.

Another subject superseded, for a time, that of the revolution. The Spaniards had seised four British ships, and also a fort at Nootka Sound, on pretence of a prior right to the North-American coast from California to a great extent beyond the disputed spot. The parliament and the nation resented the affront, and insisted upon satisfaction; and, as there was no prospect of assistance from France, the king of Spain not only engaged to make plenary restitution, but allowed the subjects of Great-Britain to colonise any part of the country situated to the northward of the Spanish settlements, and conceded a greater latitude for the whale fishery in the South-Pacific.

9 Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

This agreement was censured as not sufficiently precise or definite in it's terms; but it received the honor of parliamentary approbation.

His majesty's endeavours were at the same time exerted for the restoration of peace between the Austrians and the Turks. His mediation, and that of the king of Prussia, promoted the adjustment of the convention of Reichenbach; but the two princes found the empress of Russia unwilling to agree to a pacification. They alternately soothed and threatened her. A British armament was at length equipped; and the czarina was peremptorily desired to relinquish Oczakoff and it's dependencies. The anti-ministerial speakers vehemently opposed a war with Russia; and, as the nation manifestly concurred with them, the court gave up the point, although a considerable majority in each house supported the armed interference.

A. D. 1791.

In this session, which was the first of a new parliament, both parties supported a bill tending to the relief of those catholics who protested against the disloyal and dangerous opinions imputed to their sect. By the new act, they were exempted from all penal inflictions, except those which excluded them from civil and military employments, on condition of their abjuration of the following mischievous doctrines; namely, that princes excommunicated by the pope may lawfully be deposed and murdered by their subjects; that no faith is to be kept with heretics; and that the church may dispense with moral duties, or absolve a person from heinous sins.

The government of the Canadian province had frequently been a subject of parliamentary consideration. A bill was enacted in the year 1774, for the gratification of the French inhabitants rather than the British colonists. It legalised the catholic faith, and did not sufficiently provide for the enjoyment of civil liberty. It was therefore strongly condemned by the leaders of op-

position, who alleged that a constitution, tending to establish popery and arbitrary power, was very unfit for the subjects of Great-Britain. The Americans of the thirteen provinces represented it in the most odious light, and pronounced it to be one of the leading features of the iniquitous plan of the court for the extension of despotism over all the British settlements. Several attempts were made in parliament to procure a repeal of the act; but the zeal of lord North and his associates frustrated every effort of that kind. Mr. Pitt, more attentive to the wishes of the friends of freedom, now framed a better constitution for the Canadians of both descriptions. An assembly of representatives, the right of internal taxation, and the benefit of the *Habeas-corpus* act, were allowed both in Upper and Lower Canada. When the house of commons discussed the new bill, Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke digressed from the immediate subject into that of the French revolution; and, after an interchange of acrimonious reflexions, the latter solemnly renounced the friendship of one who could applaud the infamous conduct of traitors and incendiaries.

The generality of the dissenters concurred with Mr. Fox in his favorable opinion of the recent revolution; and many festive meetings took place on the anniversary of the demolition of the Bastille. At Birmingham however, the populace, inspired with the zeal of Mr. Burke, affected to apprehend danger even from these convivial associations; and, tumultuously rising, destroyed two meeting-houses, and the dwellings of Dr. Priestley and other dissenters. These outrages, being perpetrated by men who were supposed to be orthodox and loyal, did not excite such loud or general clamors as would have followed a sectarian tumult.

The next session of parliament was rendered particularly interesting by the state of the public mind, on the subject of political reform. The example A. D. 1792.

of France had stimulated the zeal of some active spirits in Great-Britain; and publications exaggerating the imperfections of our constitution, denying or ridiculing the boasted liberties of British subjects, and recommending such changes as would weaken, if not destroy, the monarchical part of the system, were eagerly disseminated, and read with avidity. Dreading the effect of these appeals to the people, the ministry procured from the king a proclamation against seditious writings; and, although some respectable members pronounced this edict unnecessary and invidious, both houses highly approved it. Against Paine, who had vilified the constitution in his Rights of Man, a legal process was instituted. Notwithstanding an able defence from Erskine, he was pronounced guilty; and, as he did not make his appearance, he was subjected to outlawry.

The proceedings of various associations alarmed the timid and the loyal. The London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, and several other self-constituted bodies, actively propagated the doctrine of the rights of man, openly applauded the conduct of the French revolutionists, and claimed a more popular government, and a greater degree of freedom, than the English constitution allowed. A society which took it's name from the Revolution was more constitutional in it's views; and it's members were more respectable than most of the individuals who composed the above-mentioned combinations. The Friends of the People were still higher in point of respectability; and they confined their views to parliamentary reform; for the promotion of which object, Mr. Grey (in the following year) made a fruitless appeal to the house of commons.

The zeal of the Corresponding Society, and of the other democratic associations, roused the defensive energy of the friends of the existing government; and numerous pamphlets were published, warning the people of the

danger to which the constitution was exposed from the designs of "republicans and levellers." These pieces were not altogether useless; but, as they tended to promote a zeal for war, their utility was diminished by concomitant mischief.

While the spirit of party was high, and the thoughts of crushing the new revolution by hostilities were entertained by the aristocracy, intelligence arrived of the fortunate conclusion of a war which had arisen in the year 1790 between the India company and Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore, who had attacked the rajah of Travancour, an ally of the English. It was affirmed in parliament, that this was a war of ambition on the part of the company; but the majority declared it to be just and necessary. Many forts were taken from the Mysoreans; various advantages were obtained over them in the field; and at length the sultan was besieged in Seringapatam. Thus endangered, he implored peace, which was concluded on terms very advantageous to the English, and to their confederates, the nizam and the Mahrattas: for they divided among themselves not only about four millions of pounds sterling, but also a moiety of his dominions. "The terms of this treaty," said the king when he opened the ensuing session, "are peculiarly satisfactory to me, from their tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions in India."

When the parliament met, the formation of a republic in France, the process against the deposed king, and the correspondence between British societies and the Gallic revolutionists, not only excited general attention, but seriously alarmed the court and the aristocracy. His majesty, besides summoning the two houses before the time originally fixed, had called out a considerable part of the militia, as if great danger threatened the realm. He earnestly exhorted each assembly to adopt, without delay, "such measures as might be necessary for en-

forcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom."

To prevent the intrusion of foreign emissaries of sedition, a seasonable bill was brought forward by lord Grenville. While it was in it's progress, M. Chauvelin sent a note to that minister, intimating the wish of the executive council of France to preserve peace and friendship with Great-Britain, and lamenting the apparent disinclination of the English cabinet to an amicable agreement. The recall of lord Gower, the refusal of acknowleging the envoy as minister of the republic, the stoppage of supplies of corn, and the encouragement supposed to be given by the court to Austria and Prussia, had alarmed and disgusted the French, and now produced an application for an unequivocal answer to a plain question—whether the French were to consider Great-Britain as a neutral or hostile power. Explanations of the two decrees (mentioned in my preceding letter) were at the same time offered by Chauvelin: but they were not satisfactory to the English secretary, who hinted that the conduct of France precluded the neutrality of the neighbouring nations, and advised her, if she really wished to be at peace with Britain, to "show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights."

A. D. 1793. In a note from the executive council, reference was made to the conduct of the king of Spain, who had treated with a minister of the republic, and adjusted a convention of neutrality; and it was hoped that Great-Britain would not scruple to follow the example of "a power of the first rank." Farther explanations of the disputed points were offered. It was affirmed, that the idea of encouraging sedition was by no means entertained by the

framers of that decree which promised assistance in the cause of liberty; that the general will was very different from sedition, which was only the commotion or rising of a small number against the majority of a nation; that, when Henry IV. of France and the English queen Elizabeth supported the Dutch against Philip II., they were not considered as promoters of sedition; and that it was the duty of one state to give aid, when the greater part of a community wished to reform or improve it's government. It was added, with regard to the Schelde, that the French would only interfere when the people, whose natural rights were invaded by treaties in which they had not concurred, should demand the free navigation of the whole course of the river; that neither the English nor the Dutch had a right to control the Belgians; and that the states-general, indeed, had no intention of opposing the meditated opening.

To these observations lord Grenville replied in a spirited tone. Being accompanied with threats, they involved, he said, new grounds of offence, which would prove a bar to every kind of negotiation. The pretended explanations were insults rather than concessions or apologies; and the motives which had induced his sovereign to prepare for violent extremities, still existed in full force; nor would the preparations be discontinued or omitted, while the French retained that turbulent and aggressive spirit which threatened danger to every nation in Europe.

By a subsequent communication in the king's name, Chauvelin was ordered to quit the realm within eight days. This mandate was considered by the French as equivalent to a declaration of war; and, as soon as the intelligence reached Paris, the convention declared, that the king of Great-Britain, and the stadt-holder of the United Provinces, were to be treated as enemies of the republic.

Whether the war might have been avoided by more

temperate conduct on the part of Great-Britain, is a point which merits inquiry. An eminent divine has endeavoured to prove, that our sovereign had no alternative.

He affirms that the king had no concern in the negotiations at Pilnitz, and, by the acknowlegement of the emperor Leopold, was determined on the observance of a strict neutrality. To this assertion I do not object, because it seems sufficiently clear that our court, *at that time*, had no intention of acting against the French.—He represents "the early and friendly answer" of the British court to the letter in which Louis announced his acceptance of the new constitution, as indicative of a wish to maintain peace; and he draws a similar inference from the acquiescence of the same court in the evasions of satisfaction for an infringement of the commercial treaty: but he, properly, lays no great stress on either of these points.—He speaks of the diminution of the number of seamen and soldiers, at the commencement of the session of 1792, as another indication of pacific views; but the facility of augmenting the force of the realm, and an unwillingness to excite early suspicions of a decided hostility to the redress of French grievances, may be considered as detracting from the alleged presumption; and Mr. Pitt's mention of fifteen years, as the probable duration of peace, may be treated as a ridiculous delusion. If no revolution had occurred in France, he would have found, in a much shorter period, various pretences for war[10].

The advocate of the ministry proceeds to observe, that his majesty did not accede to the supposed treaty of Pavia; and in this point I readily agree with him.—He asserts the continuance of strict neutrality, on the part of our court, after the French had declared war against the

10 See the "History of the Politics of Great-Britain and France, from the Time of the Conference at Pilnitz to the Declaration of War against Great-Britain: by Herbert Marsh, B. D."

king of Hungary. The neutrality, however, might outwardly subsist, and a secret wish for war be entertained.—With regard to the proclamation against seditious writings, he treats it as "a mere act of national police," of which the French nation had no right to complain. Indeed, Chauvelin did not seriously complain of it; and he disclaimed all concert between the *government* and the *individuals* alluded to in the proclamation (*sundry persons in foreign parts*).—The request of British mediation is the next topic; and the refusal of it is vindicated and commended. But it is not improbable, that such interference would have had a good effect; and the repugnance of the cabinet tended to excite suspicion.

The recall of lord Gower is an important consideration. The reverend writer supports the propriety of the recall, and contends, that this, of three modes of proceeding, was decidedly the best, as the king, to whom the envoy was accredited, had lost his power. But his reasoning in this instance appears to me to resemble more the quibbling of a barrister than the sound argumentation of a logical politician. "All authorities in France (he says) were at that time merely transient;" and even the executive council was only provisional. Yet that council was allowed to exercise the whole power of the state, and might lawfully accept new credentials. He adds, that, if the envoy had remained at Paris in an official character, and had thus acknowleged the existing government, he might have been accused by the next ruling party of having "treated with factionists, and of intermeddling in the internal affairs of France." This, however, is a gratuitous supposition. The new party, we may rather suppose, would have considered him as having properly acquiesced in the prevailing authority of the time.

The French spirit of conquest and aggrandisement, the intended encroachment on the established rights of

the Dutch, the promise of assisting the governed against the governors, and the public encouragement given by the convention to the democratic societies of this country, are afterwards discussed, and represented as sufficient grounds for war on the part of Great-Britain. Those instances of Gallic arrogance and injustice must, indeed, excite strong disapprobation; but measures of internal defence would have obviated the danger, without the necessity of preventing the conveyance of corn to supply the wants of the French, or of giving other indications of disgust and repugnance, exceeding the fair limits of neutrality.

A great plan is mentioned by the same author; "which consisted, first in the overthrow of the British and Dutch governments, and then in the subjugation of the two countries." But this was rather a scheme in embryo, dependent on an attack from Britain, or a mere display of the *good wishes* of some of the orators of the convention, than a regular project of that assembly or of the executive council. "The existence of the British empire (he says) was at stake:" but it's power was sufficiently established to enable it to defy such absurd menaces. The Dutch, it may be allowed, were more immediately and specifically menaced, as the council sent orders for the actual invasion of Dutch Brabant. In that case, the states-general had a right to demand some assistance from Great-Britain.

On the subject of negotiation, this writer is of opinion, that the British ministers gave every facility which could have been expected from a friendly nation, and testified an earnest desire of accommodation, which, on the other hand, the French did not seriously wish to adjust; and, after a series of quotation and reasoning, he concludes, that "it was not in the power of the cabinet to prevent a rupture with France." He adds, that the reciprocal accusation (between the Brissotins and Jacobins) of hav-

ing involved France in a war with Britain, is a tacit acknowlegement from both parties, that not to the British, but to the French government alone, it's origin must be assigned.

Both the rulers of France and the British ministers seem to have been in fault. The former, taking fire at every appearance of unfriendliness to their revolution, cherishing some remains of the ancient animosity of the two nations, and presuming on the spirit and energy with which the people would be animated in the fancied cause of liberty, were not so willing as they ought to have been to avoid a war. The latter, apprehending the ill effects of the new opinions upon old establishments and existing institutions, and hating the very name of reform, were less inclined to negotiate than to enter into a war, and, even while they pretended to treat, manifested an obvious reluctance, which, rendering it probable that the king would soon add his weight to the confederacy of Austria and Prussia, induced the convention to anticipate his supposed views.

But, even if it be admitted that the war was involuntary on the part of the king of Great-Britain, it does not necessarily follow that he was obliged to send an army to the continent, or to carry on any other than a naval war. There was little probability of any decisive result from the co-operation of his troops with those of Austria and Prussia; or, if it should be allowed that their aid was calculated to make a great impression, that effect was likely to be over-balanced by the levy *en masse*, which so potent a coalition would suggest; and this consideration may induce some to suppose, that more would have been done without, than with, the participation of Britain.

LETTER XI.

History of Europe in general, with an Exception of Great-Britain and France, from the Year 1787 *to* 1793.

AT the time of the revolution in favor of the stadtholder, there seemed to be a prospect of a few years of peace, if not of durable tranquillity. France, Spain, and Great-Britain, were desirous of repairing the mischiefs and losses attendant on the late war. The Austrian potentate, and the czarina, were indeed fond of power and dominion, and looked with an eye of avidity at the European provinces of the tottering empire of Turkey: but they had no wish to *precipitate* hostilities. The king of Prussia was more addicted to pleasure than to war; and he was of opinion that the terrors of a strong confederacy would secure the Porte against an attack.

The hopes of peace, however, were transitory and delusive. The pompous procession of Catharine into the Crimea, her conferences with Joseph, and the journey of her ambassador Bulgakoff from Constantinople to meet her at Cherson, alarmed the grand signor. The connexions of France with Russia, and the adjustment of a treaty of commerce, granting to the subjects of Louis such advantages as had long been exclusively enjoyed by the English, strengthened the suspicion of danger. The British and Prussian ministers insinuated to the sultan, that the empress had detached the French court from his interest, and would probably soon attack him, in concert with the ambitious Joseph. Thus (says Ségur) mere appearances were mistaken for realities, and actual war arose from the apprehension of it[1].

1 Histoire des principaux Evénemens du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, chap. 1.

The encroachments of the Russians on the rights of the Porte and it's vassal provinces, had been the subjects of repeated expostulation; and, when Catharine began to find that the grand signor had a serious intention of taking arms, she promised to desist from her pretensions, and remove all grounds of offence. Bulgakoff, with Ségur and the Austrian envoy Herbert, concerted a plan of accommodation: but, as it did not include a resignation of all authority over the Crimea, and as the divan did not entertain a favorable opinion of the honor or the sincerity of the czarina, war was declared in form, and preparations were made with extraordinary alacrity for it's commencement and prosecution. Aug. 24, 1787. The people blamed the government for not having arrested the progress of Catharine in the Crimea, and obstructed her arrogant and vain-glorious triumph. They called for vengeance upon an enemy whose ambition was never at rest, and who evidently aimed at the dismemberment of the Turkish empire.

Although the empress was thus hurried into a war when she wished to remain at peace, she resolved to face the storm with spirit. Prince Potemkin encouraged her with hopes of success, and boasted that he would quickly humble the pride of the Crescent. A manifesto was issued, accusing the Porte of a general disregard to the faith of treaties, and of a particular wish to annul all conventions subsequent to the treaty of Kainargi; imputing to the rash ministers of the grand signor the whole blame of hostilities; and prognosticating the triumph of the Russian arms in a cause of justice and of self-defence. Sept. 13.

Soon after the declaration of war, the Turks commenced hostilities near Kinburn, where Souvoroff then commanded. They fiercely bombarded that town; and five thousand men, selected from the garrison of Oczakoff, began

to form trenches for a siege. Being attacked while they were thus employed, they fought bravely, and were on the point of overwhelming the Russians: but the latter, being seasonably reinforced, cut off about four-fifths of the party; and Kinburn was saved.

The armed adherents of the Porte were also employed in desultory actions in other parts of Tartary. The Sheik Mansour appeared within the Russian frontiers at the head of seven thousand men; and three conflicts ensued, in all of which the troops of the empress had the advantage.

It was the opinion of the Turkish cabinet, that the emperor of Germany would only take part in the war as an auxiliary: but it soon appeared that this prince intended to act with vigor as a principal. He ordered four armies to be prepared for action, and eagerly looked forward to a participation of the spoils of Turkey. He had no sense of gratitude for the forbearance of the Turks at a time when their arms, added to those of the formidable enemies of his mother, might have decisively turned the scale against the house of Austria; and he resolved to take advantage of the declining state of their empire. He even began the war with an act of treachery. General Alvinzi, tutored by a prince whose ambition overpowered his sense of honor, silently crossed the Save at night with a select body of infantry, and waited for the arrival of another corps at the confluence of that river with the Danube. The expected troops not appearing, the general awkwardly apologised to the governor of Belgrade for his freedom in approaching the town, and hastily retired within the Austrian confines[2]. An attempt was afterwards made to surprise Gradisca; but the Turks were ready to receive the assailants, who were repelled with loss.

Dec. 2.

A. D. 1788.

2 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. 49.

When Joseph thought proper to declare war, Feb. 10. he did not pretend to affirm that any injuries or provocations had been offered to himself or his subjects: he merely alleged that he was bound to assist his ally, who had made fair proposals of accommodation, and who was willing to adhere to treaties, which the grand signor was determined to violate. He affected to lament the failure of his negotiatory endeavours, and to think that he deserved success for the rectitude of his conduct.

He endeavoured to rouse the Italian powers to a sense of the expediency of opposing the irreconcileable enemies of Christianity. Venice he particularly wished to draw into the confederacy, that her ports might be at the command of Russia: but the republic withstood all attempts to make her a belligerent power. Genoa promised to gratify the Russians with the use of her harbours, without embarking in the war. None of the states of Europe, indeed, would join the imperial confederates in hostility. On the contrary, there was reason to apprehend that some powers would oppose them with spirit.

Being desirous of witnessing the exertions of his troops, the emperor exchanged the peaceful scenes of his capital for the turmoils and dangers of the camp. He assisted at the siege of Schabatz, where, after the town had been taken by assault, the garrison surrendered the citadel at discretion. Dubicza was more bravely defended. The besiegers, endeavouring to enter the place by a breach, were driven back by the fury of the Turks, who, being reinforced in the night, sallied out after daybreak, destroyed the works of the Austrians, and compelled them to raise the siege[3].

Yusef, the grand vizir, was at this time encamped near Silistria, with an intention of acting chiefly on the defensive. In the mean while, various conflicts arose between

3 Annual Register, vol. XXX.

detached parties; and much blood was shed to little purpose. It was expected that the siege of Belgrade would be formed without delay; and, indeed, such preparations and dispositions were made as seemed to threaten that fortress. For the protection of so important a frontier-town, the vizir advanced into Servia, and took an advantageous station, with his left extending to the Save, and his right to New-Orsoya. The emperor now fortified his camp at Semlin, and contented himself with employing his troops in partial and desultory engagements.

The seeming want of vigor in the Austrian army, encouraged the Turks to rush into the territory of Temeswar, where they attacked the troops stationed near Old-Orsova, and slew about four thousand men. They afterwards made an attempt to storm the heights of Mehadia, where general Wartensleben was posted; but they were so warmly opposed, that they retreated in confusion after a considerable diminution of their number. Another attempt was also frustrated; but the assailants at length accomplished their purpose[4].

Alarmed at this irruption, and hearing also of an invasion of Transylvania, Joseph left thirty thousand men at Semlin, and hastened with a more numerous army to the valley of Caransebes, where he was joined by Wartensleben, who had retired from Mehadia without suffering any great loss. He now called a council of war, and was advised by all the staff-officers, except Lacy, to risque a general engagement: but he disregarded this advice, and exposed himself to the mortifying insults of the infidels, who, having erected batteries on some commanding eminences, cannonaded and bombarded his camp for two days without an hour's intermission, and endeavoured, by a bold manœuvre, to out-flank him. He baffled all their efforts for this purpose; but the menaces and move-

[4] London Gazette, for September, 1788, and also for October.

ments of the enemy induced him to order a retreat, which was so ill conducted as to be disgraceful to the Austrian arms. Many of his soldiers were killed in the night, in a conflict between parties that mistook each other for the foe; others were cut off by the pursuers; and, when the fugitive prince reached Lugos, four thousand of his men no longer appeared. Before he decamped, he lost Vipalanka, a town of some strength near the Danube. When it had been re-taken by count Harrach, the army returned to Semlin; and a partial armistice was concluded[5]. Sept. 21.

Mareschal Laudohn had no opportunities of signal achievement in this campaign. To the conquest of Dubicza he added that of Novi; but he besieged Gradisca too late in the season to command success.

An army of Austrians and Russians, acting on the frontiers of Poland, invested Choczim, and soon destroyed a great part of the town: but the garrison, even amidst the horrors of famine, defended the place above two months, and then procured honorable terms. Sept. 29. The success of the prince de Saxe-Cobourg on this occasion, did not sufficiently console Joseph for the disgrace of his principal army. The fatigues which he had shared with the meanest soldier,—his exposure at one time to oppressive heat, and at another to the pernicious exhalations of marshes,—that activity of mind which encroached on the time that ought to have been appropriated to repose,—and the agitation of anxious feelings,—produced a fever which irreparably injured his health.

In moments of chagrin, he complained that he had not been properly supported by the Russians: but their exertions against the Turks were obstructed by the bold operations of a new adversary, which occasioned a diver-

5 London Gazette.—Coxe's History.

sion of force unfavorable to the execution of the great plan of conquest projected by the two imperial courts.

The king of Sweden had offered his mediation between Russia and the Porte: and, when the empress, who perhaps did not think him sincere in the offer, had contemptuously rejected it, he was encouraged by the king of Prussia and the grand signor to attack a princess who viewed him with an unfriendly eye, who had endeavoured to excite discontent in his realm, and whose power aroused his jealousy and apprehension. Conceiving that the time was favorable for such a war, he made both naval and military preparations, and privately informed the Danish court, that, as he was apprehensive of an attack from the Russians, he intended to anticipate the blow. This secret was disclosed to the empress, who immediately ordered count Razumoski, her minister plenipotentiary at Stockholm, to remonstrate with Gustavus, and appeal to the nation against the dangerous ambition of it's sovereign. The king, resenting the arrogance of the envoy, declared that he would no longer acknowlege the count in that capacity, and insisted on his departure from Sweden. Hostilities soon followed in Finland. The Swedes took several small towns, and pretended to threaten even the Russian capital. The duke of Sudermania, brother to Gustavus, bore away with fifteen sail of the line in quest of the fleet which admiral Greig commanded, consisting of seventeen ships of that description, furnished with a much greater weight of metal. The Russians were favored by the wind, before it subsided into a dead calm. A furious engagement arose[6], near the isle of Ekholmen; and the result was the capture of a ship by each party. After great slaughter on both sides, each claimed the victory. In a subsequent con-

6 On the 17th of July.

flict, off Sweaborg, the Russians had obviously the advantage; and they maintained their superiority to the end of the year[7].

The king's hopes of military success were baffled by the disaffection of many of his officers, who, alleging that he had no right to involve the nation in war without the consent of the states of the realm, refused to obey his orders for the direction of the campaign. He was also thwarted in his views by the opposition of the prince of Denmark, whom he had in vain courted to join him, and who ordered prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel to invade Sweden on the side of Norway, in consequence of a treaty of alliance which had been concluded long before with the court of Petersburg. The empress at the same time recalling a part of the force which she had sent against the Turks, Gustavus was so embarrassed, that he scarcely knew how to act.

A Russian fleet had been intended for the Mediterranean: but the refusal of Great-Britain and Holland to furnish store-ships, and promote in other respects the equipment of the fleet, obstructed the views of the empress. If the Spanish throne had been filled with an active, spirited, and enterprising monarch, he would also, perhaps, have checked the advance of her armament, as it was by no means the wish of the house of Bourbon that the Russians should become powerful in the Mediterranean. Charles III. was still in existence; but he was in the decline of life, and unwilling to interfere on this occasion. His eldest son Philip having been declared incapable of reigning, on account of an extraordinary deficiency of intellect, his second son Charles succeeded him before the close of the year[8]. The father of these two princes did not possess a strong mind or a cultivated understanding: but, if he displayed not the illumination

7 Annual Register, vol. XXX. 8 On the 13th of December.

of genius, he exhibited occasional gleams of good sense. Charles IV. was a weak prince, led by his ministers, who did not deem it prudent to assist the Turks against the empress. The queen of Portugal was equally disposed to be neutral; and neither court, indeed, ought to be blamed for this forbearance.

In the Euxine a *flotilla* was equipped by the czarina, who intrusted it to the command of the prince of Nassau-Siegen. A naval engagement occurred in the summer near Oczakoff. The capitan-pasha, with fifty-seven small vessels, bore down upon the prince of Nassau, who, not dismayed by the great superiority of the Turkish fleet in point of number, and disregarding the advantage which his adversary derived from a leading wind, fought with such spirit for five hours, that the Turks were glad to escape to their grand fleet, after six of their vessels had been burned, and two captured. About two thousand of their number fell in the engagement; while the Russians did not lose two hundred and fifty. In another conflict, Hassan lost three thousand men; one of his ships of the line, and two frigates, were taken; three sail of the line blew up; and other serious damage was sustained. In two subsequent actions, some frigates and galleys were burned, and others captured[9].

At an advanced part of the season, a numerous army of Russians advanced from the banks of the Bog, to the in-
Aug. 29. vestment of Oczakoff, with a formidable train of heavy artillery. The siege was superintended by prince Potemkin, who left it, however, to be conducted by his lieutenants. As provisions could not easily be found for so great an army, many of the besiegers were enfeebled by the want of sufficient nourishment; and extreme cold concurred with scarcity to send a considerable number prematurely to the grave. Observing that

9 Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii.

the weakest part of the place was on the side of the Liman, the prince gave orders for an assault, when access was facilitated by the strength of the ice; and the grenadiers and chasseurs selected for the service forced their way into the town, after a long contest on the ramparts. The conflict was continued with vigor in the streets; and the Russians lost about four thousand eight hundred men on the occasion, while the Turks lost thrice that number. Many of the inhabitants were put to the sword by the fierce assailants, who rioted for three days in carnage, rapine, and debauchery [10]. Dec. 17.

St. Nicholas, the guardian saint of the Russian empire, received the solemn thanks of the conquerors of Oczakoff for the success with which they were gratified on the day appropriated to his honor; and the empress was so pleased with her new acquisition, that she resolved to retain it as a valuable frontier-town, useful also for commercial purposes. She rewarded the prince with a liberal present, and conferred on him the dignity of hetman of the Cosacks; and every officer who had any concern in the enterprise received marks of her bounty and regard.

Her Swedish adversary, quitting the camp in Finland, had returned to Stockholm, and appealed to the loyalty of the citizens against the disaffection of the nobles and officers. To their protection he committed his family; and they took measures for putting the capital in a proper state of defence. The king then hastened into the province of Dalecarlia, to rouse the inhabitants against the Danes. He was soon joined by three thousand of their number: but they were ill-armed and undisciplined. A Danish army now appeared on the Swedish frontiers, and seised Stromstadt; and Gothenburg was only saved by

10 Vie de Catharine II. par Castéra, tome ii.—Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii.

the opportune arrival of the king. Sweden, however, was still so far endangered by this invasion, that Great-Britain, Prussia, and the states-general, thought proper to interpose. Here it may be observed, that the first of these powers, after the renewal of connexion with Holland, had agreed to a treaty of confederacy with the court of Berlin, which had also formed an alliance with the states. Mr. Hugh Elliot hastened to the seat of war, and declared in the names of the allies, that Denmark should be attacked, if the operations against Sweden should be continued. The prince royal, who accompanied the army, now reluctantly agreed to a truce, which was repeatedly prolonged. Gustavus, though rescued from peril, did not seem pleased with an armistice which precluded the gratification of his vengeance.

A. D. 1789. A diet being convoked by the offended king, he demanded the punishment of the chief malcontents. The order of nobility, instead of gratifying him, seceded from the assembly; while the three other bodies of the diet, although they did not consent in form to all his wishes, suffered him to imprison a great number of nobles and officers, suppress the senate, and exercise an absolute authority. The nobles were soon liberated: but some of the disobedient officers were punished with death[11].

The forces of the grand signor commenced a new campaign with a mixture of hope and anxiety. In various skirmishes, they acted with an appearance of spirit; but the loss of their best troops enfeebled the operations of the survivors. The vizir, in compliance with the wishes of the people, had been subjected to a trial for his evacuation of the territory of Temeswar, and his supposed neglect of the defence of Oczakoff; but, being acquitted, he was allowed to resume the command of the

11 Annual Register, vol. XXXI.

army. He was highly esteemed by the sultan; but he now lost his imperial friend, who died in an apoplectic fit. April 7.

Abdul-hamed was a prince of some merit, but not uninfected with the barbarism of his country. He is said to have imbibed a tincture of science, some degree of learning, and a general knowlege of affairs: but he has been praised beyond his deserts; and, on the other hand, he has been too severely stigmatised by the philosophic king of Prussia, who represents him as little better than an idiot. He evinced a regard for justice, and a spirit of humanity. He did not oppress his Christian subjects; nor did he tyrannise over the great mass of slaves that composed the Mohammedan part of the nation. Selim, who was now enthroned, did not immediately follow the example of his uncle; for he marked the beginning of his reign with acts of cruelty and rapacity. He put the vizir to death, and seised his immense property; and other individuals fell victims to his inhuman caprice or his insatiate avidity. He made choice of new officers of state without regard to desert or qualification. He altered the intended plan of the campaign, and resolved that it should be defensive against the Austrians and offensive toward the Russians. The governor of Widin, being appointed grand vizir, prepared to follow his sovereign's instructions; but, if the plan had been less injudicious than it was, he was not qualified for it's execution.

In Moldavia, the Russians made a great impression upon the enemy. General Dorfelden obtained a victory near the river Sereth; and he improved his success by attacking a fortified camp with such vigor, that two thousand Turks were killed or wounded, and the post was completely forced. The siege of Gradisca was resumed by the Austrians; and a furious cannonade and bombardment so terrified the garrison, that the place was suddenly evacuated at a part which was not invested.

Laudohn was astonished at his speedy success on this occasion; and he was more particularly pleased, as it promoted his views upon Belgrade.

In Walachia, the Austrians and their allies were active and successful. The prince de Saxe-Cobourg, being joined by Souvoroff, advanced against the Turkish camp near Focksani. His right wing engaged and routed a numerous body of cavalry; and the left met with similar success. The assailants of the camp were exposed to a furious cannonade; but the artillery not being well served, they scarcely felt its effects, and soon forced the entrenchments by the use of the bayonet. The fortified convent of St. Samuel was afterwards attacked. A powder-magazine within the building exploded, with the loss of many lives; but the defence was protracted by the spirit of the commandant. The gate being forced, the confederates put the garrison to the sword. Another convent was stormed by an Austrian battalion, and two-thirds of it's defenders were massacred. About two thousand Turks were killed in this engagement. The spoils of the camp and the stores in the convents, were valuable; and the victory was hailed as a retrieval of the honor of the Austrian arms [12].

July 21.

When Souvoroff had retired toward the Pruth, the grand vizir took the opportunity of entering Walachia, in the hope of crushing the prince's army. The Russian general, apprised of the danger which threatened the Austrians, hastened to rejoin them; and he advised their commander to anticipate the enemy's intentions by an immediate attack. The Russians, whose number did not exceed seven thousand five hundred, were arranged in three lines, as were also the Austrians, whose force consisted of twenty thousand men. The former commenced

12 Histoire des Campagnes du Comte Alexander Suworow Rymnikski, tome ii. chap. 3.

the conflict by rushing upon a body of Janisaries who were mounted *en croupe* behind the Spahis, and who, instantly leaping down, fought for an hour before they were put to flight. At the post of Tyrkogukuli, twelve thousand Turks were quickly thrown into confusion; and, at the same time, the pasha Osman, who with five thousand Spahis had turned the left wing of the Russians, could not secure himself against a sanguinary repulse. Near Bochsa the prince encountered the vizir; but he was in frequent danger of being overpowered, and repeatedly summoned Souvoroff to his aid. The count at length opportunely reached the spot where the Austrians were bravely combating; and, preventing the attempts of the enemy to turn his right wing, advanced to the entrenchments in front of a wood. The allies now leaped over the fosses and parapets, stormed the post, pursued the Turks with vigor, and killed almost every one whom they overtook[13]. Sept. 22.

About eight thousand of the fugitives were drowned in the Rymna and the Buseo; and seven thousand others fell in the battle and the pursuit. The whole Turkish army exceeded eighty thousand men, the majority of whom abandoned the vizir after his defeat. The victors are said to have lost only two hundred and seven men; and even their wounded, it is affirmed, were only four hundred and ten; but such a statement is not altogether credible.

So great a victory filled the Austrian and Russian courts with joy. The emperor conferred on Souvoroff the dignity of count of the Holy Roman Empire; and the czarina sent to each of the commanders a sword enriched with diamonds. The soldiers were publicly praised

13 Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii. chap. 5.—By the Austrians this is called the battle of Martinesti. Mr. Tooke speaks of this engagement as a different battle from that which took place near the Rymna; an error arising from that blind and hasty mode of compilation which is too evident in his Life of Catharine.

for their gallant efforts, and rewarded with pecuniary presents.

Laudohn had invested Belgrade before this engagement signalised the campaign; and he carried on his operations with such vigor, that all the outworks were taken much sooner than the besiegers expected. The body of the place, being very strong, was capable of enduring a longer siege than it actually sustained: but the dispirited governor, not considering it as defensible against the formidable artillery and determined spirit of the enemy, soon surrendered it, when honorable terms were offered to him. Property was secured to the inhabitants; and the troops obtained a safe conveyance to Orsova.

Oct. 8.

In other quarters the Turkish arms were likewise unsuccessful. Hassan, the distinguished naval commander, who had also acquired laurels in Egypt by subduing the refractory beys, assumed the direction of a considerable military force in Bessarabia, and encountered at Tobak the princes Potemkin and Repnin: but he was defeated in spite of all his exertions. Bender and other strong towns in that province were afterwards reduced by the Russians, while their allies gained possession of the Walachian capital[14].

Gustavus, who was aided by pecuniary supplies from the grand signor, had renewed hostilities in Finland, and obtained an advantage over the Moscovites in a very fierce engagement. On another occasion, his troops also remained masters of the field: but he was afterwards driven back within his own frontiers. His brother met a hostile fleet on it's way from Revel to join another squadron: but he could neither bring on a close encounter, nor prevent the intended junction. When the king had again entered Russian Finland, he was attended along the

14 Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. ii. chap. 49.

coast by a flotilla, which, being attacked by the prince of Nassau, could not effectually resist his superior force. The Swedes were also harassed by land; and the hopes of Gustavus were again frustrated.

While the emperor exulted in the general success of the campaign, the state of affairs in the Netherlands seriously alarmed him. The innovating spirit of that prince was highly unpleasing to his Belgic subjects. The different provinces had long enjoyed distinct privileges, which Great-Britain and Holland had guarantied, after the conquest of the country in the reign of queen Anne. Joseph had bound himself to the support of the constitution of each province; but, having exalted ideas of prerogative, he thought himself at liberty to make any alterations on pretence of improvement. He formed nine territorial divisions, and ordered a new government to take place in each, superseding the power of the states, or provincial representatives[15]. In lieu of the university of Louvain, he instituted a new theological seminary, exempt from hierarchical control, and subject to the direction of foreigners. By these and other ordinances, he disgusted all ranks of the community, and excited such clamors as portended a revolt.

Joseph was proceeding to Chèrson, to confer with his Russian ally, when he received intelligence of the forcible suppression of his seminary at Louvain, of the eruption of tumults in other towns, and of the general demand for a redress of grievances. After his return to his capital, he was informed that the people had actually taken up arms against his authority, and intimidated the ruling power at Brussels into submission; and that prince Kaunitz had pledged himself for the redress of all grievances. Condemning the weakness of his minister, he declared that he would enforce his schemes of reform; and, send-

15 In March, 1787.

ing troops to the Netherlands, ordered the states to intimate their wishes by a deputation, and submit to his control. The deputies were treated with contemptuous *hauteur*, and mortified by imperious demands: but, in another audience, he assumed a conciliatory air, and promised to restore the ancient government. Count Murray, having suppressed some commotions at Brussels, issued an edict confirmatory of the privileges of the provinces; and the inhabitants were apparently pacified[16].

Soon throwing off the mask, the emperor recalled Murray, deputed count Trautmansdorff to act as governor, and gave the command of the army to an officer of a harsh and unfeeling spirit, who boasted that he would quickly reduce the whole country to unconditional submission. This was an Hibernian of the name of Dalton, who was not, however, countenanced by Trautmansdorff in his violent schemes. The latter having suspended, for three months, a decree for the re-establishment of the seminary, Joseph ordered him to enforce it without farther delay. As the council of Brabant refused to concur in it, Dalton prepared to carry it into effect by military coercion. A tumult arising in the streets, the soldiery shed some blood; but the count prevented the conflict from being more sanguinary by declaring that he would not press the adoption of the decree.

Another interval of tranquillity ensued. The university of Louvain was then superseded by the seminary, after the murder of many of the inhabitants by the troops of the despot. At Mechlin and Antwerp, the old colleges were also shut up, amidst the murmurs of the clergy and the people.

These grounds of offence did not prevent the states, in the majority of the provinces, from granting the usual subsidies to their sovereign. The states of Hainault,

16 Coxe's History, vol. ii. chap. 50.

refusing to allow what they thought he did not deserve, were dissolved by force; and the privileges of the province were annulled. The three orders, in Brabant, did not at first agree in their votes: but they at length joined in opposing the court, when an immediate change in their constitution was threatened. As they refused to approve the edicts offered for their assent, the assembly was dissolved, and the constitution declared void.

While the Netherlands were thus agitated, the French revolution broke out. The example of the Gallic adversaries of the court, and the hope of aid from a free nation, encouraged the Belgians to counteract, with redoubled zeal, the views of the emperor. The emissaries of Prussia and of Holland fanned the rising flame; and, in several towns, the people attacked the soldiery, and did not desist before many lives were lost.

An advocate, named Vander-Noodt, had been condemned on a charge of treason, but had escaped by flight the vengeance of the government. Being protected by the Dutch, he organised at Breda a considerable body of Belgic emigrants, and prepared to return triumphantly to Brussels. The command of this force was given to Vander-Mersch, who had obtained some military reputation. A manifesto was issued, in the name of the Brabançons, intimating that a prince who had evinced no regard for their rights and privileges, had no just claim to their allegiance.

Some forts near the Schelde were seised by a party of insurgents, while Vander-Mersch, advancing with about three thousand men, encountered fifteen hundred of the armed adherents of Joseph, and prevailed in the conflict. When a greater force approached, the revolters returned into Dutch Brabant. Expecting to be favored by the inhabitants of Ghent, Vander-Mersch sent a part of his army to attempt the reduction of that town. The garrison did not long defend either the city or the fort; and

Bruges and other towns were soon taken by the opponents of an arbitrary court. The states of the province of Flanders now agreed to a vote of independence, and invited the rest of the Netherlands to concur in shaking off an oppressive yoke[17].

General Dalton and count Trautmansdorff did not act in unison at this crisis. The former was still inclined to be rigid and coercive: the latter, temperate and conciliatory, suppressed the new seminary, and revoked other innovations. The general marched to attack Vander-Mersch, who had re-entered Austrian Brabant: but, on farther deliberation, he resolved to oppose the insurgents in the Flemish province. Before he had an opportunity of action, however, the adverse party found means to draw off a great number of his men; and, upon those who remained under his nominal command, he knew not how far he might depend.

The possession of the Belgic capital being eagerly desired by the revolters, the emissaries of Vander-Noodt roused the inhabitants of that city to arms. Aided by military deserters, the people re-attacked different parties of the soldiery, and at length met with success. Dalton capitulated for a safe retreat with his small army, and plundered the country in his way to Luxemburg. Vander-Noodt and Vander-Mersch now returned to Brussels with elation of spirits; and the states of Brabant declared the province independent. Hainault, Limburg, and other Belgic territories, were also rescued from Austrian tyranny: but Luxemburg did not withdraw itself from the yoke. An alliance was formed by the emancipated provinces; and the new administrators of public affairs devoted their attention to the re-establishment of order and tranquillity.

Dec. 12.

In another portion of the emperor's territories, similar

17 Coxe, vol. ii. chap. 50.

discontent prevailed. He had acknowleged the privileges of the Hungarians on his accession to their throne; but he had given offence to that nation, by refusing to be crowned (that he might not be obliged to confirm those privileges by the solemnity of an oath); by removing the *regalia* from native custody to the Austrian capital; by ordering a discontinuance of the use of the Hungarian language in public acts and records; by introducing new modes of judicial process, and altering, in various points, the ancient constitution of the country. The rigors of military conscription, and the exorbitancy of taxation, at length elevated the murmurs of the people into loud clamors; and an insurrection seemed to be on the point of breaking out.

Declining in health and in spirits, Joseph was keenly affected by the intelligence of the state of Hungary, and confounded at the news of the Belgic revolt. He sent count Cobenzel into the Netherlands to promise a full restoration of constitutional rights: but no regard was paid to professions which were deemed insincere. He consented to a re-establishment of the Hungarian constitution, and sent back the *insignia* of royalty, with a declaration of a willingness to be crowned, and to take the accustomed oath of just and legal government. But he had no opportunity of performing his promises, even if he had been so inclined. His lungs had been gradually decaying: he had been harassed by a slow fever, which was followed by an asthma and a fistula. Thus afflicted in his person, agitated also with mental inquietude, he approached the close of life. No longer fretful and irritable, he resolved to meet with firmness a fate which he could not prevent. He died in the tenth year of his reign over his hereditary dominions, at the age of forty-eight years[18]. A. D. 1790. Feb. 20.

18 Coxe, vol. ii. chap. 57.

The countenance of Joseph was expressive: his manners were courteous; and he was, in general, temperate, chaste, and attentive to exterior decorum. His abilities might have raised him to a high rank among modern potentates, if his judgement had been more mature and correct. But his spirit was so restless, and his rage for reform so violent, that he did not sufficiently consider the nature, tendency, or probable efficacy of his schemes, or examine how far one was consistent with another; and his disposition was so arbitrary, that he would not condescend to adapt his innovations to the temper or wishes of his people, but seemed to think that his will and pleasure constituted an ample recommendation of all the projects or whims with which his brain teemed [19].

As he left no issue by either of his wives, Austria and it's dependencies devolved to his brother, the grand duke of Tuscany. Wisdom and policy were essentially requisite for the adjustment of the disordered affairs of a part of those territories; and Leopold was not altogether deficient in such qualities.

The grand duke had been involved, by his reformative spirit, in a contest with the pope. He had made some progress in the restriction of the power of the holy see, when he met with a prelate who was warmly disposed to second him in that species of reform. This was Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, whose alterations of discipline exposed him to papal animadversion, which, however, he disregarded and despised. He even ventured to propagate opinions not exactly agreeing with the received

19 "He himself (says Mr. Coxe) bore witness to the folly, the inconsistency, and the impracticability of his schemes, when, at the close of his life, he said, I would have engraven on my tomb, Here lies a sovereign, who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution."

He married the princess Elizabeth of Parma, grand-daughter of Philip of Anjou, king of Spain; and Maria of Bavaria, daughter of the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. To the former he was particularly attached; but he had no affection for his second wife, chiefly because her person was disagreeable.

doctrines of the catholic church; and, in a diocesan synod, his innovations were readily adopted. Pius threatened him with excommunication, but was deterred, by the firmness of Leopold, from proceeding to that extremity. A general synod being convoked at Florence, three archbishops and ten bishops gratified the pope by dissenting from those reforms which the grand duke wished to establish; and the populace, exclaiming against Ricci as a heretic, plundered his palace: but he interceded with his sovereign for the pardon of the rioters. In the progress of the contest, Leopold prohibited all appeals to Rome, deprived the nuncio of all spiritual privileges and power, and annihilated all dependence of the members of religious orders on foreign superiors; and, not forgetting temporal affairs and worldly advantages, he claimed the duchy of Urbino as an original appendage of the Tuscan principality. But, when he was called by his brother's death into a wider field of action, he desisted from his territorial pretensions [20].

The new king of Hungary and Bohemia endeavoured to conciliate the subjects of the former realm, and the Belgians, by disclaiming all intention of pursuing the projects of their defunct sovereign, and promising to govern them with justice and equity. He intimated, to Great-Britain and the States-general, that he wished to be on terms of amity with them, and would accept their mediation for the re-establishment of peace. He assured them that he had no high degree of ambition, and that his demands would not be unreasonable. To the Prussian monarch he applied for an explanation of the precise object of a late alliance with the Porte; and, that he might be prepared for an eventual war with that prince, he ordered an army to be assembled in Bohemia; requesting,

20 Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat, chap. 18.

at the same time, that Frederic William would assist him in obtaining the imperial dignity. The king promised to vote for him on this occasion; but was less compliant in other points.

Being eager to prosecute the war against the Turks while fortune favored the Austrian arms, Leopold objected to a truce proposed by his Britannic majesty, and made preparations for vigorous hostilities, before the Prussian potentate seemed to be fully determined upon action. He hoped, by a display of courage and spirit, to confound the hopes of those who derived confidence from his embarrassments. Aware of the anti-Austrian zeal of Hertzberg, he directed baron Spielman, the confidential agent of the veteran Kaunitz, to exert all his address in weakening the credit of the opposing minister, and counteracting the schemes of Prussian hostility. As Bischoffswerder, and the *illuminés* of the court, concurred with Spielman on this occasion, the king, after expensive preparations, desisted from his high demands; suffering Leopold to retain every district in Poland which his mother had seised, and to procure from the Porte a cession of the territory of Old Orsova; and not insisting on his adoption of violent measures to compel Russia to make peace[21].

In the third campaign of the war, the Austrians, having reduced Orsova, formed the sieges of Widin and Giurgewo: but the besiegers of the latter place were so fiercely assaulted, that they retired in confusion. The mediation of Great-Britain and her allies prevented farther disgrace or additional success. A convention was signed at Reichenbach, by Mr. Ewart, count Hertzberg, the baron de Reede, and Spielman, providing for a speedy treaty of peace between Leopold and Selim, almost entirely on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. An

July 27.

21 Histoire des principaux Evenemens du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, tome ii.

armistice followed; and a negotiation for a definitive treaty commenced at Szistova[22].

The Russians continuing the war, various incidents occurred in it's progress; of which the most memorable was the siege of Ismael, a strong and well-garrisoned town in Bessarabia. At this scene of action, the courage and cruelty of Souvoroff were strikingly displayed. Prince Potemkin had besieged it for seven months, and was so far from despairing of success, that he ordered the count to reduce the town within three days. The besieging army, including the marines in the squadron of rear-admiral Ribas, consisted of twenty-eight thousand men; while the garrison amounted to forty-three thousand. To a demand of surrender it was said in reply, that the Danube would stop it's course, and the heavens begin to fall toward the earth, before Ismael would surrender. Smiling at this bravado, Souvoroff coolly made preparations for the hazardous assault. Before day-break, six columns advanced on the side of the land, and three from the banks of the Danube. In approaching the ramparts, they sustained some loss from a brisk cannonade. The first column, having passed two fosses and leaped over a chain of palisades, seised one bastion and attacked a second with vigor. The fourth and fifth columns met with an obstinate resistance. They were driven back from the rampart into a deep fosse; and the Turks, sallying through one of the gates, slew many of the assailants. Assisted by a body of reserve, those columns repelled the enemy, and secured a bastion. The other Russian divisions pushed forward with alacrity; and all at length forced a passage into the town. Conflicts followed in every street, and blood was prodigally shed. A stone cavalier, and several fortified houses built of the same material, remained to be taken. One of

Dec. 11.

22 Coxe's History, vol. ii. chap. 52.

these withstood every assault for two hours, being defended by the personal exertions of a veteran pasha, who, when he had surrendered himself to captivity, lost his life in an incidental *fracas*. The cavalier was so furiously attacked by Ribas, that the governor of Ismael, who had retired to this post, yielded it to save it's defenders from massacre. Within eleven hours from the commencement of the assault, all opposition of moment ceased: but occasional conflicts occurred for three days, during which the victorious general permitted his soldiers to pillage the town [23].

It was computed, that thirty-three thousand Turks, among whom were many women, were sacrificed in this dreadful assault. About ten thousand soldiers, besides the inhabitants, were made prisoners; and these were ordered by the Russians, as the frost rendered it difficult to dig the earth, to throw the dead bodies into the Danube. Souvoroff reported, that only four thousand three hundred of his men were killed or wounded: but some accounts have extended the number to fifteen thousand. The place abounded with all kinds of stores; and the spoils were estimated at two millions sterling.

The Russians were also gratified, in this year, with naval success. Near the isle of Andros, indeed, their flotilla was defeated by a superior Turkish and Algerine force: but, in the Black Sea, they disabled and dispersed a considerable Ottoman armament, destroyed the admiral's ship, and bore off two prizes, with the loss of only twelve men [24].

On the part of the Swedes, some resolute efforts marked the remaining course of the war. They defended Karnankoski, a post on the borders of the lake Saima, against ten thousand men, who were repelled by about

23 Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii. chap. 6.—Vie de Catharine, par Castéra, tome ii.

24 Londdn Gazette, for October, 1790.

three thousand. The gallant prince of Anhalt, who commanded the assailants under general Igelstrom, fell on this occasion. Gustavus afterwards encountered a fleet of small ships near Fredericksham, and captured or destroyed forty vessels; but the duke of Sudermania, in an attack upon the port of Revel, lost two ships of the line. The two brothers then united their squadrons, and were stationed at the entrance of the bay of Wyborg, where the king had made a fruitless attempt to destroy a coasting flotilla. The division of the prince of Nassau having approached the grand Russian fleet, commanded by Chitchakoff, the retreat of the Swedes became difficult and dangerous. On each side of a strait through which they were to pass, were two Russian sail of the line, which, however, did not materially injure the Swedish van in it's progress from the bay. The duke endeavoured to burn those ships: but the vessels employed in that service were driven upon two of his ships, which quickly blew up. In the confusion that ensued, four Swedish sail of the line struck upon the rocks, and were taken; and two more, besides a great number of small vessels, fell into the hands of the enemy[25].

Between the prince of Nassau, and the monarch whose fleet thus narrowly escaped total destruction, an engagement took place in the following week near Swensk-Sund, chiefly with small ships. Gustavus was assisted by sir Sydney Smith and other British officers, whose example stimulated the hereditary valor of his subjects. He captured or destroyed forty-two ships, and obtained a complete victory over a fleet which far out-numbered his own.

The peace of the north was soon restored after this action. By the mediation of the Spanish minister at Petersburg, and under the influence of the convention

[25] London Gazette.—This conflict occurred on the 3d and 4th of July

of Reichenbach, preliminaries were concluded in the summer; but the empress was not inclined to an immediate pacification with the Porte, unless she should be permitted to retain some important conquests.

Leopold was engaged in the task of conciliating the opposers of his late brother, when his dignity and power were augmented by the acquisition of the imperial crown. He now renewed his declaration, that he would restore those privileges which the Belgic provinces had enjoyed under the government of his respected mother; and on that ground he demanded, by a fixed day, the return of the inhabitants to their allegiance. The king of Prussia and his allies had bound themselves, in the late convention, to a guaranty of that constitution which Charles VI. had engaged to maintain, when the Netherlands were transferred to the house of Austria: but Leopold wished to elude that part of the agreement; and, as dissensions pervaded the provinces, and superstition, prejudice, and ignorance, rendered the people in a great measure unfit to enjoy the blessing of independence, he hoped to pevail by the terrors of his power. He found the British court not very rigid on the subject: he disregarded, in this respect, the indignation of Frederic William; and gained the point at which he aimed. His troops recovered Brussels; and exterior submission was restored. He had already pacified the Hungarians, whom he overawed by a force collected in the tranquil kingdom of Bohemia; and he received their crown upon his own terms [26].

Oct. 9.

Dec. 3.

In these negotiations and transactions, Leopold was uninfluenced by the advice of prince Kaunitz, who now ceased to sway the cabinet. This statesman had acted as minister for foreign affairs from the year 1753; and, three years after his appointment, he had the chief con-

26 Coxe, vol. ii. chap. 53, 54.

cern in uniting the long-divided courts of Vienna and Versailles. His address and perseverance, on this occasion, procured him great applause. He certainly possessed a clear head and an enlarged mind; was capable of great application, and too firm to be discouraged by the apparent difficulties of a scheme or enterprise. He was superior to the mean arts of intrigue, and did not cherish the malignity of ministerial vengeance. He was not rapacious, or fond of pecuniary accumulation, though he knew that he had the purse of the empress, in a great measure, at his command.

As the allies had influenced Leopold to make peace with the Turks, they expected to be able to check the ambition of the czarina: but she was not disposed to submit to their dictates. Imputing the aggression to the enemy, she claimed the right of prosecuting the war until she should be able to obtain favorable terms, in return for an enormous expenditure and the sacrifice of so many of her subjects. She refused to restore Oczakoff, though the king of Great-Britain commanded a fleet to be fitted out with views of intimidation. She ordered her generals to commence another campaign, that her infidel foes might be humbled. With unabated spirit, she also resolved to take the first opportunity of repressing the political innovations of the Polish patriots, whose cause, she knew, was favored by the confederates and by the Porte. A. D. 1791.

After the partition of Poland, Catharine had been the chief administratrix of the new constitution which the three powers had framed for the remaining kingdom; and the licentiousness of her troops, and their contemptuous treatment of the nation, had excited general odium. Hence, when the czarina, embarrassed by the war, and thwarted by Great-Britain and Prussia, proposed a treaty of close alliance with Stanislaus, the diet, considering the offer as merely dictated by a sense of danger, had no

inclination to accept it. Hertzberg resolved to take advantage of this reluctance; and the artful Lucchesini, the representative of the Prussian monarch at Warsaw, was ordered to inflame the disgust and animosity of the Polanders, and amuse them with the hope of being delivered from the Russian yoke, and restored to a state of independence, by the friendly zeal of his sovereign. Hailes, the British minister, promoted the same object with less insincerity; and the ardent desire of freedom pervaded the Polish nation. This spirit produced a confederacy, which was attended with important effects, not, however, ultimately corresponding with the wishes of the associated patriots[27].

It was proposed in the diet, that the army should be augmented from twenty thousand to sixty thousand men; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the partisans of Russia, a vote for that purpose was adopted. It was afterwards resolved, that the permanent council should be abolished; and the correction of various abuses occupied the deliberations of the assembly. To provide for the military expenditure, and for the new arrangements in other departments, a considerable land-tax was imposed; and, on this occasion, the clergy evinced their public spirit by the ordinary free-gift, exclusive of their proportion of the recent impost.

The expediency of a new constitution for Poland being generally acknowleged, the king was requested to appoint a committee, whose attention should be directed to that desirable object. Eleven individuals were accordingly selected[28]; and the important work was undertaken with a judicious and temperate spirit. Many plans were discussed, many proposals rejected; and above nineteen months elapsed before the diet voted all the constitutional articles. It was then agreed, that the crown should not

27 Histoire du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, par Ségur, tome iii.

28 In September, 1789.

be generally elective, but should be confined to the house of Saxony; and the king received, from May 3. the new code, a degree of power which rendered him more respectable and dignified. The nobility had no longer in their hands the potent means of tyranny which they had long enjoyed: the middle class became more considerable; and all the peasants were admitted to the protection of the law. The majority of the nation exulted in the change: but the apprehensions of Russian hostility allayed the rising joy.

The troops of the empress prosecuted the war on the banks of the Danube, with a vigor which did not seem to be diminished by the secession of the Austrians. Prince Repnin, with about twenty-five thousand July 10. men, routed seventy thousand Turks at Maczin, after a considerable advantage had been obtained over another army at Babada in Walachia; and, on the side of the Crimea, the Moscovites were also victorious. Catharine then condescended to agree to preliminaries of peace, under the mediation of the Aug. 11. Danish court; and a congress was holden at Yassi for the completion of the treaty.

During the congress, the minister, whose sway in Russia had long been almost unbounded, was seised with a fever, which, from his intemperance and his neglect of the judicious advice of his physicians, soon became dangerous. On his way to Nicolayef for better air, he found himself extremely ill. Alighting from the carriage in which he rode with the countess Branicka, one of his nieces, he threw himself despairingly on the grass, and died Oct. 15. in the arms of the afflicted lady.

Prince Potemkin was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. His character was a compound of opposite qualities. Avarice and ostentatious prodigality, haughtiness and complacency, reserve

and communicativeness, rigor and remissness, boldness and timidity, licentiousness and superstition, activity and indolence, coarseness and refinement, were among the features of his portrait. He had talents, if not genius; and his information was extensive; but a very small part of it was derived from reading. He could converse plausibly on all subjects, without being profoundly acquainted with any. He evinced his political address in detaching the French cabinet from its connexion with the Porte, and in procuring for his mistress the friendship of the court of Vienna. He promoted the military success of his country, but in a great measure disorganised the army. He conceived good schemes, but deranged the finances and disordered the government. His ambition was high, but inconsistent. His thoughts wandered from one extreme to another; one embryo scheme was rapidly succeeded by a rival fancy. His whims and inconsistencies seemed to render him more interesting to the czarina. At one time he flattered and courted her; at another, he arrogantly domineered over his sovereign and benefactress. Satiated with luxury and with power, he had scarcely a wish ungratified; and, in the midst of his prosperity, he was so listless and uneasy, that he even seemed weary of existence. After an interval of *tædium* and torpor, he would suddenly rouse himself; but fresh satiety soon followed. With such a mind, he was not happy; for he was never contented.

On the death of Potemkin, the empress did not manifest that poignant grief which, from his long enjoyment of her favor, she was expected to feel. She soon reentered into the vortex of politics, and gave new instructions to her ministers. Her paramour Zouboff being now desirous of acting in the cabinet, Markoff became his political instructor, and obtained the confidence both of the favorite and his mistress.

The negotiations at Yassi led to a peace. Count Bezborodko was commissioned to treat at the congress; and a definitive treaty was at length signed. Jan. 9, 1792. The chief articles imported, that the Niester should be the boundary of the two empires; that the privileges of the principal towns of Walachia and Moldavia should be confirmed, and the inhabitants be, for two years, exempt from tribute; that the government of the principality of Georgia should be guarantied by the Porte; and that the latter power should endeavour to put a stop to the depredations and outrages of the pirates of Barbary. The grand signor also consented to pay twelve millions of piastres to Catharine by way of indemnification for the charges of the war: but, with a disinterestedness which excited the admiration of the Turkish plenipotentiaries, she declined the acceptance of the offer [29].

Resuming her attention to the affairs of Poland, the empress publicly expressed a strong disapprobation of the proceedings of the diet, and encouraged the discontent of the nobles who opposed the new constitution. She resolved to counteract by open arms the views of the patriots; but waited until the war broke out between France and Austria. Bulgakoff then delivered a declaration to the king, couched in a very imperious strain. May 18. The majority of the members of the diet were reviled, in this hostile manifesto, as factious men, who had arrogantly usurped all branches of power, exercised the most tyrannical sway, and completed their political iniquity by the subversion of that constitution under which the republic had for many ages prospered. They were accused of having harassed and oppressed the subjects of Russia, who were lawfully employed in Poland, and of having even offered to join the Porte in the war against the empress. But, as the greater part of the

29 Tooke's Life of Catharine, vol. iii.

nation did not appear to her to concur in the proceedings of which she complained, she would have sacrificed her just resentment to the hope of seeing these grievances redressed in a new diet, if a great number of Polanders, among whom were many of high distinction and merit, had not implored the assistance of her arms for the restoration of the laws and liberty of the republic. She had therefore ordered her troops to march into Poland, and trusted all who had a regard for the true interest of their country would zealously promote the good cause in which she had embarked.

To this declaration a temperate answer was given by the diet. All intentions of offending the czarina were disclaimed; and, if any of her subjects had been treated with seeming harshness, it was because they were engaged in seditious practices. Her regard for Poland was not disputed; but the right of reforming the government was asserted, and the constitution which she disapproved was vindicated as the deliberate and prudent work of patriotism, consonant with the wishes of the generality of the nation. A firm resolution of maintaining it was announced; and, in an address to the people, the king and the diet recommended the most vigorous exertions against the threatened hostilities.

It was not probable, however, that the Polanders, weak and divided, would be able to withstand the Russians alone; and, if the troops of the king of Prussia should co-operate with the northern barbarians, the hopes of independence would, it was apprehended, be soon frustrated. Stanislaus appealed to the good faith of that monarch, and expressed a confidence (which he could not really feel) in his guaranty of the Polish government. Frederic William denied that he was bound to support the new constitution, and hinted his displeasure at the conduct of the diet. The empress, he added, felt high and just indignation at the new arrangements; and there

was no prospect of allaying her disgust, unless the Polanders should re-trace their steps, and relinquish their innovations. He was willing to be so far their friend, as to promote a reconciliation between them and the Russians; and he would endeavour to interest the court of Vienna in the same cause. The king of Hungary, connecting in his mind the revolutions of Poland and of France, notwithstanding the difference between them, advised Stanislaus to aim at the restoration of the old government, if he wished to avert the miseries which threatened the nation.

Not expecting that the czarina would listen to any terms but such as would degrade and enslave Poland, the king and the diet had raised a considerable army, of which prince Joseph Poniatowski had the command. Hostilities soon arose; and the first conflict was favorable to the Polanders; but subsequent trials of strength were adverse to their interest, and the prince was obliged to retreat, until he received a reinforcement. He then engaged the Russians for about ten hours at Zielime, and drove them from the field. One of his officers acquired reputation in this campaign by courage and conduct. This was Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a poor gentleman of Brzesci, who had served in North-America under Washington; but neither his exertions, nor those of his patriotic associates in military command, could long check the progress of the enemy, who prevailed over all opposition, not only on the side of the Ukraine, but also in the grand duchy of Lithuania, where the capital was quickly reduced [30].

The intrigues of Russian emissaries had in the mean time increased the number of mal-content nobles, by whom a confederacy was formed at Targowitz for the annulment of the new constitution. The king was soli-

30 Annual Register, vol. XXXIV.

cited to enter into this association; and being also menaced by Catharine with the warmth of resentment, he promised full submission. His compliance with the stern demand of his former friend was followed by the general acquiescence of the nation. The short war was closed; and Stanislaus again became a cipher, while a Russian general dictated laws to Poland.

When I lately mentioned the king of Hungary, as interfering in the affairs of Poland, I did not allude to Leopold. That prince, after he had concluded a treaty at Szistova with the grand signor[31], directed his chief attention to the concerns of France. He was disgusted at the revolutionary politics and licentious doctrines of the demagogues, and at the encroachments of the national assembly on the rights of the empire. Frederic William also hated democracy, and wished to crush it in France while it was yet in it's infancy. He was taught by the emigrant nobles to believe that the majority of the nation favored the cause of royalty; that the troops, divided, undisciplined, and ill-furnished with the requisites of war, would be unable to withstand his orderly and well-appointed battalions; and that his exertions for the extinction of Jacobinism, and the restoration of tranquillity to France, would ennoble and immortalise his name. His favorite, Bischoffswerder, promoted the influence of these counsels. Prince Henry was not so sanguine. He apprehended that war would rather aggravate than remedy the evil; and M. de Boufflers, being of the same opinion, warned the king of the danger in which his armed interference would involve the unfortunate Louis. The persuasions of M. de Segur, who had been sent by the French ministry, to infuse pacific sentiments into the court of Berlin, also contributed to cool the ardor of the monarch, who declared that he would not

31 On the 4th of August, 1791.

make war upon the French, unless they should attack the emperor or some other German prince. He consented, however, to sign a declaration[32] at Pilnitz (where he had an interview with Leopold), intimating that, if Spain, Sardinia, Switzerland, and the Germanic body, would unite in a cause which affected the interest of every European power, Austria and Prussia would act promptly and cordially with an ample military force, in such a manner as might enable the French king to frame a government, consistent both with the happiness of his subjects and the rights of other princes[33].

The object of this meeting was misrepresented by the leaders of the national assembly, as a plan for the partition of France. Strong censures and invectives were lavished upon all the framers and abettors of such a scheme; and war was declared to be necessary for the defence of the nation, and the chastisement of the determined foes of liberty. Spirited remonstrances passed between the executive ministers and the court of Vienna; but neither party derived from such negotiations any other benefit than delay. Leopold certainly had no strong desire of engaging in hostilities: he rather wished to avoid war by seeming to be prepared for it. His caution counteracted the eagerness of Frederic William; and he died before the sword was unsheathed. His disorder was a malignant fever, which closed his life in the vigor of his age; for he had not completed his forty-fifth year. His son Francis, to whom Joseph was so much attached as even to wish that he might fill the imperial throne in preference to his father, now assumed the joint titles of king of Hungary and Bohemia, and was soon involved in a war with France. The circumstances which led to it, and the incidents of the first cam-

March 1.

32 On the 27th of August, 1791.

33 Histoire du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, par Ségur, chap. 9.—Coxe's History of Austria, vol. ii. chap. 55.

paign, have been related in a former letter, as the subject was intimately connected with the affairs of the French nation [34].

The Swedish monarch was inflamed with an eager desire of opposing by arms the progress of the revolution. A prince of his character, fond of monarchical power, could not approve a government in which the king was an inefficient part of the state: he therefore resolved to make an attempt for it's subversion. He was encouraged in this bold scheme by the king of Spain and the czarina; and he concerted with M. de Bouillé a plan of operations, which argued greater spirit than prudence. He proposed a descent on the northern coast of France, with thirty-six thousand Swedes and Russians, and a speedy march to Paris, during an invasion of the different frontiers by the troops of other powers [35]. But he was not destined to shine as the Agamemnon of the confederacy. A conspiracy was formed against him by the counts Horn and Ribbing, baron Ehrensward, colonel Liljehorn, and other partisans of the aristocracy, who deeply resented not only his arbitrary change of the government in 1772, but his subsequent violation of those articles (favorable to the diet or the nation) which he had then suffered to be included in the constitutional act. Disregarding, with the courage of a Cæsar, an intimation of his danger, he attended a masquerade at the opera-house, and was shot by captain Ankarstrom, who, being more incensed against his sovereign for a criminal prosecution to which he had been subjected, than grateful for the pardon that he had received, had offered to the conspirators his regicidal services [36]. After lingering above twelve days, the royal victim died with the resignation and fortitude of a Christian. He had reigned twenty-one

March 29.

34 See Letter IX.

35 Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé.

36 Appendix to the Annual Register, vol. XXXIV.

years, and had entered into the forty-seventh year of his age.

The character of Gustavus soared above the ordinary standard. He had a quickness of apprehension, a ready flow of eloquence, and a considerable fund of knowlege. He had a taste for literature, and a turn for varied inquiry. His manners and address were pleasing and elegant. He had great courage, both political and military: but his policy was more artful than profound, and he had not the skill of a consummate general. Though arbitrary, he was not cruel; and he evinced his magnanimity by desiring that none of the conspirators should be put to death: but his brother extorted from him an assent to the capital punishment of Ankarstrom. This daring assassin was exposed on the pillory, and subjected to repeated flagellation; his right hand was cut off; he was then decapitated and quartered. Count Horn and two of his accomplices committed suicide: Ribbing, Ehrensward, and Liljehorn, were banished for life.

The crown prince being only in his fourteenth year, the duke of Sudermania was constituted regent; and, instead of adopting the warlike schemes of his brother, he abstained from all hostilities against the Gallic revolutionists. The Danish court followed this example of neutrality, without approving the conduct of the French.

The empress of Russia, although she had so far profited by a revolution as to acquire a crown to which from descent or consanguinity she had no pretensions, was not fond of democratic or republican revolutions. She loudly condemned the presumption and audacity of the leaders of the convention, who had traitorously dethroned their king, and subverted the old *régime*. She considered their proceedings as an insult to the sovereigns of Europe, who were bound, she thought, to crush such seditious vipers as had ungratefully stung the bosom of royalty. But she contented herself with exclamations and invec-

tives, and did not join in a hostile confederacy. When she coolly reflected on the distance of France from her empire, and turned an ambitious eye towards less remote territories, she resolved only to issue anti-Gallican manifestoes, while other powers attacked the new republic with the vigor of hostility. The Spanish court, when Louis accepted the constitution, had receded from it's promise of supporting Gustavus; and, even after the formation of a republic had annulled the authority of the house of Bourbon in France, Charles IV. declared that he would observe the strictest neutrality in the war which then raged. This prince interceded in behalf of the royal prisoner: but all such solicitations were unavailing. After the death of Louis, he sent the French diplomatic minister out of Spain; and the convention soon denounced war against him. The court of Lisbon wished to avoid a rupture; but, as an auxiliary, it detached succours to Spain for the defence of the Pyrenées. By this conduct, and by refusing to acknowlege the republic, it excited the indignation and the menaces of France. The queen was at this time in a state of (chiefly religious) insanity; and the prince of Brasil exercised the supreme sway.

March 7, 1793.

With regard to Switzerland and Italy, I may observe, that the cantons for some years found means to preserve peace; but several of the Italian powers were drawn into the war. The king of Sardinia became a confederate with Francis king of Hungary, after the latter prince had acquired the dignity of emperor of Germany; but Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, brother of Francis, could not be prevailed upon to accede to the coalition. The republics of Venice and Genoa were disposed to forbearance; the pope also, and the dukes of Parma and Modena, were not very eager for war; but the king of Naples was easily persuaded to embark in it, being not only connected by consanguinity with the Bourbon family,

but closely allied to the house of Austria; for he had espoused a sister of Joseph, had given one daughter in marriage to the new emperor, and another to the grand duke, while his eldest son was the husband to a daughter of Leopold.

In speaking of his Neapolitan majesty, I am induced to remark, as it serves to illustrate the manners of the times, that he had been at variance with Pius VI. from the commencement of his pontificate. The minister Tanucci continued to encroach on the supposed rights of the holy see; and the pope thought it his duty to resist such encroachments. Among other grounds of dissension, the appointment of an archbishop of Naples was contested; and, when this dispute had been compromised, it was re-kindled by the refusal of a cardinal's hat to the new prelate, on pretence of his being tainted with Jansenism. The mode of presenting the white palfrey, the annual mark of feudal subjection, was also productive of dispute. Under the administration of the marquis della Sambucca, the supply of several vacant sees occasioned a fresh contest; and the king menaced the pontiff with actual hostilities, if he should continue to with-hold his confirmation of the royal appointments. The storm was warded off by concessions from the pope. The suppression of a great number of monasteries, and the diminution of various sources of papal revenue in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, continued to exasperate Pius, who repeatedly solicited the interposition of the court of Madrid. Charles III., who then reigned, desired his son to be moderate in his ecclesiastical reforms; but Acton (the son of an Hibernian physician), who had obtained great influence at the court of king Ferdinand, encouraged him to a resolute perseverance. When this minister had procured the dismission of Sambucca and the substitution of the marquis Caraccioli in the department of foreign affairs, a total rupture with the court of Rome

was expected. Count Galeppi was sent by Pius to propose a new compromise; but the king declared that the pontiff's pretensions were inadmissible. Cardinal Buoncompagni, who had succeeded Pallavicini as secretary of state, was equally unsuccessful as a negotiator at Naples. It is unnecessary, however, to trace the progress of these disputes. I shall therefore content myself with informing you, that the decline of the papal power and influence constrained the pope to acquiesce in the abolition of Neapolitan vassalage to the holy see, and in a modification of his claims with regard to interference in promotions and the grant of dispensations; while he procured a promise that five hundred thousand ducats should be given, as an offering to St. Peter, by every king of Naples on his accession to the throne[37].

LETTER XII.

A Survey of the Affairs of Europe, to the Revolution effected by the French in Holland, in 1795.

EUROPE was now destined to witness a remarkable contest between a nation aiming at freedom, and a formidable confederacy of powers, whose efforts, if not directed to the extinction of liberty, were certainly not employed to cherish the rising flame. It was easy to foresee that such a league would not be attended with the desired success, as it would rather tend to rouse the resentment and invigorate the exertions of those who imagined that they were pursuing a right course, than to humble their spirit or overawe them into submission. If French licentiousness excited apprehensions, the ma-

37 Mémoires sur Pie VI. chap. 19, 20, 21.

lignity of hostile violence did not promise remedial efficacy. Contemptuous forbearance might have been more beneficial.

The defence of Holland was the first object of the British ministry. Dumouriez, who expected to subdue the seven provinces with as much facility as he had reduced the Austrian Netherlands, had entered Dutch Brabant, near the close of the winter, and sent Berneron's division to invest Williamstadt and Klundert, while colonel Le Clerc formed the blockade of Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg, and general d'Arçon attacked Breda. After sustaining a feeble bombardment for three days, the count de Byland, being informed by a French officer that the commander in chief was approaching with the grand army, surrendered Breda upon such terms as were deemed honorable, yet with no honor to his character. Klundert was weakly garrisoned, but briskly defended. When this town had been reduced, Williamstadt was besieged, though with little effect. Gertruydenberg made only a short resistance, although (says Dumouriez) "it had very strong out-works, and a garrison of eight or nine hundred men, besides a superb regiment of dragoons, the guards of the stadt-holder." Here the general found a considerable flotilla; with which, and other small vessels, he prepared to pass into the isle of Dordrecht[1]. Feb. 24, 1793.

During these operations on the Dutch frontiers, the Austrians were far from being idle. General Clairfait attacked the invaders of Germany, and obtained some advantages over them. The personal exertions of the prince de Saxe-Cobourg led to a more important defeat of the French. He rushed upon them near the city of Aix-la-Chapelle; and about three thousand five hundred of their number were killed or wounded March 2.

1 Mémoires du General Dumouriez, livre ii. chap. 3.

in the conflict. The retreat was precipitate and disorderly; and one thousand five hundred men were reduced to a state of captivity. Prince Frederic of Brunswick, on the same day, routed a strong corps at Brugge.

As soon as Dumouriez was informed of the event of these engagements, he sent orders to Miranda to continue the bombardment of Maestricht from the left bank of the Maes, and take such a position near Tongres as might enable him to arrest the career of the Austrians. Miranda, however, abandoned the Maes, and suffered the emperor's troops to seise the French magazines in Liege, while he retired toward Louvain. General Champmorin, who had taken Stevenswaert and the fort of St. Michael, evacuated both places, and retreated to Diest.

Being desired by the convention to hasten to Louvain and re-organise the army, Dumouriez left De-Flers to command the troops in Dutch Brabant, and advised him to make an immediate attempt to penetrate to the centre of Holland. But this officer, concluding that his advance would be endangered by the efforts of the English, of whom a considerable number had arrived in Holland, and finding that the Prussians were approaching by the way of Bois-le-Duc, threw himself into Breda, while colonel Tilli occupied Gertruydenberg; and the rest of the army retired to Antwerp.

The Austrians having advanced to Tillemont, a partial conflict ensued, in which they sustained a much greater loss than their adversaries. Encouraged by this success, Dumouriez resolved to risque a general engagement.

March 18. His right wing, commanded by Valence, attacked Middel-Winden and Ober-Winden, and forced both posts, but did not long retain them. The duke de Chartres, with the central body, also seised Neer-Winden, without being able to keep it. The left wing, under Miranda, endeavoured, without effect, to turn the right flank of the Austrians. In this part of the field, the

prince of Wirtemberg distinguished himself; for, with a detachment which scarcely exceeded seven thousand men, he repelled above eighteen thousand of the French, and chased them to the banks of the Laer. The archduke Charles likewise obtained praise for his exertions in dislodging the republicans from Orsmael. The efforts of Clairfait disordered the division of Valence, who was wounded and obliged to retire. Dumouriez led a fresh body of cavalry from his centre to support the right; but the regiment of Nassau cuirassiers, with a rapid charge, penetrated the French line, so as to decide the fate of the day. This corps, however, suffered severely by the fire of two batteries. The whole French army at length retreated; and, on the following day, the Austrians made a partial attack, during which many of the fugitives were drowned in the Geete. By the acknowlegement of their general, above four thousand of the French were killed, wounded, or taken; but it is probable that the real amount was considerably greater. It may also be concluded, that the Austrians lost more than they pretended. Perhaps, in their army, two thousand five hundred men lost their lives or were wounded[2].

So discouraged were the troops of the republic, that they deserted in great numbers. Danton and La-Croix, who had been sent by the convention to watch the movements of the army, met whole companies and battalions of deserters, and were assured by Dumouriez, that he could not prevent this misfortune, as the conduct of the assembly, in thwarting his operations, and not furnishing him with a sufficient number of regular troops, or with proper supplies in other respects, had involved him in serious difficulties.

The prince de Saxe-Cobourg, who had followed the

2 Dumouriez' account (in his *Mémoires*, tome ii.) compared with the narrative of an Austrian officer.

French general to the neighbourhood of Louvain, attacked him in the strong post of Pellenberg, which was so well defended that it could not then be forced. After a night's respite, the assault was renewed, and the Austrians were successful. The French, having lost above two thousand men, were driven over the Dyle: Louvain was seised, and Brussels was left defenceless [3].

March. 22.

Finding himself suspected, and even hated, by the two principal parties that divided the convention, Dumouriez prepared for the execution of a scheme which he ought to have previously attempted. He lamented the misfortunes of his country, and considered the constitutional monarchy as better calculated for their removal than the sway either of the Girondists or Jacobins. He intended (if he could procure the concurrence of the greater part of his army) to march to Paris, dissolve the convention and the Jacobin club, carry into effect the constitution of 1791, and conclude peace with the combined powers. He disclosed his scheme, by the medium of colonel Mack, to the princes of Saxe-Cobourg and Hohenlohe, and solicited their assistance, which he offered to purchase by a complete restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor [4].

While he remained at Tournay, waiting for communications from the Austrian generals, he was visited by three emissaries of the Jacobin club, who came to sound his intentions, which they soon found to be hostile to their society. Being summoned to Lisle by seven commissioners of the convention, he replied that he would answer in his camp to any charges which might be adduced against him. He found a great number of the regulars disposed, as far as he could judge, to forward his views; but the national guards were decidedly inclined

3 Mémoires du General Dumouriez, livre ii. chap. 8.

4 Mémoires du General Dumouriez, livre ii. chap. 9.

to support the republic. He directed general Miaczinski to prepare his division for the enforcement of the scheme; the disclosure of which, however, without sufficient caution, occasioned the arrest of the unfortunate Polander, who was afterwards beheaded. Many officers, who had seemed to be attached to the commander in chief, deserted him when they knew his counter-revolutionary sentiments; and their example had a great effect on the army in general. He had promised to put the Austrians in temporary possession of Condé; and he endeavoured to secure other frontier-towns; but he failed in every part of his project.

An order for his appearance at the bar of the convention was now communicated to him by the minister of war and four members of that assembly. He had so little inclination to submit to a trial before the revolutionary tribunal, that he declined obedience to the mandate. As soon as the prevailing anarchy should give way to a regular government, he would, he said, give an exact account of his conduct and his motives, and would even solicit an inquiry; but, at present, such submission would be an act of madness. Camus, reproving him for his disobedience, suspended him in the name of the convention from all his functions, and ordered his arrest. "This is not to be borne," said Dumouriez: "it is time to put an end to such insolence!" The minister and his companions were immediately seised by a party of hussars, and sent to the Austrian camp as hostages for the safety of the prisoners in the Temple[5].

Having agreed to a meeting with the prince de Saxe-Cobourg near Condé, the general rode toward that town with a small escort. Being discovered by a body of volunteers, he escaped with the greatest difficulty, and found refuge at Bury in the camp of a party of Austrian

5 Les mêmes Mémoires, livre ii. chap. 12.

dragoons. He sent for colonel Mack, with whom he adjusted a proclamation in the name of the prince de Saxe-Cobourg, disclaiming all thoughts of conquest, and engaging only to promote the true interest of France by a restoration of her constitutional king. It was published as a sequel to an address from Dumouriez to the French nation, protesting against the tyranny of the disorganising faction, and urging a return to the constitution of 1791, "the work of a free people[6]."

April 5.

The renewed exhortations of the general, who now visited the camp of Maulde, were fruitless. His troops had a regard for him; but their republican spirit would not suffer them to betray the convention. Still acting as their commander, he was employed at Rumegies in dictating orders, when intelligence arrived of the march of the whole corps of artillery to Valenciennes, and of the declared zeal of other divisions in the cause of the republic. He instantly mounted his horse, and hastened to the Austrian camp, followed by fifteen hundred men. The prince did not attempt to take advantage of the confusion which prevailed in the French army. He faithfully observed the truce to which he had agreed with Dumouriez, although it was only concluded with reference to the secret and abortive negotiation. He might have pursued with effect the scattered battalions; but he suffered them to be re-assembled by Dampierre, who, when requested by Dumouriez to concur in his schemes, had disdainfully refused.

Alleging the inutility of the late proclamation, the Austrian general now revoked it, and issued another, by which the war was put upon the same basis on which it stood when he began to treat with Dumouriez. He then prepared for a vigorous renewal of hostilities; and an engagement soon occurred in the province of Flanders.

6 Mémoires, livre ii. chap. 13.

When Dampierre assumed the command of the army, he found it so disorganised, as to require all his efforts for the restoration of order and discipline. He then attacked the advanced posts of the allies, but met with a severe check, which, however, did not deter him from assaulting a formidable line of posts, extending from the Schelde to the abbey of Vicogne and St. Amand. Knobelsdorff (the Prussian general) having weakened his army by detaching a considerable corps to support the harassed Austrians near the abbey, the duke of York seasonably advanced to assist him with some brave and well-disciplined battalions. The Coldstream regiment distinguished itself on this occasion, and eminently contributed to check the advance of the enemy. At the abbey, the conflict was prolonged till the close of day; and the Austrians under Clairfait firmly maintained their ground. Two days afterward, that general and his Prussian associate attacked with success the batteries which had been recently erected along their front; and the republicans fell back upon Orchies[7].

In the battle of Vicogne, Dampierre was shot in one of his thighs, and died of the wound; and three thousand five hundred of his countrymen, but not more than fifteen hundred of the allies, lost their lives or were wounded. Custine was now ordered to act in the Netherlands. That commander had made a bold attack on the posts near the Rhine, in the hope of relieving Mentz: but he was repelled with considerable loss. He had not yet joined the army on the French frontiers, when the prince of Saxe-Cobourg and the duke of York commanded four columns to advance against the camp of Famars, which served to protect the town of Valenciennes. One of these divisions marched toward the entrenchments which had been formed upon the right bank of the Ronelle, and

[7] London Gazette of May 14.

May 23. forced them by a vigorous assault. Other posts were attacked with equal spirit; and all parts of the line were stormed except a strong redoubt, which the enemy evacuated in the ensuing night. On this occasion, Clairfait's corps sustained a greater loss than the other divisions of the allies: but the French suffered still more than their opponents[8].

The arbitrary rulers of France menaced Custine with exemplary vengeance, if he should suffer Valenciennes to be taken; but he could not prevent the gradual approaches or the ultimate success of the besiegers. The place was invested with the forms prescribed by old engineers; and all the out-works were at length taken. The governor, Ferrand, then capitulated, and very reluctantly consented that the garrison should become prisoners of war. The siege was not prolonged beyond the seventh week; but Condé was blockaded for a quarter of a year before it was reduced.

The conquest of these important towns elevated the hopes of the confederates, the most sanguine of whom seemed to think that the way to Paris would soon be open. The French were alarmed at the apparent danger: but they did not sink into the apathy of despair. Custine was put to death for imputed negligence; and the terrors of the guillotine were displayed as incentives to patriotism.

The French having retired to a strong camp in the vicinity of Cambray, covered by the Schelde, and by the wood and fortified heights of Bourlon, the duke of York led a body of the allies toward that post; and, with little difficulty, an abandonment of the station was enforced. Instead of a warm pursuit of the retreating enemy, the Austrian and British commanders now agreed to a division of that force which, when united, seemed irresistible.

[8] Gazette of May 27.

The army of the emperor, in whose name the late conquests were made, marched to undertake the siege of Le Quesnoi; while the English and Dutch directed their course, by the way of Menin, to Dunkirk, which had long been a thorn in the side of Britain. This impolitic attention to separate interests greatly injured the common cause.

During the siege of Valenciennes, that of Mentz was prosecuted by the king of Prussia, who, when he re-took the place, only bound the garrison not to act, for one year, against him or his belligerent associates. The subsequent inactivity of that prince gave the French an opportunity of drawing off a great force from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle; and Houchard was sent with a formidable host to drive the invaders from the Flemish frontier. Before Dunkirk was invested, an engagement which deserves notice occurred near Menin. William Frederic, the elder of the two sons of the stadt-holder, seised Blaton and Lincelles, while the duke was on his march; but, being attacked at the latter post by a force which threatened to overwhelm him, he requested the aid of some British regiments. When these troops arrived, the Dutch had been compelled to retreat; but Lake, who commanded the detachment, consisting of the foot-guards, assaulted the French without being dismayed by the great superiority of their number, and put them to flight, though they were defended by strong works[9].

While the duke was besieging Dunkirk, an army of Hanoverians remained to the southward of the town, for the purpose of securing his approaches: but he was not seasonably assisted by sea; and the covering army could not effectually withstand the repeated attacks of Houchard, whose perseverance at length involved the besiegers

9 Gazette of August 22.

Sept. 7. in such peril, that they were glad to escape with a small loss of men, leaving the greater part of their artillery and stores to the exulting foe. On this occasion, gross misconduct was imputed to the conductors of the siege and to the ministry. The measure itself was, indeed, unadviseable; but it's ill success, perhaps, was wholly occasioned by the extraordinary number of the enemy.

The Austrians, continuing the siege of Le Quesnoi, were gratified with the possession of the town and the captivity of the garrison. They afterwards prepared to invest Maubeuge, a strong town on the Sambre, near which the French had an entrenched camp: but Jourdan, being ordered to obstruct, with the utmost activity, their operations in this quarter, vigorously attacked Clairfait near Birlemont. His left wing was defeated, and his right met with a severe repulse: but, on the following day, he prevailed in an obstinate conflict, and drove back his adversaries over the Sambre. About two thousand of their number were killed or wounded, while the French sustained a more considerable loss. Jourdan then harassed the allies at Werwick and other Flemish posts. At Nieuport, however, he was checked by inundation: his attacks were repelled by the garrison, with the aid of British soldiers and seamen; and the nocturnal retreat was rapid and confused. On the same night, a detachment under Kray surprised Marchiennes, killed three hundred men, and captured above sixteen hundred. Chatillon was afterwards seised, with the slaughter of most of it's defenders.

In the autumn, Moreau, an officer of courage and talent, attacked the Prussian camp at Pirmasens, and flattered himself with the hope of forcing it; but, a part of his force being suddenly surrounded, the rest hastily retired. Landau was at this time exposed to a siege; and, to accelerate it's reduction, general Wurmser assaulted

the strong lines near the Lautre. All the redoubts were successively taken; and the different posts were cleared of the enemy by the strenuous efforts of six well-conducted columns. The town of Weissembourg resisted till the next day; and the French, before they quitted it, set fire to their magazines in the neighbourhood. Fort-Louis was reduced after a siege of four days; and four thousand men were there taken, with an abundance of artillery. The duke of Brunswick, being twice attacked near Landau, made great havock among the assailants; and Wurmser, in a conflict which continued from morning till night, withstood every attempt to defeat him, and drove the foe beyond Strasbourg. In these battles, and in one at Rainstein, above fourteen thousand of the French were killed, wounded, or captured [10].

Hoche, a youth of twenty-five, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Dunkirk, was now invested with the command of a great army; and his zeal and promptitude changed the scene. He retook Haguenau and Drusenheim, which had been lately seised by the allies; triumphed, in repeated conflicts, over all opposition; and compelled the invaders of Alsace to return within the imperial boundaries.

In Italy, the contest was not invigorated by the presence of an Austrian army, as the emperor had full employment in the Netherlands. The king of Sardinia was unable to recover Savoy; but his generals, Colli and Dellera, obtained repeated advantages over Brunet at Raus and Auchion; and he personally opposed Kellermann without serious loss or disgrace. By the activity of Massena, however, he was dispossessed of several Alpine posts of apparent strength.

This prince was assisted by his catholic majesty with a fleet, which sailed in the spring for the defence of Sar-

10 Gazettes of October 22, November 23, and December 14.

dinia, and the recovery of two of it's dependent isles. The French had made a second attempt upon Cagliari, but could not make themselves masters of the town, though they reduced the isles of St. Peter and Antioch. Admiral de Borgia now gratified the ally of his sovereign by the expulsion of the republican intruders.

General Caro had been sent toward the western Pyrenees, to fortify the banks of the Bidassoa, at a time when the French had left that frontier almost defenceless. He was an officer of merit; but his disgust at the rejection of a scheme of operations which he had proposed to the government, visibly relaxed his patriotic zeal. After some petty hostilities, he passed the river, and boasted that he would soon defeat the French: but he merely repulsed their advanced guard, and afterwards lost the honor of the day. The rest of the campaign proved unimportant, in this part of the Spanish frontier[11].

A Spanish army, entering France from Catalonia, under the command of Don Antonio Ricardos, menaced Perpignan, and reduced Bellegarde. That officer was sometimes successful in the field, at other times unfortunate. Near Truillas he obtained a victory with very small loss on his side, compared to that of the enemy: but the French afterwards prevailed over him, and took several towns in Catalonia. They were subsequently routed in Roussillon by Spanish valor, and deprived of Colioure and Port-Vendre. Near the western extremity of the Pyrenees, the Spaniards in vain attacked St. Jean Pied-de-Port, and made little impression on their adversaries in the field.

While the war raged in Europe, its mischievous effects were also felt beyond the Atlantic. The danger of a premature introduction of liberty among the negroes, whose

11 Mémoires Politiques et Militaires, pour servir à l'Histoire Secrète de la Revolution Françoise, tome ii.

minds were not prepared for its proper reception, did not deter the Gallic advocates of freedom from instituting a society of *Amis des Noirs*, who professed a wish for the emancipation of the blacks. Some of the members, indeed, were more actuated by the hope of throwing the colonies into confusion, and profiting by the spoils of the chief planters and proprietors, than by liberal or philanthropic views. The French division of the island of St. Domingo had proved much more beneficial to the mother-country, in point of commerce, than any other colony; but the propagation of the new doctrines soon obscured the pleasing prospect. Provincial councils were formed at Cape Françoise, Port-au-Prince, and other towns; and, at St. Marc, a general assembly was constituted: but it's resolutions were opposed by the inferior assemblies. That of the Cape even sent a military force, under colonel Mauduit, to dissolve the superior council: a majority of the terrified members embarked for France, and implored redress. In the mean time, a body of mulattoes took arms under Ogé, in the hope of obtaining an equality of privileges; for, though they were not slaves, they were excluded from all share in general, provincial, or municipal government. They were unable to prevail in the contest: their leader, and his lieutenant Chavane, were broken alive upon the wheel; and twenty of the inferior insurgents were hanged. The assembly of St. Marc now seemed to triumph in the public opinion, while that of the Cape declined in credit, from its supposed concern in the excitation of disturbances. On the arrival of troops from France, severe measures were pursued for the prevention of a renewal of disorder; and Blanchelande, the governor, issued a proclamation for a general assembly at the Cape. The elections were studiously hastened, in consequence of the report of a French decree for an equalisation of rights; an ordinance which, by alarming the white inha-

bitants, and elevating the spirits of the mulattoes, filled the colony with confusion[12].

An intestine war arose, which was marked with strong features of barbarity. Men of color were shot like wild beasts in the streets of Cape-Town; and the negroes were encouraged to assassinate them, by a present for each head. But a great army of blacks were soon induced to join them; and the most destructive ravages were committed by the allied rebels. From August to October 1791, above two thousand white persons (says the English historian[13] of St. Domingo) were massacred: one hundred and eighty sugar-plantations, and nine hundred settlements appropriated to other articles, were destroyed: twelve hundred Christian families were reduced from opulence to poverty and misery: ten thousand of the insurgents perished by the sword or by famine; and some hundreds either suffered a death of torture upon the wheel, or were sacrificed in other modes to justice and to vengeance.

The repeal of the decree, by the constituent assembly of France, gave new ferocity to the war, which, by mutual agreement, had for a short time ceased. The most horrible cruelties were committed on both sides. Roume and other commissaries, who arrived in the island from France, offered a general amnesty; but this concession was derided by the rebels, who, instead of submitting, continued their atrocities.

In the legislative assembly, Brissot procured a confirmation of the decree of equality for the mulattoes; but it was not deemed prudent to enfranchise the negroes. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, were sent to enforce the ordinance, and restore peace to the colony. These were their instructions; but their real views were those of

12 Histoire Générale et Impartiale des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes commis pendant la Révolution Françoise, tome vi.

13 Mr. Bryan Edwards.

ambition and avarice. Instead of amalgamating the rival classes, they encouraged mutual animosity, and governed despotically amidst the hostilities which they excited. They introduced into the island the distinctions of aristocrat and democrat, and harassed the whites as citizens of the former designation. Santhonax formed the siege of Port-au-Prince, quickly reduced it, and suffered the mulattoes and negroes to murder many of the inhabitants, while others were plundered and confined in ships. General Galbaud, who was sent to the island as governor, was immediately embroiled with the democratic commissaries, whom he ordered to be arrested; but they avoided the danger, and instigated their partisans to set fire to Cape François. To secure the negroes in their interest, they offered the boon of liberty, which was abused to the most villanous purposes. Unable to cope with the ruffian Santhonax, the general retired from the coast, with a multitude of colonial emigrants. Such was the convulsed state of the French portion of St. Domingo[14]!

The internal affairs of France were, in the mean time, sufficiently remarkable to excite the anxious attention of Europe After the defection and consequent outlawry of Dumouriez, the animosities of party were carried to such a height, that a speedy explosion was apprehended. Robespierre and Marat called for vengeance on the Brissotins, whom they accused of being accomplices of the traitor; but the convention so far favored the latter party, as to order the imprisonment and trial of Marat, for exciting insurrection and encouraging murder. This incendiary, however, was so popular, that he easily obtained an acquittal; and the influence of his associates procured the presentation of numerous petitions to the assembly for the disgrace or the punishment of the adverse party.

Brissot and his friends were too timid and spiritless to

14 Histoire des Erreurs, &c. tome vi.

contend with effect against the boldness and energy of the Robespierrean faction. They trusted more to eloquence than to action, and seemed to think, that the comparative goodness of their cause would ensure their ultimate triumph over the encouragers of anarchy and popular licentiousness. Isnard, president of the convention, in vain addressed the nation in behalf of his party, and unmasked the views of the Jacobin leaders. Equally fruitless were the attempts to silence the ruffians in the galleries, whose clamors overawed the Brissotin majority in the assembly. In consequence of incessant attacks, this majority gradually declined; and the public foresaw the triumph of the *mountain.*

Twelve of the national deputies had been commissioned to inquire into plots or conspiracies, and take measures for the defence of the assembly, and the preservation of general order and security. The Jacobins importunately demanded the abolition of a committee which tended to counteract their schemes; and they instigated the populace to take arms against the convention. Committees, illegally formed amidst the factious tumults of the capital, had confided their usurped power to a central body, which even dared to suspend the constituted authorities.

Supported by a multitude of armed citizens, this body insisted on the immediate suppression of the committee of twelve[15], the trial of those members and of twenty-two others, and the regular formation of an army of *sans-culottes.* As these requests were not granted, they were repeated on the following day, but without effect. Some of the obnoxious deputies absented themselves from the next meeting; but others faced the storm with an appearance of courage. While Henriot and the armed Parisians blockaded the hall, Couthon, a member devoted to Robespierre, whom he rivaled in malignity

May 31.

15 This institution had been exploded by a tumultuary vote; but, on a revision of the decree of abolition, the Girondists prevailed in favor of the committee. *Garat.*

and cruelty, proposed that Brissot, Lanjuinais, Barbaroux, Vergniaud, Rabaut, Gorsas, Buzot, Louvet, Clavière, le Brun, and others of the Gironde party, should be arrested and confined. A vote to this effect was obtained by terror; and the ascendency of the violent faction was complete[16].

The Jacobin leader, concealing his sanguinary intentions, affected to be desirous only of the expulsion of unpatriotic citizens from the convention. The bloodthirsty Marat advised the speedy infliction of capital punishment on the arrested deputies; but the convention disregarded his proposal; and his career was suddenly stopped by the hand of a bold female, who, over-rating his importance in the state, imagined that his death would confound his party. The name of the heroine was Cordé. She gloried in her crime, and submitted to her fate with extraordinary fortitude. She thought, as did colonel Titus when he wished to rouse the people against Oliver Cromwell, that, in some cases, *killing* was *no murder:* but the revolutionary tribunal, not adopting her sentiments in this case, condemned her to death. The honors paid to the remains and the memory of the monster whom she destroyed, disgraced the convention, and stigmatised the French character.

The agitations of the new republic, the vehement collision of sentiment, and the fierce contests of faction, were attended with alarming insurrections. The friends of royalty and of the church, in La Vendée, la Loire inférieure, and some neighbouring departments, disdained submission to the assassins of their king and the persecutors of their priests. The citizens of Marseilles, detesting the ferocity of the Jacobins, took arms against the convention: those of Lyons were roused by the eloquence of Biroteau to similar exertions: at Mende, the

16 Mémoires de la Révolution, par Garat.—Histoire Secrète, par Pagès.—Moniteur.

people also resisted the ruling powers; and, at Toulon, the government could not prevent the explosion of counter-revolutionary intrigues.

Pethion, Louvet, Lanjuinais, and some other proscribed members, having eluded the enforcement of the orders of arrest, fled into Normandy, and began to excite commotions: but their prejudices would not suffer them to coalesce with general Wimpfen, who was intent on promoting the cause of royalty. Nantes, and other towns of Bretagne, were attached to the former party; and that city was therefore besieged, but not reduced, by the royalists of la Vendée, who, after obtaining several victories in the field, had seised Saumur and Angers. Biron, being sent against these insurgents, impetuously drove them before him, and Westermann committed inhuman devastations in the territories through which he pursued them: but they took vengeance in some fierce engagements, particularly that of Mont-aigu, and dispersed the republican army. The dissensions which arose among their chiefs obstructed their success: yet they continued to oppose with spirit the forces of the convention. At Chollet, they however were routed by general Lechelle, and three of their chiefs were mortally wounded. They afterwards marched to Dol, in expectation of succour from Great-Britain; but, the supplies not arriving in due time, they returned toward the Loire. Near the close of the year, they were defeated with great slaughter at Mans and Savenai; and their efforts then seemed to be paralysed, and their power annihilated [17].

The revolt in the south of France drew violent decrees from the exasperated convention. Marseilles and Mende were soon tranquillised; but Lyons continued for four months in a state of insurrection. It was closely besieged and furiously bombarded: and resistance at length was

17 Histoire de la Guerre de la Vendée, par Turreau.

found to be inefficacious. The bombs blew up the arsenal; fired a hospital which was filled with the wounded of both parties; and destroyed a considerable part of a city which was the boast of France. The sallies of the garrison had little effect, and the strongest posts were at length forced by the besiegers, whose fury threatened the revolters with the horrors of a general assault. About two thousand five hundred of the besieged endeavoured to escape: but they were quickly pursued with merciless rancor by bodies of cavalry, and scarcely sixty of the number found safety in flight. As soon as the convention had been informed of the termination of the siege, six intemperate resolutions marked the inhuman spirit of the assembly. It was decreed, that five deputies should be empowered to punish the counter-revolutionists of Lyons by the summary process of military law; that all the inhabitants should be disarmed, except those who had been oppressed by the former; that the property of the rich should be seised, the houses of all but the poor should be demolished, and the remains of the town be called *Ville Affranchie*, or the Freed City; and that a column should attest the crimes and the punishment of the citizens. By the guillotine, and by fire-arms, about three thousand five hundred individuals were sacrificed in the devoted town[18].

While the emissaries of the government at Lyons, under the eyes of Collot and Fouché, prosecuted the work of demolition and massacre, the dreadful engine of decapitation was fully employed at Paris; and the queen herself was not suffered to escape it's keen edge and decisive stroke. When, in consequence of the presentation of a long-delayed report respecting the arrested deputies, an order had been issued for a judicial cognisance of their delinquency, Billaud de Varennes praised the convention for the justice of this decree, and proposed a similar pro-

18 Histoire des Erreurs, &c. tome vi.

cess against "the widow of Louis Capet." She was accused of having sent immense sums of money to Vienna, disclosed to the enemies of the republic the views and schemes of the government, and excited intestine war in France. Being tried by an arbitrary tribunal and a prejudiced jury, she was pronounced guilty of every part of the charge. She heard the sentence without the least discomposure, and retired from the court in dignified silence. In her way to the place of execution, to which she was conveyed in a common cart, with her hands tied behind her, she seemed wholly unmoved by the brutal shouts of the people; and, when she reached the scaffold, she seemed eager to resign a life which she could not preserve. She had not completed her thirty-eighth year; but her sufferings had given to her countenance and form the appearance of more advanced age[19].

Oct. 16.

Marie Antoinette was well formed, and had a pleasing and dignified exterior. In capacity she was neither deficient nor pre-eminent. She was not ill-educated: but her knowlege was not comprehensive. In a country where despotism was still triumphant, she might have passed through life with little obloquy or censure: but where, as in France, the exercise of high authority on the part of the crown began to be opposed, she was not calculated to be an adviser of the sovereign. She was too fond of power to recommend moderation, too giddy and gay to be steady or prudent.

Some of the Girondist prisoners endeavoured, by interrogatories and objections, to perplex the court which tried them: but, as they knew the malignity of Robespierre, they did not expect to avoid condemnation. Brissot, Gensonné, Ducos, Carra, Sillery[20], Vergniaud, Duprat, the prelate Fauchet, and others of the party, were sentenced to death, for having "conspired against the unity and in-

19 Histoire du dernier Regne de la Monarchie Françoise, tome ii.

20 Husband of the celebrated Madame de Genlis.

divisibility of the republic, the liberty and safety of the people." The behaviour of Le-Hardi answered to his name: he was particularly bold and intrepid. Brissot, with a cool aspect, saw the blood of sixteen of his associates stream from the scaffold, before he underwent the same fate. Four others were beheaded immediately afterwards. Their fate would have been more generally lamented on account of their private virtues, if their public conduct had not plunged their country into disorder and confusion. Oct. 31.

The duke of Orleans, who was detested by all parties for his profligacy and villany, did not long survive the Brissotin victims. He was tried and condemned as an enemy of the nation. He bore the scoffs and insults of the multitude without emotion, and evinced, in his last moments, a degree of courage which few supposed him capable of displaying.

Many other executions were ordered; and among the sufferers were the eloquent Rabaut, the scientific Bailly, the ex-minister Le Brun, the generals Houchard, Luckner, and Brunet, and the deputies Manuel and Barnave. Madame Du-Barri was also decapitated; and the politically-intriguing wife of Roland was involved in the same fate. To avoid a similar disgrace, Clavière and that minister committed suicide.

The chiefs of the republic not only exercised their tyranny over the bodies, but also over the minds of the people. They endeavoured to prevent religion from diffusing it's salutary influence in the correction of evil propensities, and in the promotion of the efficacy of law. They encouraged the clergy to renounce Christianity in form; and to inculcate only the maxims of republican morality. Death was declared to be an eternal sleep[21]; the wicked were taught no longer to dread the judgements of another world, and the good no longer to hope for a blissful futurity.

21 Moniteur d'Octobre, 1793.

The constitutional labors of the convention tended, nominally, to the formation of a democratic republic, but did not preclude the subjection of that republic to the sway of a few artful men, or even of one dictator. The rights of man, and the sovereignty of the people, were expressly recognised in the new code: liberty and equality were promised; the rights of property were acknowleged; and justice was a prominent article. The primary assemblies of the districts were not to consist of less than two hundred or more than six hundred citizens; and they were empowered to name one elector out of two hundred persons, and so in proportion. These electors, meeting in the sequel, were to fix upon one deputy for every mass of forty thousand individuals. No law was to be adopted by the legislative body thus constituted, unless it had been approved by the primary assemblies of more than one half of the departments. An executive council was to be formed out of a list of candidates, named by the electors of the legislature, in the proportion of one for each department.

The military part of the code declared that all the French were soldiers; and, in conformity with this declaration, the convention decreed, that the people should rise *en masse*, not in one body, as some translate the phrase, but in a very numerous and formidable mass, in defence of liberty and equality, of the constitution, and of national independence. To supply the wants of the great armies which were now levied, a general seisure was ordered; or, if the government condescended to pay, *assignats*, the revolutionary paper-currency, were given for articles of necessity or of use. The extraordinary multiplication and subsequent depreciation of these notes seemed to threaten pernicious consequences, but did not prove generally ruinous.

The republican spirit continued to be energetically displayed. The English had taken temporary advantage of

the disaffection of the Toulonese to the new government, and had obtained possession of a valuable sea-port, which they hoped to retain until the house of Bourbon should be reinstated, or revolutionary principles should have subsided into moderation. They were soon joined by a Spanish armament; and the kings of Naples and Sardinia readily consented to reinforce the new garrison. The fortifications were rapidly improved; and as strong a line of defence was formed, as could be prepared by those who were not in possession of all the neighbouring eminences. Fierce sallies and brisk skirmishes were repeatedly hazarded; and these actions were ultimately advantageous to the French.

Dugommier, who conducted the siege of Toulon in the name of the convention, was assisted by a young Corsican adventurer, who bore the appellation of Napoleonè Bonapartè. The appearance of this extraordinary character on the public scene, as a military subject of that republic which he afterwards aggrandised and enslaved, calls for the mention of his origin, and a sketch of his early life. He was born in Corsica, being the second son of a gentleman of that island, who relinquished for a time the profession of the law, that he might act as a soldier against the Gallic invaders of his country. Being taken under the patronage of M. de Marbœuf, the French general, Napoleonè was sent after his father's decease to the college of Autun, whence he was removed to Brienne. Here he studied the sciences connected with war; and, repairing at the age of sixteen to the metropolis of France, he diligently continued the same pursuits. For some years prior to the revolution, he served in a regiment of artillery; and, when the flame burst forth, he affected an ardent zeal for liberty. Returning to his native island, he became an officer in the militia or national guard. He served in the second expedition to Sardinia, and being at length recommended to Barras, as a gallant officer, by Sa-

licetti, he was employed at Toulon in the direction of the artillery [22].

His exertions during the siege were honorable to his character; but, after the recovery of the place, he disgraced himself (if report be true) by his inhuman zeal against the inhabitants, two thousand of whom (men, women, and children), being ordered to meet in the great square, and deluded with hopes of safety, were massacred under his eye, by order of Freron [23].

When the retention of Toulon became impracticable, it was seasonably evacuated by the allies. The Neapolitans embarked in the face of day; but their associates in arms retired in the night. The embarkation was well managed, and effected without the loss of a man. The arsenal was nearly destroyed: nine ships of the line were set on fire by the English and Spaniards, and not a few were captured; but the accounts vary with regard to the number. Many of the inhabitants were gratified with an opportunity of escape, while the majority were obliged to remain, exposed to the risque of severe punishment [24].

Dec. 18.

Soon after the intelligence of this retreat arrived in Great-Britain, the parliament re-assembled. The king softened the disgrace of abandonment by remarking, that, "in the circumstances attending the evacuation an important and *decisive* [25] blow had been given to the naval power of the enemy, by the conduct, abilities, and spirit, of his commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land." Early in the session, his people were reminded of the negotiatory times of George the First and the Second, by the presentation of eleven trea-

A. D. 1794.

22 Dictionnaire Biographique et Historique des Hommes Marquans de la Fin du dix-huitieme Siècle.

23 Barre's History of the French Consulate; and other publications.

24 Letters from Lord Hood, Sir Sydney Smith, and General Dundas, in the Gazette of January 15, 1794.

25 It was indisputably a severe blow and a signal advantage, but apparently not *decisive*, as further blows were requisite to crush the naval power of France.

ties to the two houses, the produce of Mr. Pitt's ardent zeal for the humiliation, if not the subjugation, of France. The first was one which had been negotiated with Russia; but it proved nugatory from the unwillingness of the czarina to send troops against the French. By another agreement, the court of Lisbon engaged to act with vigor; but who could expect *vigor* from such a government or nation? His Sardinian majesty consented to receive a subsidy from Great-Britain; and some of the German princes agreed to furnish troops for liberal pay. The king of Prussia had concurred in a warlike convention with our sovereign, and he afterwards joined in a more specific treaty, by which he promised to employ sixty-two thousand four hundred men against the French, on condition that Great-Britain and the states-general should jointly pay him fifty-thousand pounds in each month, besides an immediate pecuniary grant for contingencies. April 19.

A new campaign was commenced with spirit. In the days of Marlborough and Turenne, it was customary for the invaders of a country to besiege and reduce the principal fortresses before they ventured far into the hostile territory; but the French were induced to reverse the practice. They concluded that, if they should be victorious in the field, the garrisons of the fortified towns would be intimidated into a speedy surrender, and the conquest of the country would be much sooner achieved than by undertaking a variety of sieges before they should risque a general engagement. But the chief causes of their success were their prompt activity; their preponderance of number, and the skill of their officers. They gave their enemies little rest; and, when the latter were nearly exhausted, fresh troops poured upon them with decisive effect.

A great force being put in motion by Pichegru for an invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, the allies advanced in the spring to oppose him. They met with considera-

ble success in some connected and complicated attacks, on the side of the Cambresis. The emperor and the prince de Saxe-Cobourg forced several strong posts, while the duke of York assaulted others with equal effect. These operations, which served to facilitate the siege of Landrecy, were attended with small loss on the part of the confederates, while the enemy lost above two thousand men. In an attempt to throw succours into that town, the French were baffled; and, in a conflict with a detachment near Cambray, about one thousand of their number fell.

April 25. An attack was now ordered by the republican general, upon the greater part of the line from Treves to the sea. Of some of the posts, the French obtained possession: but this success was transitory; and, upon the whole, they met with considerable loss. At Moucron or Moescroen, on a subsequent day, they gained the advantage over general Clairfait, whose retreat was followed by the surrender of Menin to the arms of the republic, when one half of the town had been destroyed by bombs.

The allies, having taken Landrecy, marched toward Tournay to check the progress of the French in Flanders. The British prince bravely resisted the efforts which

May 10. were made to turn his left and to confound his centre; and a gallant charge from general Harcourt hastened the retreat of the foe. Clairfait was not so successful as the duke; for he was driven back to Thielt with serious loss. Being afterwards ordered to join the emperor, he advanced to Lincelles; but, not gaining exact information of the movements of the column with which he was particularly desired to co-operate, he gave little aid to a grand attack planned by his sovereign, who wished to surround the French army in Flanders. The columns sent forward on this occasion did not act with proper concert; and the termination of

the attack was therefore unfortunate. The Austrian and British troops suffered severely: but they soon avenged their losses; for, when Pichegru attacked them at Espierre and other posts, they sent prematurely from the world, or wounded, about ten thousand men; and, in an action near Rouveroi on the Sambre, those who fell on the side of the enemy, or were captured, were five thousand in number. In the former engagement, his imperial majesty freely exposed his person, and encouraged his troops by his own exertions[26]. May 22.

Inflamed by a most inhuman spirit of revenge, the French legislature now ordered that all the military subjects of the king of Great-Britain, when captured, should be put to the sword. The duke of York, in announcing to his troops this atrocious and horrible decree, exhorted them "not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which might sully the reputation they had acquired in the world." He would not believe that the French soldiers, however enslaved, would so disgrace themselves as to obey the nefarious order; and though it appears, from the acknowlegement of a French historian of the campaign[27], that a general of brigade shot some Hanoverian captives, the execrable law was scarcely in any other instance carried into effect. May 26.

Pichegru again endeavoured to bring on a general engagement. He encountered Clairfait at Rousselaer, and compelled him to retreat. Another conflict occurred in the same week, more seriously unfavorable to the Austrians, to whom victory seemed at first to promise itself. Their hopes were frustrated, chiefly by the active vigor of Macdonald, a North-Britain in the French service. Clairfait again took refuge at Thielt; and his discomfiture

26 London Gazette, compared with other accounts.

27 David, author of l'Histoire Chronologique des Operations de l'Armée du Nord, et de celle de Sambre et Meuse.

occasioned the loss of Ypres and the greater part of West-Flanders.

The Austrians were also opposed with success in the province of Namur. They were twice routed by general Charbonnier, whose troops, however, sustained considerable loss. In the duchy of Luxembourg, the French at first harassed Beaulieu; but this officer afterwards prevailed in two engagements.

Jourdan (not the *coupe-tête* or assassin) distinguished himself in this campaign. In one battle, indeed, he lost the honor of the day, besides a great number of men. But he now returned toward Charleroi, of which he had intermitted the siege, and attacked the place with such fury, that the garrison ceased to defend it. The prince de Saxe-Cobourg, having advanced to dislodge the besiegers, with whose success he was unacquainted, assaulted, in five columns, Jourdan's whole line. The first of these divisions drove the enemy from some posts, but obtained no important advantage. The same remark is applicable to the second and third divisions; and the fourth, led by the archduke Charles, although it stormed the heights in front of Fleurus, and vigorously attacked the entrenchments beyond that village, could not make a decisive impression. Beaulieu, who conducted the fifth column, disordered the right wing, but was repulsed. The prince was preparing for a new attack upon the line, when he found that the town had been reduced: he then retired into Brabant, lamenting the death, wounds, or captivity, of ten thousand of his men[28].

June 26.

A course of rapid conquest followed the victory which Jourdan thus obtained. Mons and other considerable towns were seised by the exulting republicans. Brussels, after a fierce conflict at Waterloo, was compelled to sur-

28 French and other Accounts.

render; and few of the Netherland towns long resisted. Pichegru and Jourdan, having united their forces, attacked the British and Dutch troops near Louvain, and drove them toward Breda; and the accelerated progress of the enemy constrained the Austrians to retire across the Maes.

Unwilling to suffer an enemy longer to retain any part of the former territories of the republic, the French now invested Landrecy, with a menace of military execution, if the defence should be continued beyond twenty-four hours. The governor, having only a weak garrison under his command, complied with the requisition of a speedy surrender. At Le Quesnoi, however, the inhuman threat had no effect. The commandant did not surrender the place before it had undergone a siege of twenty-one days: yet the besiegers did not enforce the unjustifiable menace. Valenciennes, though it was admirably fortified, readily obeyed the demand of submission; and Condé, when summoned, did not resist[29].

The German campaign was less splendid than that of the Netherlands, but not unimportant. The Austrians assaulted the French line in the Palatinate with little effect: but the Prussians were more successful in a simultaneous attack, driving the confused enemy in different directions. After a month's respite, the confederates repelled a fierce charge upon their extended line: but, in some other actions, they were unable to maintain their ground, and obliged to retreat to a considerable distance. Being informed that the French now aimed at the reduction of Treves, general Kalkreuth hastened to protect that electoral capital, which he knew to be ill-garrisoned; but he could not save it from the republican grasp.

General Clairfait, on the resignation of the prince de Saxe-Cobourg, was opposed to Jourdan in a fierce con-

29 Annual Register, vol. XXXVI.

flict near the frontiers of the empire. His centre
Sept. 18. and right wing repelled the enemy; but his left was disordered, and even broken. He retired toward the Roer; and, after his rear-guard, in two engagements, had baffled the pursuers, and made considerable havock among them, he entrenched himself near the city of Juliers. Jourdan again attacked him, and triumphed in a well-contested battle; and not only the duchy of Juliers, but the city and electorate of Cologne, were quickly subdued by the troops of the formidable republic.

The bold demagogues who had crushed the Brissotin faction, were not at this time in possession of power. Their long-continued enormities had occasioned their destruction.

The convention itself was a mere instrument in the hands of Robespierre and the committee of public safety. The ruffians who composed this committee met in the Tuileries, formerly an abode of royalty; and, as they ruled by terror, they guarded, by artillery and other defensive arrangements, the seat of their power and tyranny. All the schemes of murder and rapine, all the great crimes of the republic, originated in this retreat of usurpation and despotism. Every corner of France felt the effects of the vile ambition and sanguinary rage of the gloomy tyrant and his abandoned *satellites*. It might have been supposed that the spirit of the nation would soon have crushed these monsters: but they were supported by the soldiery and the populace, and the rest of the community seemed to be absorbed in apathy and stupor.

Under the sway of this committee, prisons were more numerous in France than they had ever been, even in the reigns of the most inhuman oppressors; and the treatment which the wretched occupants received, was such as could have been expected only from the most brutal savages. Foul air, and a want of the common comforts of life, sent many to their graves without the aid of the

guilliotine. Crowded in a narrow space, insulted and reviled by unfeeling keepers, debarred from communication with friends and relatives, neglected in illness, or injured by improper medicines, the prisoners found their situation calamitous and deplorable.

The trials before the revolutionary tribunal were preludes to murder rather than proceedings of justice. Fouquier-Tinville acted the part of public accuser; and he was a man in whose zealous co-operation Nero would have gloried. A jury was allowed to the prisoners: but the jurors were of the same stamp with the judges; and prosecution was, in general, tantamount to condemnation. In other countries, judges are pleased at the acquittal of an accused person, when guilt is not fully proved: but, in France, innocence and merit could not command even an appearance of justice. The trials were dispatched with the most indecorous precipitancy; and execution quickly followed the pronunciation of an unjust sentence. Idle words were deemed sufficient grounds of condemnation. Charges, brought forward by malice and falsehood, were eagerly accepted by the members of the tribunal; and the accusers were hailed as good citizens[30].

During fourteen months, an enslaved people witnessed these horrid scenes. The greater number of victims perished in the capital: but much blood was shed also in the provinces. At Brest and at L'Orient, packed tribunals condemned both the innocent and the guilty. Jean Bon St. André at one of those ports, and Bon-jour at the other, encouraged the lowest of the people to multiply charges of *federalism* (a wish for a federal rather than an indivisible republic), incivism, or treason. A conspiracy for the surrender of Brest to the English, being fabricated by the accusers rather than formed by the accused, served to gratify that thirst of blood which in-

30 Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes, &c. vol. v.

flamed the Jacobin commissioner. Moreau, a respectable magistrate (father to the general), many of the municipal and departmental administrators, naval officers, tradesmen, and others, were at different times sent to the scaffold.

La Vendée, and the departments near the Loire, were exposed to a series of devastation and cruelty. The districts were ravaged with fire and sword; and the excesses of military fury were aided by the deliberate barbarity of the deputies Hentz and Francastel, and of the still more inhuman Carrîer. Not only many thousands of young and old men, but also a multitude of women and children, were guillotined, shot, or drowned. Republican marriages (as they were called) were solemnised by the vile assassins. Men and women were tied naked in close embraces, and, after an hour's exposure in this state of constrained indecency, were brutally assassinated.

The department of the Gironde severely felt the tyranny of Robespierre. It's early remonstrances against the views of his party excited his resentment; and, after he had obtained the victory over his rivals at Paris, he sent some of his partisans to Bourdeaux to inflict vengeance on the federalists. The committee of safety, organised in that town, disclaimed the authority of the convention; and this assembly, in return, outlawed all the members and abettors of that committee. Tallien and Isabeau, having armed a body of peasants and assembled the refuse of the city, prevailed over the Brissotins, filled the prisons, and exercised a series of tyranny. The mayor was put to death, chiefly for his opulence: others suffered because they regarded Brissot and Vergniaud as better citizens than Robespierre and Marat; and many were sacrificed to the calumnious malignity of Jacobin informers. Yet the commissioners were blamed for their moderation. Tallien, indeed, became less ferocious after he had been captivated by the charms of Madame Fontenai, whose

soft persuasions checked the progress of the guillotine. Returning to Paris, he was reproved for his weakness by Robespierre, who sent his fair companion to prison. The instrument of death was then more active. Only a hundred and fifty persons had been beheaded before his departure: but three hundred and fifty were soon added to the number of victims.

In the department of Vaucluse, the vengeance of the tyrant was inflicted on those who had presumed to censure the murderous spirit displayed at Avignon, where a great number of lives had been wantonly sacrificed by the Jacobins, soon after the annexion of the Venaissin had been decreed. Maignet was the deputy who superintended the barbarities ordered at Orange by the vindictive Robespierre; and, under his eye, three hundred and eighteen persons were guillotined. Bedouin, a flourishing little town in the same department, was condemned to the flames, and totally destroyed, because a tree of liberty had been cut down. Many of the inhabitants perished in the conflagration; others were beheaded or shot; and the rest were ordered to quit the spot for ever. "The conduct of Maignet (said Robespierre) entitles him to the approbation of the committee of public safety." Thus were assassins applauded and encouraged by an infamous government!

Lebon, in the mean time, filled the frontier departments of the north with terror and carnage. At Cambray and other towns, he multiplied executions with all the cruelty of a French revolutionist. Arras, though the birth-place of Robespierre, had it's share of depopulation.

These cruelties at length disgusted and incensed even those who had been accustomed to admire the character of the *incorruptible patriot*. The populace began to think that he was unworthy of support, and to wish for a termination of the reign of sanguinary terror. But, as the convention, the ostensible governing power of the

country, was more particularly disgraced by the flagitious violence of the usurping demagogue, it was proper that the attack should commence in that assembly. The sacrifice of Danton and other associates of the tyrant proved that no dependence could be reposed on his friendship or attachment. His malignity suffered no one to entertain confident hopes of safety: it was therefore necessary to act with determined vigor against him.

After the celebration of a festival in honor of the Supreme Being (for even Robespierre now deemed it expedient to promote a sense of religion), it was hoped, but not expected, that, if mercy, one of the great attributes of the Deity, should be with-holden from the guilty, the government would cease to confound the innocent with real delinquents. All hopes of this kind, however, were soon annihilated; for the infamous Couthon brought forward a plan for organising the revolutionary tribunal in such a mode, that the process would be equivalent to condemnation without trial, and for so multiplying pretended crimes, that the most upright and unoffending individuals would be in constant danger of falling under the sentence of perverted law. Bourdon de l'Oise, without inveighing against the general injustice of the scheme, merely proposed that it should be so far amended as to leave the national representatives in safety; but it was affirmed that their privileges were already secured. Bourdon was virulently abused by Couthon and Robespierre, for presuming to suspect the committee of public safety of an intention of invading the privileges of the convention; and a warm altercation arose between Tallien and the despot; but the latter was defended by Billaud de Varennes.

June 10.

The endeavours of Bourdon and Tallien to form a strong party against Robespierre might soon have been baffled, if discord had not arisen in the Jacobin councils. Some of his confederates in iniquity began to be jealous

of his views, and to disdain his control. The members of the committee of public safety differed on the subject of particular victims; and, when animosity had once shown itself, other grounds of dissension could not fail to be introduced. For some weeks, the meetings of the dark cabinet were not attended by Robespierre, who, leaving Couthon and Saint-Just to support his interest, brooded over schemes of infernal vengeance[31]. The *guillotine* was still in frequent action, driving his inferior adversaries from the world, and destroying objects of unfounded suspicion: but he could not immediately fix his determination with regard to the grand scheme of intended massacre.

His enemies, in the mean time, were not idle. Encouraged by Collot, who still pretended to be his friend, they held meetings to ward off the meditated blow, and devise the means of extinguishing the reign of terror. Robespierre, who had spies in all parts of the republic, was informed of these consultations; but he suspended his revenge against the contrivers of his ruin, although he still had powerful and tremendous means of action. The ancient observation——*quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*[32]—— was verified in his conduct at this crisis.

Instead of acting with the vigor of a Cromwell, he harangued the convention with declamatory absurdity,

31 It is affirmed, in the *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires*, that a quarrel with Billaud was the immediate cause of Robespierre's secession from the committee. He wished to recall Carrier, whose sanguinary ferocity disgusted even the malignant immolator of so many human victims. Billaud defended the depopulator of Nantes. "You alone," said Robespierre, "support that monster."—"He is less guilty than thou art," replied Billaud: "he did not force upon the nation the law of the 10th of June."—"You are afraid that your accomplices may feel it's effects," rejoined Robespierre, who then turned toward the other members of the committee, and said, "You seem to be over-awed by the inventor of the revolutionary government (for Billaud was the original proposer of a *régime* which subverted all law, humanity, and order): if you thus persist in a system of bloodshed, you will entail odium on the name of liberty. I will no longer remain with you." He instantly retired with a scowling aspect.

32 "God first takes away the senses of those whom he wishes to destroy."

disclosed the divisions in the two committees[33], complained of the malice of calumniators and the arts of the enemies of liberty, and desired support with a mixture of entreaty and menace. Panis asked whether many of the deputies were not marked out for destruction. Vadier and others hinted at a scheme of that kind; but no regular accusations were decreed by the assembly against either party.

Another night was suffered by the sanguinary faction to pass without maturing it's schemes of proscription. The Jacobin club met; but it's deliberations were not so prompt or so energetic as the danger of it's chief required from accomplices so deeply interested in his fate.

When Robespierre appeared on the following day in the hall of the convention, murmurs, which his habitual authority had long repressed, pursued him to his seat; and no one would condescend to sit near him. This reception appalled his shrinking soul: an extraordinary paleness marked his visage, and tremor shook his limbs. St.-Just, who still adhered to him, began to discuss the subject which had been last debated; but the bold impatience of Tallien interrupted and confounded the speaker, and brought the contest to a point. "Your guilty intentions," said this deputy, turning toward Robespierre, "cannot be concealed. You have added, to your former atrocities, a new conspiracy against the lives of the national representatives. But justice now overtakes you in your criminal career." Billaud also inveighed against the flagitious schemes of the Jacobin leader; and, when these assailants had formed a parapet, behind which men of less courage thought themselves

July 27.

33 After an absence of six weeks, he had lately re-appeared at a joint meeting of the committees, and earnestly proposed a reconciliation: but his advances were treated by the majority with contempt. Collot amused him with promises of continued friendship, urged him to extinguish by a new proscription the last sparks of federalism, and stimulated him to that imprudent speech which hastened his destruction. *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires*, tome ii.

safe, the aggression became general. Loud shouts announced the rising confidence of victory; and, when Robespierre attempted to speak, the petrifying cry, "Down with the tyrant" (*à bas le tyran*), re-echoed through the hall. Tallien, exhibiting a dagger in his determined hand, threatened to stab the object of general odium, if the convention should not have the courage to vote a decree of accusation. The sitting was declared permanent, until the sword of the law should have saved the republic from the fury of it's oppressors; and it was resolved, that the commandant Henriot and his chief officers, Dumas, the president of the revolutionary tribunal, and some other partisans of the dictator, should be arrested without delay. Robespierre again rushed to the tribune, and stigmatised his opponents as a gang of *brigands;* but he was not suffered to continue his reproaches. Vadier, who had acted under him, developed his iniquities; and a decree of arrest was pronounced against him. His brother was subjected to the same stigma; as were also St.-Just, Couthon, and Le Bas[34].

The officers who were empowered to execute the orders of arrest, still feeling the terror so long inspired by the great power of the Jacobin rulers, would not for some time venture to lead off the offenders: but the authority of the convention prevailed; and the deputies were taken to the prison of the Luxembourg. Another obstacle soon arose. The keeper refused to confine them; and the populace escorted them to the town-hall, which was filled with their adherents. The members of the municipality were now avowedly in a state of insurrection; and victory might yet have attended their faction, if the troops of the sections had been led against the convention by a spirited and able commander. But, fortunately for the interests

34 Histoire Secrète de la Revolution Françoise, par Pagès, livre xxviii.—De la Revolution, par Necker, tome iii.—Letters of Helen Maria Williams, vol. iii.

of humanity, Robespierre was a coward; Henriot was an idle boaster; and the rest of the party could assassinate more readily than they could fight. The insurgent deputies and their chief abettors were declared outlaws; and the effect of this seasonable decree was instantaneously powerful. The revolters seemed to be paralysed; and the well-disposed part of the Parisian community rallied round the convention, under the direction of Barras, who, though by no means an estimable citizen, now rendered himself useful to the state. The night was employed in preparation; and, early in the morning, the town-hall was recovered without the trouble or the danger of a conflict. Robespierre was wounded in the jaw by a pistol, which he is said to have fired at himself. Henriot was thrown out of a window by the enraged Coffinhal, a Jacobin judge, but, not being killed by the fall, was reserved for the guillotine. Le-Bas shot himself effectually, after refusing to fire at his friend St.-Just. The outlawed delinquents, being identified by the revolutionary tribunal, were condemned to death without trial, to the number of twenty-two, and were led, amidst bitter maledictions, to that scaffold which they had so frequently dyed with blood[35].

Robespierre could not have acquired such an extraordinary degree of power, unless he had possessed a considerable share of ability; and, if his capacity had been greater than it really was, he could not have made himself a dictator in a great republic, if he had not been favored by the state of parties and by a remarkable concurrence of circumstances. His eloquence was not brilliant, but it was occasionally forcible and impressive. He had the art

35 Histoire Secrète, par Pagès.—Necker—Above seventy of their accomplices, chiefly belonging to the municipality of the capital, were soon after guillotined. Two months before these odious offenders suffered, their leader had consigned to the same fate a princess whose virtues merited a long and happy life—Elizabeth, sister of the late king.

of managing a party, and of conciliating the regard of the populace. He disguised, under the veil of patriotism, the most unbounded ambition; and, on pretence of aiming solely at the public good, he committed a series of cruelties which cannot be remembered without the utmost horror, and which have entailed an indelible stigma on the nation that could so long endure them. His disinterestedness has been praised; but this is a trifling merit, when weighed against the practice of continual murder. In departments which were the seats of insurrection, he suffered men, who were equally unfeeling with himself, to destroy suspected persons in multitudes, without the formality of a trial; but, at Paris, his massacres were perpetrated with the forms of law, and even with the sanction of juries. In this respect he imitated an English tyrant, who murdered his subjects under the exteriors of law: I mean Henry VIII., who thus added insult to atrocity.

The French dictator was puny in his person; had a livid aspect, and a look which indicated fear and malignity. His occasional gesticulations and movements were those of a restless and perturbed spirit, conscious of villany, and sensible of the odium which his enormities had excited among the just, the moderate, and the humane. He was vain, and fond of flattery; naturally proud and reserved (but occasionally affable where his interest was concerned); vindictive, and destitute of all sense of friendship or attachment.

The overthrow of the tyrant did not produce an immediate cessation of the Neronian system throughout France. Many prisoners, indeed, were instantly liberated; but, in different parts, outrages were still committed by Jacobin malignity. Lenity was pronounced by some of the deputies to be highly dangerous; and the present expediency of not exasperating Billaud, Collot, and other *men of blood*, who had assisted in the ruin of their

leader, induced Tallien to yield in some instances to their arbitrary counsels.

Lively joy arose among our countrymen as soon as the fate of Robespierre was known: but the hopes of forbearance on the part of France, with regard to other powers, were not very strong. The characters of Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Freron, Le-Gendre, Merlin de Thionville, and Le-Cointre, were far from being of that upright, honorable, and moderate cast, which would lead them to relinquish the prospect of humbling Great-Britain and domineering over the continent.

Before this Thermidorian[36] revolution took place, the republicans had been signally defeated at sea by that nation which they particularly wished to humble: for, while France prospered on the continent, and acquired, chiefly by her superiority of number, a degree of power which she could not exercise with dignity or moderation, Great-Britain still maintained her fame on the ocean. Lord Howe, in the two preceding wars, had displayed his courage and skill as a naval commander; and he now fully established his reputation. With pleasure he met a French fleet, which, though it did not seek an engagement, did not meanly avoid it. In the number of ships of which each fleet consisted, there was little difference; for Villaret Joyeuse had twenty-six sail of the line, while Howe had twenty-five. The British admiral broke the line of the enemy, and quickly secured the victory. Seven ships were taken; one of which (le Vengeur) soon after foundered, with the loss of three hundred of her men. Another ship of the line was swallowed up in the sea during the engagement; and so rapidly did it sink, that, according to lord Howe's narrative, not a man was saved. Not two hundred and fifty men

June 1.

36 So called from it's occurring in the month of *Thermidor*, corresponding with the latter part of July and the former part of August.

were killed in the victorious fleet; but it is probable that above two thousand of the enemy lost their lives, and that a greater number were wounded.

This triumph revived the declining spirits of the people. The king, visiting the fleet, personally thanked the chief conductor of it's operations, and applauded the valor of his maritime subjects.

About the same time, his majesty acquired a new crown. The discontent of a great proportion of the inhabitants of Corsica, under the oppressive yoke of France, had induced them to wish for a revolution. Paoli, who had returned to the island, encouraged their disaffection, and was therefore marked out for the vengeance of the Parisian convention: but he eluded an order for his arrest, and procured, from the zeal of his countrymen, the appointment of generalissimo. Hostilities broke out between his supporters and the friends of the republic; and the former accepted the aid of admiral Hood, who, with a small force, wrested Fornelli and San-Fiorenzo from the hands of the conventional party. Bastia, defended by three thousand men and by strong works, sustained a spirited siege, in which the alertness and intrepidity of captain Nelson attracted panegyrical notice. After the French had been dispossessed of this post, and before Calvi was taken, which endured a siege for seven weeks, the Corsicans submitted to the sway of the prince who had assisted them, by the unanimous decision of an assembly, combining the most general representation known in the island.

Victor Amadeus rejoiced at the transfer of Corsica to a member of the coalition: To himself, however, the campaign was unfortunate. The enemy failed in the first attack of the great and little mountains of Cenis, but prevailed on a renewal of effort, and also forced St. Bernard. On the side of Nice, the Piedmontese were harassed with repeated conflicts; and neither they nor

their Austrian associates could prevent the French from seising various forts and some important towns.

On the Pyrenean frontiers of France and Spain, the war was attended with more remarkable incidents. The count de l'Union was posted with thirty thousand men on the banks of the Tech, near Ceret; but he was driven from his entrenchments by general Dugommier, leaving fifteen hundred of his men, and ample spoils, in the hands of the French, who also recovered Port-Vendre and Colioure. Bellegarde made a long defence, under the command of the marquis de Vallesantoro. The count endeavoured to relieve that town from blockade; but he was repelled by the skill and valor of Augereau. The garrison being in want of provisions, the commandant at length surrendered the place. After an interval of two months, Dugommier directed Augereau to assault the works near the Mouga, that a way might be opened for the reduction of the Catalonian province. The detachment met with success: but, while the commander in chief was preparing to improve the advantage, he lost his life by a random shot. Perignon, who succeeded him, ordered a general attack, and forced the works by a persevering energy which despised the danger of death.

Nov. 20. The count fell in the defence of his country, lamenting the disgrace of the army which he commanded. Figueras now surrendered, and nine thousand men were made prisoners. In the western part of the Pyrenees, Le Franc and other officers dislodged the Spaniards from different posts: Moncey also pushed forward in defiance of all the obstacles raised by engineers: and Tregeville was equally fortunate. Fontarabia was taken without the labor of a siege: so was St. Sebastian: Port-Passage and Tolosa were likewise seised. The province of Navarre was better defended than that of Biscay. The duke of Ossuna, indeed, was driven with considerable loss from Roncevalles: but he took some revenge in a subsequent

conflict; and, though again repelled, prevented the enemy from reducing Pampeluna[37].

The French had some reason to boast of their exploits in Spain; but their success in Holland was more decisive. After the conquest of the Netherlands, Pichegru, postponing the siege of Breda, resolved to drive the duke of York over the Maes. When he had reached Hoogstraten, he attacked the out-posts with success; and the duke retired behind the Dommel. The French passed that river in the face of the enemy, stormed the post of Boxtel, captured about fifteen hundred men, and baffled the efforts of general Abercromby for it's recovery. The British troops and their associates crossed the Maes, without any serious molestation from the enemy, by whom, however, Crevecœur was quickly reduced, and whom even Bois-le-Duc did not withstand above a fortnight. Moreau, whose division had taken Sluys, now joined Pichegru; and these able officers boldly pushed forward to the conquest of Holland[38].

At this crisis, the burghers of Amsterdam manifested their disinclination to the existing government, and their aversion to the war. The hereditary prince of Orange and the duke of York having repaired to that town, to propose (among other objects) an inundation of the neighbouring country, they resolved to counteract the measure, as unnecessary and dangerous. Though popular meetings were prohibited, they assembled in the square before the stadt-house, and voted a petition to the council of regency, not only against the scheme of inundation, but also against the introduction of foreign troops, which formed a part of the stadt-holder's plan. They deputed Visscher and two other persons to present the remonstrance, which was answered by a denial of the adoption

37 Annual Register, vol. XXXVI.

38 Histoire Chronologique des Opérations de l'Armée du Nord, par David, chap. 13, 14.

of either scheme. The three burghers were punished with imprisonment for their boldness; but their associates in opposition were so far from being intimidated, that they continued to assemble, not tumultuously but in an orderly manner, and formed regular companies for the protection of the capital.

A conflict which had a considerable effect on the subsequent operations took place near the Waal. Pichegru disposed his troops in four columns, and directed them to the most prominent parts of the hostile line, which extended from Appelthern to Druyten. Those and
Oct. 19. other posts were vigorously attacked: a body of emigrants suffered so severely, that few escaped; and the ranks of some English battalions were alarmingly thinned, before the duke retreated across the Waal. The investment of the strong town of Grave was now completed: Venlo was taken; and Nimeguen was besieged by general Souham. In the erection of batteries for this siege, the French were exposed to a vigorous attack from a select corps, consisting chiefly of British soldiers: but, as they continued their operations without discouragement, the
Nov. 7. duke thought proper to abandon the place. Maestricht had already surrendered, after a siege of two months; and a short interval of inaction followed these acts of warfare[39].

The middle class of the Dutch community (and great influence is usually possessed by this class in a commercial republic) apparently wished for, rather than dreaded, the arrival of the French. That wish was soon gratified by Pichegru's renewal of hostilities. A frosty winter promoted the views both of the French convention and of the disaffected party in Holland. A body of the invaders crossed the Waal in boats with little effect. They afterwards passed it by favor of the ice, but were driven

39 Histoire Chronologique, par David.—London Gazette.

back with loss. They re-crossed it with augmented force; and the allies were constrained to retire over the Leck, and afterwards behind the Yssel. A. D. 1795.

Avoiding the delays that might attend sieges, the French now advanced into the province of Utrecht; and one of their detachments took easy possession of the capital of that territory. Pichegru penetrated to Amsterdam, and offered to the inhabitants the boon of Gallic freedom. Jan. 20. The prince and princess of Orange fled to England, whither the British troops at length returned, after a series of difficulties and dangers, aggravated by an inclement season.

Two proclamations were now issued at Amsterdam, one by a revolutionary committee, exhorting the people to remain quiet, and recommending elections of national deputies; the other by those representatives of the French republic who attended the army. In the latter it was affirmed, that the French came as friends of the Dutch, and only wished to rescue them from the tyrannous yoke to which they had been subjected by the treacherous stadt-holder. It was declared, that persons and property should be protected, religious freedom secured, the laws and customs of the country provisionally maintained; and that the people, exercising that sovereignty which was their indisputable right, should alone enjoy the power of modifying or altering their constitution.

The provincial representatives of the province of Holland soon commenced their deliberations at the Hague. Peter Paulus, whom they chose for their president, congratulated them on the event of the campaign, and on the opportunity afforded to them, by the wonderful success of the French arms, of rearing the edifice of their liberty, amidst the influence of virtue, of reason, and philosophy, and restoring peace, security, and freedom. The rights of men and of citizens, and the sovereignty of the people, were asserted by the assembly: the di

stinctions of privileged orders, and various political institutions, were abolished; and committees of public safety, of finance, and of military organisation, were appointed *pro tempore*.

The new municipality of Amsterdam labored, with zeal and success, for the preservation of public tranquillity. A slight tendency to a partial riot, arising from an unwillingness to submit to a continuance of the established taxation, was easily suppressed. The new demands of provisions, clothing, and money, for the use of the French army, were granted without disorder, and with little complaint[40]. Inquiries were made into the abuses of the late government, and into the affairs of the bank and the East and West India companies; and, when various delinquencies had been discovered, many officers were dismissed: but the municipality refused to gratify the vengeance of the violent democrats, who, from political animosity, rather than a detestation of crimes, wished for the punishment of the chief adherents of the stadtholder.

As soon as deputies could conveniently be chosen for all the provinces, a general assembly was holden; and one of the first votes ordained the abolition of the dignity of stadt-holder. This decree was productive of great joy at Amsterdam; and a republican festival was celebrated, to cement the union between the Dutch and the French. But the rising friendship suffered some diminution, on the part of the former, when the terms of peace and alliance between the republics were communicated to the world. By one of the articles, the Dutch were obliged to pay one hundred millions of livres to the French government, as an indemnification for the charges of the war; and, by

40 In requisitions, and contributions of various kinds, forced and voluntary, the French (says Mr. Fell) were thought to have levied, in a short period, a sum nearly amounting to four millions sterling.—*Tour through the Batavian Republic.*

another, to resign Dutch Flanders and other parts of their frontier, under the promise of an equivalent from the French at the epoch of a general peace. They were required to open the Schelde to the Belgians and the French, and suffer the latter to garrison Flushing; to employ, in aid of their new allies, one half of their military force (subject to the command of French generals), and twelve ships of the line, with eighteen frigates.

This treaty rendered the United Provinces completely dependent on the French republic. Gallic fraternity proved a very inefficacious remedy for the evils imputed to the late government. The trade of Holland declined after this revolution. The people were impoverished by frequent defalcations from their property; and, as they were despised by their new masters, they had no prospect of redress if they should presume to complain. Their misfortunes and degradation did not excite the compassion of other powers; for they were considered as accessory to their own sufferings and disgrace.

Orders were now given for the speedy equipment of a fleet, that the tyrants of the sea might be checked in their career. But, in the reduced state of the Dutch navy, it required a considerable time to fit out a respectable fleet; and, when ready for action, it's egress from port served only to add to the glory of Britain.

During the operations of the French on the frontiers of Holland, some individuals who were supposed by the malice of party to be well affected to the French cause, and inclined to promote the formation of a republic in this country, had been accused of treason, and subjected to a criminal process[41].

In every country, my dear son, there are seditious spirits, eager to fish in troubled waters, and ready to take advantage of all the errors of government. They studi-

41 In November, 1794.

ously propagate jealousy and suspicion, magnify ministerial delinquency, and exaggerate the evils under which the people labor. In this kingdom, fortunately, such characters are not very numerous, compared with the general population of the empire; and, even at the rise of the French revolution, when the subject roused and inflamed the friends of liberty, they did not compose such a multitude as to excite a serious alarm. We must not confound the parliamentary opposers of a minister, or the condemners of real abuses and grievances, with the incendiaries above-mentioned: but amidst the rage of party, the distinction was scarcely noticed; for those who presumed, in either house, to question the patriotism or the political ability of Mr. Pitt, were branded with the odious appellation of Jacobins, and stigmatised as enemies of their country, though they were apparently better friends to the constitution than that minister and his advocates. Some free speakers, not members of the legislature, were at this time suspected of a wish to subvert the existing government, and introduce republican innovations, while they merely professed a desire of parliamentary reform. The premier, forgetting his own declarations of the necessity of a reform, resolved to institute a process against these presumptuous individuals, who wished to purify the great council of the nation. Hardy, who was the first in the indictment, was tried for high treason, and acquitted: two others, of whom one was Mr. John Horne Tooke, were also pronounced not guilty: and the crown lawyers then desisted from the prosecution of the rest. Mr. Windham, and other zealots of the prerogative, still thought them guilty, and lamented the inefficacy of the law. But the fautors of popular rights, the enemies of ministerial tyranny, and the advocates of impartial justice, approved the decision of the jury.

LETTER XIII.

A Continuation of European History to the Treaty of Campo-Formio, in 1797.

THE easy subjugation of the Seven United Provinces gave great pleasure to the convention. A.D. 1795. To the territories of the house of Bourbon the French had now added the seventeen provinces which were formerly governed by the house of Burgundy. Holland, indeed, was not annexed in form to the dominions of the great republic: but the leaders of the Parisian assembly intended and expected to direct the movements of the ostensible rulers of the newly-fraternised state. They hoped to profit by the aid of the Dutch fleet, to diminish the commercial facilities, and check the maritime triumphs of Great-Britain.

While the Dutch thus readily submitted to the sway of France, the reluctant Polanders were constrained to yield to the arms of potentates who affected to condemn the encroachments and the violence of the republican revolutionists. After the hostilities of the year 1792, the northern empress and the king of Prussia resolved to lighten, by a second partition, the political burthen of Stanislaus, which, they pretended, he was unqualified to sustain with the requisite dignity. The Russian troops were therefore directed to seise a great extent of country from the Dwina to the Niester: and general Krechetnikoff, assuming the government of this territory, ordered all the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to her imperial majesty, or retire from the districts thus transferred. A Prussian army followed the example of spoliation; and several provinces, besides the cities of Dant-

zic and Thorn, were wrested from the Polish dominion, with the assent of the emperor Francis. These acts of injustice were pronounced to be necessary precautions against the contagion of Jacobinical principles, which might otherwise infect all the states bordering on Poland. A diet being convoked at Grodno, the deputies were exposed to military intimidation, and obliged to sanction the new dismemberment so imperiously prescribed[1].

The spirit of the people would not suffer them to submit tamely to the violence of their enemies. They wished for a leader who might form them into a regular confederacy; and Kosciuszko appeared, to those who had influence among them, to be well qualified for that station. He had retired into Saxony, with Ignatius Potocki, Kolontay, and Zajonzek; and these four resolute patriots declared their readiness to exert their energy in the cause of freedom. Zajonzek repaired to Warsaw, and privately conferred with the chief malcontents; while Kosciuszko, on the frontiers, anxiously awaited the result of their consultations. It was resolved that an insurrection should be risqued; but, as suspicion was excited among the Russians, postponement was deemed adviseable. Kosciuszko retired into Italy, where he remained until Zajonzek, being ordered, as a propagator of sedition, to banish himself from the Polish territories, informed him that his countrymen wished him to appear among them without delay, as a better opportunity might not soon arise. Madalinski, who commanded a regiment under the existing government, refused to disband it, and erected at Cracow the standard of revolt. Kosciuszko, again presenting himself in Poland, was elected chief of the confederacy. He took an oath of fidelity to the nation, and of adherence to the principles stated in the act of insurrection, by which war was declared[2] against the invaders

1 On the 24th of September, 1793. 2 On the 24th of March, 1794.

of the rights and independence of Poland, and an equal enjoyment of civil liberty guarantied to all the inhabitants of that country. So extensive was the power granted to Kosciuszko, that, if it had been committed to any one who did not (like him) unite equity and moderation with courage and ability, patriots might have thought it dangerous to freedom: but, in his hands, it was only exercised for good purposes[3].

The Russians at Warsaw suffered severely from the animosity and rage of the Polanders. General Igelstrom having arrested many suspected individuals, the confederates seised the arsenal, and attacked the Russians, of whom about fifteen hundred fell, while the rest escaped to the camp of the Prussian general Wolki. The patriot chief had already routed seven thousand of the enemy: but he was subjected to a similar misfortune by the personal exertions of Frederic William, in a battle near Piliczka. That prince was afterwards compelled, by the defenders of a strong post, to retreat with some loss of honor.

Near Brzesci, the Polanders under Sirakowski, formed in three compact columns, were attacked by the Russians with great vigor. One column destroyed many of the assailants, but could not elude defeat. The other two divisions retired to Corochin, and took possession of an advantageous height, which, however, they quitted on the approach of general Islenief. Of three thousand men who composed one of the retiring columns, very few escaped death, or even deigned to implore mercy: in the other corps, an opportune dispersion rendered the slaughter less considerable. Another sanguinary conflict took place in a wood, to the advantage of the Russians; and, from Dobrzin, the Polanders were dislodged with little difficulty.

3 Vie de Catharine, par Castéra, tome ii.—Histoire du Regne de Frederic Guillaume, par Ségur.

In these actions, above twelve thousand of the vanquished are said to have lost their lives[4].

After some inferior operations, an important engagement occurred at Matchevitz[5]. The baron de Fersen, hearing that Kosciuszko expected to be joined by Poninski, resolved to attack him before the junction could be effected. Denisoff's division, animated rather than fatigued by a difficult nocturnal march, first assaulted the enemy. The rest of the army came up about sun-rise; and the battle raged beyond mid-day. Kosciuszko was then convinced of the inutility of ulterior resistance. About six thousand of his adherents lay dead on the field; and sixteen hundred were wounded or captured. He endeavoured to escape by the swiftness of his horse, but was overtaken by some Cosacks, one of whom, not knowing him, thrust a spear into his back. Falling senseless from his horse, he was taken to a monastery, when one of his officers had intimated that he was the commander-in-chief. Chirurgical aid was administered to him; and he was conveyed in safety to Petersburg[6].

The reduction of Warsaw being the great object of Souvoroff, he sent orders to Dorfelden and Fersen to join him in his way to Praga, a suburb of the capital. At Kobylka, Islenief routed a Polish detachment; and other advantages were obtained over the unfortunate natives. When the two generals arrived with their troops, Souvoroff had twenty-two thousand men under his command; and he prepared with his usual activity and zeal for an attack of the entrenchments of Praga. He offered an amnesty to the revolutionists, if they would submit without farther contest: but they rejected overtures which involved their return to a state of slavery.

4 Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii.

5 On the 10th of October, 1794.

6 Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii.

As soon as the Russian army had reached the suburb, three batteries were erected in the night: the points of attack were then fixed; and seven columns commenced their operations. The two first divisions were harassed, in every direction except the rear, by a vigorous fire; but, being well supported by some squadrons of chasseurs, they surmounted all obstacles, and, rushing into the place, pursued their adversaries through the streets, slew about two thousand, and drove one thousand into the Vistula. The third and fourth columns, having passed with difficulty a sandy hill, penetrated within the works, put a body of horse to flight with the bayonet, seised one battery after another, and flanked the Polanders. In this scene of action, a regiment of Jews made an obstinate defence, and at length suffered total destruction. The rest of the divisions forced the entrenchments with celerity, cleared the space between those works and the interior fortifications of the suburb, and filled the streets with heaps of dead. Some thousands, stopped by the river in their flight, were massacred by their savage foes, who did not even spare the weaker sex or helpless age. At least fifteen thousand persons were killed or drowned: fourteen thousand were made prisoners, the majority of whom were soon released, and sent to Warsaw[7].

Confounded by the success of the invaders, the magistrates of the capital sent deputies with offers of submission. Souvoroff promised a full security of persons and property, if the troops and all the inhabitants would immediately deliver up their arms. The soldiery under Waurochewski, the successor of Kosciuszko, were inclined to carry off the king and all the Russian prisoners; but the magistrates opposed that intention, and ordered the people to resist the troops. The general then resigned his authority into the hands of the king and the su-

7 Nov. 3, 1794.—Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow, tome ii.

preme council, declaring that he had no farther means of providing for the safety of the republic. Stanislaus now liberated the Russian captives; and Souvoroff entered Warsaw in triumphal procession. The keys of the city were presented to him; and, looking toward the scene of the late carnage, he is said to have embraced the magistrates with a suffusion of tears.

Thus was the Polish revolution terminated by the hand of violence. The new constitution was annihilated, as inconsistent with the views of the confederate powers. They declared, that it was no longer expedient to have a separate king for Poland; and a third partition, a final spoliation, ensued. The palatinates of Cracow, Chelin, and Lublin, with other territories, were assigned to the house of Austria: Warsaw and other considerable towns were included in the Prussian share; and the czarina extended her acquisitions to the centre of Poland. The estates of many patriots were confiscated: Kosciuszko and his chief associates were imprisoned; and Stanislaus was deprived of the royal dignity, receiving assurances, however, of protection and support[s].

In private life, many (it is to be hoped) are "too fond of the *right* to pursue the *expedient*." But princes seem to be of opinion, that they are not bound by ordinary rules of rectitude or justice. Policy and expediency form the leading principles of their conduct.

This settlement was highly satisfactory to the king of Prussia, who, being no longer inspired with the zeal of anti-Gallican hostility, was inclined to revert to a pacific system. He even consented to resign that part of the duchy of Cleves which was situated on the left side of the Rhine, that the French convention might be induced to gratify him with a pacification. That assembly acceded to his wish; and he also, at the request

April. 5.

[s] Vie de Catharine, tome ii.

of the imperial diet, offered himself as a mediator between the republic and the court of Vienna.

The members of opposition, in the British parliament, freely stigmatised his character, for the neglect of those engagements by which he had bound himself to prosecute the war with extraordinary vigor in the preceding campaign; for he had accepted the money offered to him by a prodigal cabinet, and employed it against the Polanders rather than against the French. The speakers of the same party also censured the ministry for not having opened a negotiation for peace; but the majority of both houses deemed the French government too unsettled to authorise the hope of a permanent accommodation. The hopes rather than the expectations of the same members were disappointed at the result of a trial which had been protracted to the eighth year. It was generally, I may say universally, supposed, that the high court of peers would not pronounce Mr. Hastings guilty of high crimes, or even of misdemeanors; and indeed, after a course of nugatory litigation, he was acquitted of every charge. The members of such a court do not consider themselves bound by the rules of inferior courts, in which, when guilt is clear, character or services do not influence the verdict. They are inclined to balance useful acts or judicious measures against delinquency, and to acquit the able governor where strict justice would condemn the plunderer or the oppressor. I may add, that a wish to gratify the sovereign probably influenced many of the noble judges. The declared opinion of the chief minister of the crown, against the accused person, had little weight in this instance, because it was concluded that he was not particularly desirous of the condemnation of the governor-general.

The debates of the convention were more acrimonious than those of the parliament. The subverters of the Robespierrean domination had frequent and warm con-

tests with those deputies who were still inflamed with the Jacobinical *mania*; and the former did not triumph to the extent of their wishes, before the Girondist members who had been secluded by the tyrant (to the number of seventy-three) were permitted to resume their seats.

In consequence of the report of a committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the accomplices of Robespierre, Le-Gendre proposed that Barrère, Billaud de Varennes, Vadier, and Collot d'Herbois, should be arrested as enemies of the nation. Barrère endeavoured to exculpate himself by alleging, that he had merely acted in compliance with the will of the convention, and the general sense of the people: but this evasive defence was unavailing: and the four obnoxious deputies were put under a guard in their own houses. It was afterwards voted that they should be banished; and, when the Jacobins had in vain attempted to rescue them, they were sent to the coast. Carrier had already been guillotined; and Fouquier-Tinville, with fifteen judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, deservedly suffered the same punishment.

The Jacobins were so enraged at these acts of justice, that a conspiracy was formed against the convention. A tumultuary assemblage of men, and of clamorous women, approached the hall, demanding bread and the constitution of the year 1793. The gates were forced; and the insurgents, some of whom trampled upon the deputy Ferraud, spread themselves over the exterior court. They were repelled by the guards, but soon renewed the attack. They poured into the hall, shot a citizen who offended them, and also murdered Ferraud, who threw himself between some musquets and the president. Boissy d'Anglas then filled the chair; and, while horrid imprecations and menaces assailed him, he exhibited a philosophic calmness and magnanimity which over-awed the assassins. They urged him to give a

May 20.

written assent to their wishes for the prevalence of the Jacobin constitution and the release of the terrorists. He peremptorily refused; and Vernier, who afterwards took the chair, was equally firm. The committees of government deputed Le-Gendre to restore tranquillity; but the insurgents ordered the arrest of those administrative bodies. A faithful battalion interfered, and apprehended the men who were proceeding to execute that order: the ruffians retreated in confusion; and the convention voted the arrest even of many of it's members. On the succeeding day, the assembly soothed by concessions the battalions of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine; but, when the malcontents of that suburb had rescued a condemned assassin from the fate which he deserved, they were disarmed, and obliged to surrender Jacobin criminals. Nineteen of the most active malcontents were beheaded; and eight deputies were afterwards tried for a concern in the commotions. Six of these were condemned to death; three of whom stabbed themselves to avoid a public execution[9].

The murders committed by the Jacobins had left such keen sensations of revenge in the hearts of many of their countrymen, that a re-action of cruelty commenced after the return of a great number of individuals, whose names had been erased from the list of obnoxious emigrants. Regretting the loss of their relatives, and finding their habitations occupied by assassins, they were inflamed with a sanguinary spirit of vengeance; and assassinations and massacres, in which not a few innocent victims were sacrificed, were perpetrated in various provinces, but more particularly in the southern departments. At Lyons, about one hundred and fifty supposed Jacobins or terrorists were sacrificed by the friends of monarchy, who alleged that the convention, satisfied with the exem-

9 Histoire Secrète, par Pagès, livre xxviii.

plary punishment of the leading barbarians, seemed willing to spare the subaltern banditti. At Marseilles, a greater number suffered: at Aix and Arles, similar scenes excited horror. These massacres did not constitute the proper mode of punishing guilt: but the anarchists, who had wantonly sported with the lives of their fellow-creatures, had no right to censure these acts of retaliation [10].

The violence of the emigrants induced the legislature, after the suppression of an insurrection at Toulon, to revoke the amnesty, as far as it concerned the most determined assistants of the English in that town; and these were declared to be still liable to capital punishment as traitorous emigrants. All who had been dispossessed of their newly-acquired property on the return of it's former possessors, were ordered to be reinstated without delay; and the constituted authorities were desired to attend with incessant vigilance to the establishment of tranquillity and order. Much blood, however, continued to be shed in the south by the virulence of party and the fury of revenge [11].

The war was renewed with vigor on the southern frontiers, with a view of intimidating the Spaniards into a peace. The French troops in that quarter had been severely harassed by disease; and the great loss, consequent on that dreadful visitation, had delayed the opening of a new campaign: but their efforts were then so well directed, that, although the Spaniards had sometimes the advantage, additional conquests attended the republican arms. The duke of Alcudia, whose influence sway-

10 Freron stigmatised the authors of these barbarities as *ferocious* and *cowardly* assassins. They deserved the keen reproach: but he and his associates, who directed the horrible slaughter at Toulon after the expulsion of the English, equally merited such epithets.

11 Histoire de la République Françoise, depuis la Séparation de la Convention Nationale, jusqu' à la Conclusion de la Paix entre la France et l'Empereur, par Fantin des-Odoards; tome i. chap. 3.

ed the Spanish cabinet, now advised the king to make peace.

The Italian branch of the war was chiefly confined to the territories of Genoa, whose neutrality was not respected by either party. General De Vins attacked the French with success near Vado: but, when that commander engaged Scherer in the valley of Loano, seven thousand of the Austrians and their associates were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Nelson, who served on that coast under admiral Hotham, manifested his zeal and alertness in the capture or destruction of store-ships; and the admiral, in two engagements, diminished the naval force of the republic.

At a time when the Austrians, and the troops of the empire, expected a long respite from attack, as the French seemed to be unprepared to cross the Rhine, a considerable force passed that river, and seised Dusseldorff. Another army took Manheim; but the French were soon after routed near that city, and were at length driven from it: yet they prevented the victors from advancing to Luxembourg, which had been reduced early in the campaign. Jourdan was twice assailed in the Palatinate with an impetuosity which enforced his retreat. His troops encroached on the line of demarcation within which the French government had adjusted with the Prussian monarch an agreement of neutrality; and they committed horrible murders and devastations in their march[12].

A bold attack upon a strong camp near Mentz led to farther success on the part of the Austrians. Clairfait, assisted by Coloredo, Werneck, and other able officers, made judicious arrangements for that purpose; and the double line of entrenchments did not long resist the simultaneous efforts of four divisions. About three thousand

12 Gazette of Nov. 11.

of the French were killed or wounded, and sixteen hundred of their adversaries: the prisoners were two thousand in number, and the artillery seised amounted to one hundred and six pieces, besides forty-three which fell into the hands of the pursuers. General Nauendorff afterwards obtained an advantage near Kirch-heim, and stormed the post of Rockenhausen. Oppenheim and other places were also taken, and the Palatinate was, for a time, fully recovered.

The desultory and desolating war in La Vendée had been closed, after the death of Robespierre, by a treaty that was advantageous to the insurgents: but it was now renewed, either because the terms of peace were not strictly observed by the governing power, or because the leaders of the royalists were encouraged by the British ministry with hopes of success. Before the recommencement of hostilities, the death of the young prince, to whom the adherents of the late king gave the designation of Louis XVII., was announced to the world. It was attributed to the *scrofula* by the persons who opened his body; but the persecutions which he suffered, and the squalid and comfortless state in which he lived, evidently hastened his dissolution[13]. His uncle, Louis Stanislaus Xavier, now assumed the royal title, and issued a proclamation to animate the friends of his family. To the supporters of the titular king speedy assistance was promised by our sovereign: but no one could very confidently expect that so small a force as that which was sent to the coast of Bretagne would effectually serve the royal cause, or materially injure the interests of the republic. Mr. Windham, however, who was then secretary at war, was of opinion that the emigrants ought to make

June 8.

13 He was in the eleventh year of his age. His elder brother died in 1789, in his eighth year. His sister, Maria Theresa Charlotte, was exchanged for the deputies arrested by Dumouriez, sent to the court of Vienna, and married to her cousin the duke d'Angoulême.

some return, in active zeal, for the protection which they had received from the British government; and it was therefore resolved that a considerable part of their number should be transported to the peninsula of Quiberon, with such French prisoners as could, without actual compulsion, be prevailed upon to embark in the enterprise. Soon after their landing, they were joined by many of the Breton insurgents; and the count de Puisaye dispersed many copies of a manifesto, announcing his wishes for the restoration of lawful government, and inviting his countrymen to co-operate in so just a cause. Fort Penthievre was taken after a short siege; and various conflicts ensued, while Hoche was preparing to overwhelm the enemies of the republic. Assisted by the treachery of deserters, he re-took the fort, and advanced with an army which the emigrants and their associates could not long withstand. Sombreuil kept the enemy at bay while the British vessels were receiving numerous fugitives; and he and his division did not surrender before Hoche (as the emigrants declared) had promised that they should be considered as prisoners of war. Of the wretched captives who had no opportunity of embarking, about three hundred (among whom were Sombreuil and the bishop of Dol) were quickly condemned to death, and shot at Quiberon and at Vannes; and many others afterwards suffered. July 21.

While the French were rejoicing in this success, additional joy arose from the restoration of peace with Spain. Tallien announced the former intelligence amidst rapturous applause: Treilhard, from the committee of public safety, reported the latter in an animated tone. Having spoken of some operations against the *enemy* beyond the Pyrenées, he exclaimed, "Spain is no longer the *enemy* of France." The terms which he recited were favorable to the republic, which, for condescending to restore what it's arms had wrested from the Spaniards in Europe,

obtained a valuable grant of American territory,—namely, the Spanish part of St. Domingo. This treaty was negotiated for the French by Barthelemi, envoy to the Swiss cantons, and signed at Basle by him and don Domingo d'Yriarte. Barthelemi, in the following month, concluded a pacification with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who was constrained to withdraw his troops from the British service.

July 22.

The terms to which his catholic majesty agreed, were such as evinced his eagerness for peace. He dreaded the effect of the French arms, which his people were not sufficiently warlike to withstand; and, with reference to the opinions which the Jacobins so industriously propagated, he imagined that they would spread more rapidly in concert with victorious operations in the field, than during the prevalence of peace. Impressed with such sentiments, he disregarded the persuasions of the British court to a continuance of hostilities, and trusted to the barrier of law and usage which he might erect against Jacobinical doctrines.

It was the intention of the French government to draw the Spanish monarch into an alliance, that his navy might be employed against the English. It was therefore hinted to him, that it would be adviseable to strengthen his marine. In the mean time, lord Bridport and vice-admiral Cornwallis sustained against the French the honor of the British flag. The latter fell in with a fleet of very superior force; which, for a whole day, made a show of hostile intentions, but, instead of seriously endeavouring to overwhelm him, merely kept up a desultory fire. His men were in high spirits, and wished to engage closely; but prudence would not allow him to incur such a risque. His readiness for action, and the spirited conduct of sir Charles Cotton and sir Erasmus Gower, who commanded the ships which were most exposed, intimidated the French into a cessation of conflict.

June 17.

Bridport was more fortunate than the vice-admiral, without possessing greater courage or ability. He attacked twelve ships of the line with ten sail, June 23. and compelled three to surrender: the rest escaped into the port of L'Orient[14].

The contest for colonial power was prosecuted with spirit. An armament had been sent to Martinique, and descents were made on three parts of the coast. When the invaders had seised the strong post of Sourier, general Rochambeau offered to surrender the island, on condition that the English would engage to restore it to Louis XVII. if he should ever be actual king, or to the nation, if the republic should be acknowleged at a general peace by the chief powers of Europe. Sir Charles Grey rejected the limited offer, and demanded absolute submission. Fort St. Louis, which defended the chief town of the island, was stormed by the captain of the Zebra sloop (Faulknor), whose courage was so tinctured with ferocity, that he shot a seaman who seemed to shrink from the dangerous service. The governor now consented to the surrender of the remaining posts. St. Lucia was added to the British dominions without the loss of one life on the part of the invaders; and Guadaloupe was reduced within ten days by the active vigor and zealous co-operation of the soldiers and seamen[15].

Disease soon embittered the military success of the new occupants of Guadaloupe. Victor Hugues, a bold adventurer, who had risen from a low station to the rank of a national representative and republican commissioner, landed with a small force, which he soon augmented by drawing mulattoes and negroes to his standard; and the English, harassed by his hostilities, suffered him, after great loss on both sides, to re-take the island.

14 London Gazette of June 27, 1795.

15 Gazettes of April 21, May 16, 19, and 21, 1794.

St. Lucia was afterwards recovered by the French, who were, however, again dispossessed of it in a subsequent year. A part of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, had in 1793 been voluntarily transferred to the English by the colonists, amidst the dreadful dissensions which rendered the island a scene of misery; and, in the next year, they reduced Port-au-Prince, where they captured some valuable ships, but, by the tardiness of their movements, gave the French commissioners an opportunity of carrying off ample treasures. For some years, a shadow of power was retained by the English in divided settlements.

Resenting the subserviency of the Dutch or Batavian republic to the French, the king of Great-Britain ordered an attack of the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies belonging to his late allies. Mr. Brooke, governor of St. Helena, without waiting for instructions, sailed with a ship of the line and some India-men, and a small land force, in the hope of taking the Cape by a *coup de main:* but, learning in his way that sir George Keith Elphinstone had been directed to undertake an expedition for that purpose, he returned to the seat of his government. Elphinstone and general Craig took Simon's-town; but their farther success was doubtful, until fresh troops arrived. The Dutch then behaved with pusillanimity; and the governor of Cape-town capitulated. The territories belonging to the Dutch in the island of Ceylon were also reduced, as well as those in the peninsula of Malacca.

Sept. 16.

While the leaders of the convention were pleased with the success of their efforts for a diminution of the number of their foreign enemies, they endeavoured to prolong their power by a decree which provided for the continuance of two-thirds of the assembly in a legislative capacity. This ordinance gave great offence to the advocates of the right of popular election, whose disgust was inflamed by the suggestions of the aristocratic party. The

majority of votes, in the primary assemblies, favored that arbitrary decree: but the sections of Paris, affirming that the suffrages had not been accurately or fairly collected, refused to submit to this decision. They declared their sittings permanent, issued proclamations against the tyranny of the convention, and levied an army in defence of the sovereignty of the people. The leaders of the confederacy were, Le-Maitre, a Spaniard named Marchena, the poet La-Harpe, and La-Fond. The acting general was Danican, who had served against the royalists in La Vendée. According to his account, the troops of the sections did not fire first; but it is affirmed by M. Pagès, that they were the aggressors. They were destitute of artillery, and ill-provided with ammunition; and, therefore, the conflict was not of long duration. Bonapartè had a considerable share in the easy victory obtained over the insurgents, of whom two thousand five hundred were cruelly slaughtered. "These victims," said some members of the national council, "were chiefly royalists, and deserve no regret." Oct. 5.

While the remembrance of this insurrection was yet lively, the convention ceased to govern France; an assembly which commenced it's bold career with an unjust process against a patriotic prince, continued it's progress for three years through scenes of multiplied horror, and perpetrated every excess of rapine, and every enormity of murder, that could enter into the thoughts of the most unprincipled and unfeeling barbarians. Oct. 25.

By the new constitution, five hundred men, in the youthful vigor of life, were to form one legislative council; and two hundred and fifty, above forty years of age, were to compose another assembly. Laws were to originate in the former, and to be submitted to the approbation or rejection of the latter. Five directors, chosen by the legislature, were to be entrusted with the exe-

cutive power. These three divisions of the political body were compared to the imagination which conceives, the wisdom which deliberates and revises, and the movement which executes and carries into effect. In the convention, all powers were absurdly united: but, in the new plan, the executive and legislative powers were not sufficiently connected. The directory had not that close affinity with the legislature which the strength of government required, or that allowed power which would sway the balance between the councils; nor was the responsibility of that body, or of the ministry, precisely marked, or adequately settled[16].

The judicial authority was deprived of that permanency which would have rendered it's administrators more respectable and independent; for they were liable to be removed after a service of five years. The tribunals also were too equal in point of jurisdiction, and were not sufficiently under the control of a supreme court of law. Nor did the code provide (as a constitution professedly popular ought to have done) for the existence of an independent magistracy bound to listen to complaints of mal-administration or grievance, and demand redress from the government in the name of national liberty. It was stated, indeed, that the constituted authorities in the departments, cantons, and *communes*, had a right to present petitions to the legislature; but those authorities were too dependent to be respectable; and this branch of liberty was so restricted, that it could not be used to any purpose of general utility.

Juries were allowed; but the mode of choice left that valuable institution in danger of being perverted. An article, pretending to grant the privilege of *habeas-corpus*, was introduced; but it was so worded as to leave personal liberty imperfectly secured. In various parts of

16 De la Revolution Françoise, par Necker, tome iii. sect. 4.

the code, indeed, there was a seemingly-intentional deficiency of precision.

While the people were thus left in a great measure under an arbitrary yoke, notwithstanding reiterated promises of the most desirable freedom, the right of occasional pardon, the power of softening by mercy the rigid dispensations of justice, found no place in the new code. Necker quaintly terms this omission a defect of unction (*un défaut d'onction*), and considers it as a remarkable instance of the dryness (*sécheresse*) of modern French legislation. A sense of religion, by suggesting a wish for the future participation of divine mercy, would (he thinks) have prompted the framers of the constitution to assign, to some high authority in the state, the province of pardon: but religious ideas did not influence those politicians. A sense of humanity, I may add, might have served to point out such a subject: but, perhaps, they thought that it was necessarily included in the supreme power.

The most rigorous part of the code was that which authorised, on any pretence which the legislature might adduce, a general military conscription. Every citizen (it was said) was bound to afford his personal service for the maintenance of equality, liberty, and property, whenever the law required him thus to act for his country. Such a power is too arbitrary and extensive to be safely allowed to the rulers of any nation upon earth. No government can have a right to force the people into military service, except when the country is invaded or in real and undoubted danger: and, certainly, a set of French legislators, in revolutionary times, were wholly unfit to be trusted with the power of forcible conscription, the majority being ardent, rash, violent, and unfeeling.

The new directors were not men of honor, humanity, or virtue: but some of them possessed considerable abilities. Carnot, who had superintended the military de-

partment, was one of the number: the four others were, Barras, Rewbell or Reubel, La-Reveillere Lepaux, and Le-Tourneur. All were regicides: but Le-Tourneur was the least violent of the whole body.

Four parties, at this time, divided the French nation. The first consisted of those republicans who were attached to the new constitution. The approvers of the code of 1793 formed the second; and these pretended that they were the only true republicans. The politicians of the third class, were semi-royalists, and wished to restore the *régime* of the constituent assembly, which they considered as a proper medium between regal despotism and republican tyranny. The fourth party preferred the old system to all the innovations which had taken place since the meeting of the states-general in 1789. The members of this division, however, were not very numerous; and most of them, from a despair of the success of their views, were ready to unite with the third party.

The directors soon began to extend their influence at the expence of the two councils; and, at the same time, the executive power in Great-Britain procured an augmentation of authority. Two statutes were enacted, one for multiplying penal inflictions on pretence of treason, making even freedom of remark, when repeated, a misdemeanor punishable by transportation; the other for subjecting meetings of the people to new restrictions.

An extension of the rigors of the penal code might suit the arbitrary dispositions of Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, but did not harmonise with the general feelings of the nation. The laws against treason and sedition were already sufficiently strong for any regular government; and the petty intrigues of obscure democrats did not require or justify additional severities. I am surprised that the king, trusting to his remaining popularity, and to the aggrandised influence of the crown, did not dissuade his ministers from the prosecution of such impolitic measures;

and, although I would not advise his majesty to make a frequent use of that branch of his prerogative which allows him occasionally to refuse his assent to the wishes of the two houses, I should have been pleased if he had stigmatised with rejection the two bills which militated against the constitutional rights of the people.

Complying in one respect with the public wish, his majesty ordered his diplomatic representative in Switzerland to sound Barthelemi on the subject of a negotiation: but the overture failed in consequence of a hint, importing that no territories which had been annexed to the republic [17] would be restored. In the following autumn, negotiatory conferences took place at Paris; and these also proved abortive for the same reason. A. D. 1796.

The republican directors were preparing for a vigorous campaign, when their power was menaced by a conspiracy. Babœuf, Drouet, Laignelot, and other turbulent men, directed by ex-deputies, were the intended agents in this plot, in which both Jacobins and royalists were concerned. Their views were pointed to the overthrow of the directory and the new constitution, and to a re-establishment of the code of 1793; but the plot was detected before the conspirators were ready for action, and Babœuf and some of his accomplices were put to death. The sequel of the scheme may here be mentioned, though it occurred four months afterwards. About five hundred armed men advanced to the camp of Grenelle, near Paris, intending probably to court the soldiery to a junction with them. They were quickly repelled with loss, and totally defeated. Three members of the late convention (Huguet, Javoques, and Cusset) were tried by a military committee for a concern in this violent scheme, and capitally punished [18]. May 10.

17 The Belgic provinces had been thus incorporated in the preceding September.

18 Histoire Secrète de la Révolution Françoise, par Pagès, tome ii.

General Jourdan was still employed in Germany to maintain the cause of the republic. About the close of the spring, he detached Kleber to attack the prince of Wirtemberg, who was stationed between the Sieg and the Lahn. The French fought with such impetuosity and vigor, that the prince was driven from his post with considerable loss. He retired to Uckerath; and, when Kleber was preparing to surround him, hastened to Altenkirchen, where he was exposed to a fresh attack. The French were again victorious; and their success drew the archduke Charles to the Lahn, that he might check their career. Near Wetzlaer he assaulted a strong position which Le-Fevre had chosen, and, by repeated efforts, obtained the advantage. He soon after compelled Jourdan to repass the Rhine, and sent about twelve thousand men, under Kray, to harass Kleber, who was retiring with twice that number toward the Sieg. The French general hoped to overpower his antagonists; and his confidence, for a time, seemed to be well founded: but the courage and firmness of three of Kray's battalions signally contributed to turn the tide of victory. Unshaken by the numerous artillery of the enemy, they rushed upon nine battalions with fixed bayonets, and, by defeating that part of Kleber's army, furnished the Saxon and Austrian cavalry with an opportunity of rallying. Those who so lately exulted in the hopes of triumph, now made a hasty retreat toward Dusseldorff[19].

An invasion of Suabia was undertaken by the gallant and active Moreau. The fort of Kehl being weakly garrisoned, a small part of his force reduced it without the aid of cannon. He improved the works of the place; and then advanced with alacrity, expecting to divide the imperial army of the Upper Rhine. Of the three divisions of his army, the strongest was that which Desaix

19 History of the Campaign of 1796, in Germany and Italy, 8vo. 1797.

conducted. When this officer had attacked general Latour with advantage at Renchen, he was joined by Moreau, who engaged the same commander near Rastadt, and, after a long conflict, dislodged him from a strong post. Latour, as he was retiring, was gratified with the enlivening presence of the archduke, who stationed himself at Etlingen to observe the movements of Moreau.

Encouraged by the departure of Charles, Jourdan again crossed the Rhine; and, driving the Austrians before him, also passed the Lahn; between which river and the Maine, the French forced all the posts of their adversaries, who, retiring to Frankfort, were soon dispossessed of that city. The archduke was now apprehensive of great danger from the eventual co-operation of Jourdan and Moreau; and, to avoid it, he determined upon a speedy engagement with the latter general. He had made judicious arrangements for that purpose, when Moreau attacked him in every point of his position. Keim, who commanded the left division of the Austrians, repelled four assaults; but, being at length out-flanked, he retreated to Pfortzheim. Charles had baffled the attempts of the enemy on his right and in the centre; but the retreat of the rest of the army, and the seisure of the mountains on his left, rendered it expedient for him to quit the field, when about two thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or captured. In a partial conflict which soon followed, the French were routed. The Austrian prince, however, retired toward the Neckar; and the divisions of the prince of Condé and general Frolich fell back on the Danube. After various skirmishes, the archduke's movements were still retrograde; and the troops that opposed Jourdan also continued to retreat; maintaining, however, a communication with the grand army.

Near Allersheim, Charles hoped, by a general action, to arrest the progress of Moreau; but the bad state of

the roads, in consequence of intervening rain, so retarded the advance of his columns, that the French general had time to prepare completely for defence. The Austrian centre prevailed, until the right had been severely treated; yet the latter division was on the point of being reinforced and rallied, when intelligence of the progress of Jourdan to a junction with Moreau, induced the archduke to desist from the conflict, although he found that his left wing had been very successful [20].

Turning his eye to the operations of Jourdan, who threatened an irruption into Bohemia and Upper Austria, the heroic defender of Germany hastened from the Danube to the Naab, and prepared to crush the bold invader. He sent three columns against the front of the French army, and directed four others to turn it upon the right and left. Jourdan, however, was not disposed to await the dangerous experiment. He precipitately retired to Amberg, where his pursuers routed a part of his discouraged host. At Sultzbach he sustained farther loss. Still harassed, he reached the Maine by forced marches, and halted near Schweinfort.

To facilitate the expulsion of the enemy from Franconia, general Hotze seised the town of Wurtzburg, and maintained the post against an impetuous attack from Jourdan. Retiring to Kornach, the republican commander resolved to await, in a favorable position, an assault from the archduke. The Austrians, by a vigorous charge, compelled the French cavalry to retreat, but were themselves disordered by the fire from batteries erected upon a chain of hills. The heights were at length forced, and Jourdan was defeated, with only the loss of about eight hundred men on the part of the victors, while five thousand of the French were killed, wounded, or

20 History of the Campaign of 1796, chap. 2 and 3.

made prisoners. The well-stored citadel of Wurtzburg was now obliged to surrender; and the Austrians improved their success by a diligent pursuit of the routed foe [21].

If the French had not acted with iniquitous violence, the miseries of their retreat would have excited the compassion of their adversaries. Fatigue, hunger, and the hostilities both of the soldiery and the incensed peasants, harassed and greatly thinned the retiring army, or rather the fugitive parties. The circle of Franconia was soon freed from it's licentious invaders; and the works of Dusseldorff secured the vanquished general and the remains of his force.

When Charles left the banks of the Danube, he had intrusted general Latour with the defence of Bavaria. Moreau passed the Lech, but was prevented, by the arrival of a strong detachment which the archduke sent, from penetrating beyond the Iser. Having intimidated the elector into a retreat from his capital, he granted to that prince the indulgence of an armistice, on condition of the gradual payment of ten millions of livres, and the immediate or speedy delivery of a great quantity of corn, articles of clothing, and works of art. Intent on this accommodation, the French general neglected the concert which policy required him to maintain with Jourdan; and, for some weeks, he had no knowlege of the movements either of that officer or his brave antagonist. He was over-reached on this occasion by the secresy and circumspection of Charles; and, when he was informed of the defeat of Jourdan, and apprehended the return of the archduke, he began to be sensible of the neccessity of a retreat. In eluding the approximation of his adversaries, he manifested ability and judgement; but his celebrated retreat deserves more distinct notice than such general remarks would include or convey.

21 History of the Campaign, chap. 4.

When Desaix had been attacked with success, in preparing to join Moreau, whose rear-guard had also been defeated, the commander-in-chief retired to the Lech. To repel his pursuers, he again pushed forward, until the danger of being surrounded drove him back to that river. He intended to take the *route* of Ulm, and pass through the duchy of Wirtemberg; but, when the Austrians obstructed his course to Stutgard, he turned off to Biberach. Driven from this town, he marched to the south-west; and, failing in an attack of the van-guard of Latour near Schussenreid, made a bold effort against the whole force which that general personally commanded. He defeated the right wing near Riedlingen, and constrained the left and the centre to retire. The corps of Condé, being ordered to cover the retreat, performed that service with distinguished spirit, and prevented the ruin of the army. About three thousand five hundred of the Austrians were made prisoners on this occasion, and five hundred lost their lives[22].

This victory did not so far encourage Moreau, as to prevent a renewal of his retrograde movements. He divided his army into three columns, which retired in parallel lines, the right and left opening the passage into the Black Forest, and the centre keeping Latour in check. Desaix dislodged general Petrasch from some important posts; but the retreat was still exposed to great difficulties. Two passages presented an alternative; and each was so guarded, as to be pregnant with danger. Moreau preferred the valley of *Hell*, not deterred by the formidable name. His centre routed the defenders of the pass, and reached Freyburg, which the Austrians in vain endeavoured to preserve. The rest of his army also effected a retreat to that town, while Latour hovered on the rear.

22 History of the Campaign, chap. 6.—Europaische Annalen, Jahrgang 1796, von D. E. L. Posselt.

The archduke now re-appeared on the Upper Rhine, and, finding Fort-Kehl too well guarded to be taken by a *coup de main*, ordered it to be blockaded. He then advanced toward the Black Forest, and, with Latour and his chief associates, formed a line from the river to St. Peter's valley. The position of the Brisgaw was now bravely contested. After some partial conflicts, in one of which the duke d'Enghien signalised his courage, a general action took place. The Austrian right wing, conducted by Latour, attacked Kentzingen; but, being twice repelled, did not succeed before the archduke had made a furious charge at the head of the grenadiers. The centre, under Wartensleben, assaulted the heights near Malmertingen, and forced them by vigor and perseverance. Petrasch, with the left wing, encountered serious difficulties, which, however, did not prevent him from dislodging the well-posted enemy. The woods above Keimbach were seised by Meerfeldt: prince Frederic of Orange turned the right of Moreau; and Nauendorff, at Waldkirch, baffled the personal efforts of that able commander[23].

Retiring to the southward along the Rhine, Moreau made choice of Eckenheim, Steinstadt, and some intermediate villages, for a new position. The selection was allowed to be judicious; but the strength of the line did not effectually secure it. The Austrians ultimately forced it; and the French then retreated to Huningen, where they passed the Rhine in the face of a vigilant foe, and saved even their artillery and baggage.

After this admirable retreat, the attention of Moreau was directed to the preservation of Fort-Kehl, which, under the archduke's eye, was subjected to a vigorous siege. The general having sent Desaix with a reinforce-

23 History of the Campaign, chap. 7.—Posselt's Annalen.

ment to the garrison, that officer impetuously sallied out, and took three of the redoubts erected by the besiegers; but, after both parties had sustained considerable loss, he returned wounded to the fort. The siege was continued for seven weeks; and the Austrians, during that time, lost about ten thousand men by the fire of the garrison, fatigue, and disease.

The war was carried on with extraordinary vigor beyond the Alps. The directory earnestly wished, not only to force the king of Sardinia into a peace beneficial to France in point of territorial acquisition, but also to dispossess the Austrians of the Milanese, and abridge their power in other parts of Italy. For the accomplishment of these wishes, an officer who had great courage, but little experience, was placed at the head of a numerous army. This was Bonapartè, who, in the vicinity of Savona, reviewed his forces, and prepared them for action. As he seemed to threaten the city of Genoa, a detachment of the allied army advanced to the suburbs; and Beaulieu, who had been sent to take the chief command of the Austrian troops, made arrangements for the attack of the whole French line. The success of the plan depended chiefly on the exertions of Argenteau, who was ordered to assault three strong redoubts, raised one above another. He forced two of the number, but failed in the attack of the other. Beaulieu was not unsuccessful near Genoa, as general Cervoni fled before him; and Colli, who commanded the troops of the Sardinian prince, made some progress near the Tanaro, until the apprehension of losing his communication with the Austrians, in consequence of the dexterous movements of Bonapartè, constrained him to fall back. Being out-flanked by the French, Argenteau was routed at Monte-nottè; and the rest of the army also found it expedient to retreat.

Elate with this victory, Bonapartè took the earliest op-

portunity of acquiring fresh laurels. At Monte-lezino [24], he broke the concert between the Piedmontese and the Austrians, and, having defeated the former, attacked the latter with energy. He did not, however, easily triumph over them. Colonel Wuckassovich distinguished himself on this occasion by his courage and firmness, and considerably thinned the ranks of the battalions which assailed his division. About six thousand men in the vanquished army were killed, wounded, or captured [25]. April 14.

The victorious general now marched toward the Tanaro, and, during four successive days, assaulted a position which the Piedmontese had chosen. They then abandoned it in the night, and, being closely pursued, were encountered near Mondovi. Unable to withstand the superior number of the enemy, they formed a strong line behind the Stura, from Coni to Cherasco. The safety of Piedmont in general, and of it's capital in particular, depended on the preservation of this line of defence.

The ill fortune of the allies, in this campaign, so depressed the spirits of the king of Sardinia, that he had not the courage to continue the war. He found his troops precluded from Austrian aid, and did not expect that they would be able long to maintain their defensive post. Even a dishonorable peace, he thought, was preferable to hostilities that might be ruinous. He therefore sent plenipotentiaries to treat with the French commissaries at Genoa; and, in the mean time, a truce was solicited and obtained from Bonapartè, who haughtily demanded, in return for his condescension, the surrender of three fortresses, and other favors. Of the treaty of peace, which soon followed the armistice, the terms were humiliating and disgraceful to the unfortunate May 15.

24 Sometimes called *Millesimo*.

25 History of the Campaign of 1796 in Italy, chap. 1.

king. He was obliged to cede to the republic the territories of Savoy, Nice, Tende, and Beuil; to put the French in possession of Coni, Exilles, Susa, Alessandria, and other towns and fortresses, until a general peace should be concluded; and was prohibited from erecting or repairing any fortifications near the frontiers of France. Thus was Victor Amadeus punished for his hostility to a dangerous and formidable revolution [26].

The secession of the Sardinian prince from the confederacy, rendered defensive measures, on the part of the Austrians, particularly expedient, until considerable reinforcements should arrive from Germany. Retiring behind the Po, Beaulieu selected a favorable position, where his troops rested upon their arms. The armistice with Victor had allowed to the French a free passage through the Piedmontese principality; but, instead of taking immediate advantage of the indulgence, they marched into the dominions of the duke of Parma, and passed the Po near Placentia. A truce was granted to the duke by Bonapartè, who, when Beaulieu had retreated to the neighbourhood of Lodi, in the Milanese, advanced to the conquest of this flourishing territory. The bridge of Lodi was so well fortified, that an attack was deemed desperate by all the field-officers whom the general consulted on the occasion: but the grenadiers, rendered fearless of danger by potations of *eau de vie*,
May 10. stormed the post. When they had been repeatedly driven off with great loss, the aid of a reinforcement achieved the dangerous work. The retreat of Beaulieu being protected by a body of Neapolitan cavalry, he did not lose so many men as the French, of whom above three thousand five hundred were killed or wounded [27].

This victory was followed by the acquisition of Milan,

26 Des-Odoards, tome i. chap. 10. 27 History of the Campaign, chap. 2.

and by a series of spoliation and outrage, committed in that city and in other towns of Lombardy. Multiplied acts of tyranny and violence excited a spirit of vengeance; and the inhabitants rose in arms against the detested intruders. In the capital, the insurrection was quickly suppressed; but, at Pavia, where the French garrison had been overpowered and disarmed, the personal exertions of the general were supposed to be necessary. He forced open the gates, and diffused through the place the atrocities of massacre. He would have totally destroyed the city if he had not found the garrison safe. In other towns and districts, many unfortunate objects of suspicion were seised, and put to death by military ruffians.

As the effects of the battle of Lodi had driven the Austrians into the bishopric of Trent, and left the Italian states defended only by native troops, Bonapartè exercised his influence over the grand duke of Tuscany, insisting on the expulsion of the English from Leghorn, and the exclusion of their ships from that port; and the supreme pontiff of Christendom was subjected to the arrogant and rapacious tyranny of one who pretended to be a devout son of the catholic church. He was required to purchase the favor of Gallic forbearance by the disgraceful surrender of Bologna and other towns, the grant of twenty-one millions of livres, and the donation of three hundred manuscripts and pictures. The last species of pillage was particularly injurious to the feelings of the Italians, whose disgust at such rapine was proportioned to their admiration of the works of art, and their knowlege of the attractions which those treasures held out to foreigners of taste. The French generals were better judges of the merit of paintings and statues than Mummius, the unrefined conqueror of Corinth: but their desire of enriching the capital of their republic at

June 23.

the expence of the unoffending nations of modern Italy, combined illiberal insult with profligate rapacity.

His Neapolitan majesty had previously obtained the gratification of a truce, without being obliged to pay for the indulgence: but the duke of Modena was robbed of pictures, and required to pay four hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds, in money and useful articles, for a cessation of hostilities; and the duke of Parma, when he solicited the same favor, also felt the rigors of republican rapacity. Speaking of these two princes, Bonapartè said to his soldiers, "They owe their political existence to your generosity alone."

The siege of Mantua now occupied the chief attention of the invaders of Italy; but even the sanguine confidence of their general did not expect it's speedy reduction. While that town was under a partial investment, Leghorn was seised by a detachment: the effects of the enemies of France who resided in the place were confiscated; and Vaubois was left with a garrison to overawe the inhabitants.

Considerable reinforcements being sent to the Austrian army in Italy, Wurmser, who was deemed better qualified than Beaulieu for the chief command, advanced to attack the French, who had seised every important post from the lake of Garda to Legnago, on the Lower Adige. He dislodged them from some of these stations; they retired from others; and the siege was raised. But Bonapartè soon recovered from this check. D'Allemagne, one of his field-officers, assaulted an Austrian division at Lonato, and prevailed in the conflict. Massena, three days afterward, triumphed near the same spot; and at Castiglionè, the Austrians sustained another de-
Aug. 5. feat. In the last of these engagements, general Serrurier was directed by Bonapartè to turn the left flank of Wurmser, while Augereau attacked the centre and

Massena the right wing. These combined assaults were successful; and the Austrian general retired to the Tirolese frontier, after about fifteen thousand of his men had in five days been killed, wounded, or captured. Mantua was now re-invested; and the victorious commander hoped not only to ruin Wurmser's army, but also to penetrate to the banks of the Danube, and assist the other generals of the republic in humbling the pride and curtailing the dominions of Austria [28].

After a month's respite, the opposite armies again tried their strength. The Austrians, entrenched near the Adige, defended themselves with spirit. Massena attacked their left wing in the defiles of San-Marco, while Vaubois marched against their right, encamped at Mori. Both wings were dislodged by the vigor of the assailants, who then pushed forward to Roveredo, and stormed a new post chosen by Wurmser for it's supposed defensibility. The victors took possession of Trent, and compelled all who had authority in that city to take an oath of allegiance to the French republic.

The Austrians now made such movements as drew off the French from the Trentine territory. Wurmser hastened to the Brenta, and displayed his personal courage in the battle of Bassano; but his central division was at length forced, and he found it difficult to secure a retreat. He fled towards Verona, but was excluded from that city by the manœuvres of general Kilmaine. Pursuing his course to Mantua, he encouraged the garrison by his seasonable appearance, and checked the besiegers by some spirited sallies. Sept. 8.

During the renewed siege of Mantua, the eye of Bonapartè took a general survey of Italy. Exulting in the conquest of the Milanese, he wished that it might be

28 Des-Odoards, chap. 21.—Europaische Annalen, Jahrgang 1796, von D. Posselt.

permanently subjected to the French dominion. In the affairs of Venice he had already interfered; and he hoped soon to revolutionise both that republic and the Genoese state. The sovereigns of Piedmont and Tuscany he did not consider as formidable adversaries; and the head of the church was still less an object of alarm. The king of Naples and the duke of Parma courted his forbearance; and treaties of peace with those princes were now concluded at Paris. It was stipulated that the former should acknowlege the French republic, and not afford the least aid or encouragement to the enemies of that state; and that the latter should allow to the French troops a free passage through his territories, but that neither party should grant such an indulgence to the enemies of the other. The duke of Modena not having fully complied with the terms of the armistice, the agreement was annulled by the offended general, who also instigated the inhabitants of the duchy to form a new government. Thus, while one state was erected in the Milanese, under the appellation of the Trans-Padane[29] Republic, another arose in the Modenese, including Massa and Carrara, and received the name of the Cis-Padane Republic[30].

Oct. 10.

Alvinzi having assumed the command of the Austrian army in Italy, recruited and reinforced, Bonaparte advanced from the environs of Mantua to meet him. He first attacked general Provera with success; and afterwards, near the village of Arcolè, assaulted a well-posted division, which kept him almost a whole day in check. On the following day, the rage of slaughter again prevailed, without signal advantage on either side. After a night of little rest, Augereau's division re-attacked Arcolè (which had been taken, and then evacuated), but met with a repulse. Fresh troops came

Nov. 15.

29 Beyond the Po with respect to the heart of Italy.

30 Posselt's Annalen, 1796.

up, and turned the left of the Austrians, who retired in the night toward Vicenza. In these three engagements, about eight thousand of Alvinzi's men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners: the French, with the exception of captives, probably sustained an equal loss [31].

Davidovich had been so zealous and alert with a separate army, that he had recovered the greater part of the episcopate of Trent. He distinguished himself in some conflicts of the fiercest nature; but, being at length repelled by the united efforts of Massena and Vaubois, he was unable to afford relief to the garrison of Mantua. The defenders of that city had still opportunities of procuring supplies by sallying from the gates: but their hopes of preserving the place now ceased to be sanguine. Nov. 21.

Not only the emperor and some of the Italian princes were unfortunate in this year, but the British monarch also lost ground in Italy. The Corsicans were soon weary of the yoke which they had imposed upon themselves, although it was certainly less oppressive than that of France or of Genoa. They listened to the suggestions of French emissaries, took arms in various districts, and received military aid from their celebrated compatriot, the conqueror of the Milanese. After vain attempts to reclaim them, the English retired from Corsica; and the authority of France was re-established in the island.

Much greater injury than Great-Britain could feel from the loss of Corsica might have been inflicted by the French, if a large army had made a descent in Ireland. Hoche had pacified La Vendée by the ruin of Charette, who was condemned to death by a court-martial; and the Jacobin general was afterwards appointed to command the force intended for the invasion. But a storm di-

31 Des Odoards, chap. 38.—History of the Campaign of 1796, in Italy, chap. 5.

spersed the ships, some of which were sunk or captured; and the bold scheme was frustrated.

The turmoils of war and invasion did not disturb the tranquillity of the north. Sweden and Denmark occasionally sent out royal fleets to exercise the seamen, but continued to decline all concurrence in the crusade against France. The duke of Sudermania governed with wisdom, and baffled the intrigues and plots of the partisans and emissaries of Russia. The baron von Armfeldt had been recommended to the regent by Gustavus III. as a confidential minister: but the duke destroyed the testamentary paper which contained the request, and excluded the baron from the council: sending him into honorable exile as a diplomatist at Naples. The absent nobleman became a traitorous conspirator[32], and was outlawed, while Ehrenstrom suffered death as his accomplice, and the countess Rudenskold was confined for life. The czarina, being unable to eject the duke from the regency by seditious machinations, endeavoured to secure the attachment of the young Gustavus by a marriage between him and Alexandra Paulowna, whose charms and virtues he admired. Repairing with his uncle to Petersburg[33], the king expressed an inclination to espouse the granddaughter of the empress; but when he found that the free exercise of her religion was claimed, he refused to sign the contract, alleging that it was incompatible with the laws of Sweden. He was probably influenced on this occasion by the regent, who merely *seemed* to approve the connexion.

Catharine had engaged, after her final success in Poland, to assist Great-Britain against France; but she did not adhere to the articles of the alliance. She attacked the Persians instead of the French, and meditated a new war against the Turks: but, while she was indulging her

32 In 1794. 33 In August, 1796.

ambitious fancy with dreams of conquest and aggrandisement, she was suddenly called away from the splendors and vanities of the world. She had retired into a private apartment, seemingly in good health: her protracted absence surprised her attendants, who, entering the room, found her extended on the floor, speechless and torpid. She remained in the same state until the evening of the following day; and then expired, in the sixty-eighth year of her age, and the thirty-fifth of her reign.

This princess had a pleasing countenance; her person was well-proportioned, and her deportment graceful and dignified. Her conversation was lively and agreeable: she could speak pertinently on many subjects; and had a taste for literature. She was acquainted with the arts of government, both those of an honorable kind and those of a less liberal description. She not only possessed courage and firmness, but a daring spirit which did not shrink from iniquity and cruelty. Even acts of deliberate murder did not shock her, when they were subservient to the acquisition or retention of power.

Paul, her only offspring, succeeded to a sovereignty which he was not fully capable of exercising. He commenced his reign with acts of justice and clemency, released Kosciuszko and other prisoners, and delivered the Livonians from some oppressions of which they complained: but he was not steady or consisteht in his government or conduct.

Great-Britain and Austria requested the czar to act with vigor against the enemies of peace and social order: but, for the present, he disregarded their solicitations. The former power was now menaced with the attempts of a new foe; for the Spanish potentate was so far overawed by the French directory, that he consented to declare war against the English. The navy and army of Britain were augmented; and a squadron was Oct. 5.

sent toward the Spanish coast under the command of sir John Jervis.

The parliamentary session was enlivened by very spirited debates. The conduct of the prime minister was severely censured: but, as he triumphed by large majorities, he defied all opposition. The stoppage of pecuniary payments at the bank exposed him to the acrimony of animadversion, as it was imputed to his mismanagement. He demonstrated, however, the solvency of that useful corporation; and the clamor subsided. A greater consternation arose from a naval mutiny.

A.D. 1797.

At a time when the services of our seamen were essentially necessary for the maintenance of our maritime superiority, the rise of discontent among them could not but excite general alarm. It first appeared in the fleet at Spithead. Combinations were formed in many of the ships; and the men refused to perform their ordinary duties unless their demands should be granted. Their firmness induced the government to comply with their wishes, by increasing their pay, and improving as well as enlarging their allowance of provisions. But, in some ships at the Nore, the men were not content with these favors. Parker and other bold mal-contents, besides urging some reasonable demands with regard to the payment of arrears and the division of the money arising from captures, required various concessions which were deemed inconsistent with naval discipline and due subordination; and, as these points were not allowed by the board of admiralty, a dangerous mutiny subsisted for some weeks. The officers, when they had in vain endeavoured to stem the torrent of disloyalty, were suspended from their authority, and dismissed from the ships. As all the mutineers could not conveniently exercise the command, their interests were committed to representatives, who assumed the honorable appellation of *delegates*.

This mutiny called forth all the zeal of patriotism, and allayed for a time the mutual animosities of party. Those who differed on the subject of the war, on constitutional points, or general politics, concurred in the expediency of enforcing the submission of the nautic mal-contents, who endeavoured to block up the mouth of the Thames, and, besides detaining merchant-ships, committed some acts of depredation. To strike terror into the licentious confederacy, bills were enacted, rendering the seduction of seamen or soldiers from their duty a capital crime, and likewise menacing with death all who should deliberately communicate with them, or give encouragement to the crew of any of the ships under the orders of the delegates. Parker still used a high tone, and exhorted the men to be firm: but, as soon as they obtained intelligence of these acts, many were inclined to submit before it might be too late to expect pardon, particularly when such preparations were made as indicated that the confederate ships would be exposed to a speedy attack. Vengeance, it was apprehended, would then supersede mercy.

Opportunities were at length found by the occupants of several ships, notwithstanding the dissuasions of the delegates, to bear away from the scene of mutiny. The example was gradually followed; and the authority of Parker was disallowed and despised. Not having a chance of escape, he was apprehended, tried, condemned, and hanged; and many of his accomplices also suffered death. These acts of severity, with a general grant of pardon, restored order to the fleet, to the great joy both of the court and the nation[34].

It was a fortunate circumstance for this country, that the enemy did not profit by such a serious mutiny.

34 The mutiny at the Nore continued from the 20th of May to the 14th of June.

While it subsisted, the hopes of Barras, La-Reveillère, and Reubel, were high; and, when they were disappointed, they consoled themselves with other prospects.

The war in Italy was not discontinued during the winter. Mantua being yet under blockade, the Austrian generals made preparations for it's relief. Provera attacked Casella and other posts with success, passed the Adige, and threatened the lines of the blockade. A different division assaulted the enemy near Verona; and spirited conflicts occurred in other quarters. Of these battles, the most important was that which took place in the neighbourhood of Rivoli. Here the Austrians so gallantly contended for victory, that it was on the point of crowning their efforts; but the address and good fortune of Bonapartè prevailed over all the exertions of Alvinzi. The artillery of the republicans made great havock; and their adversaries retired in confusion. The contest was renewed on the following day, equally to the disadvantage of the Austrians. Bonapartè now hastened to meet Provera, whose progress had already been checked by the defeat of his rear-guard. That officer assailed a part of the lines; but the garrison could not effectually assist him; and the French captured his whole *corps*. Alvinzi now sought refuge in the Tyrol; and, the defence of Mantua being hopeless, general Wurmser capitulated[35].

Jan. 14.

Feb. 2.

The humiliation of the pope was the next object of the victorious general. His holiness had not fully executed the stipulations imposed upon him by Gallic arrogance; and the priests stimulated his other subjects to resist the encroachments and the depredations of atheistical republicans. The saints were invoked for the support of the catholic church: holy images were carried in solemn procession; and miracles were pretended to be wrought, that

35 De Odoards, chap. 39, 41.

the people, considering their cause as favored by Heaven, might be animated with pious enthusiasm, and rush fearless on the foe. But the French were no more intimidated by these arts, than the Romans were by the frantic gestures and ejaculations of the Druids of Anglesey, or the Saxons by the prayers and denunciations of the monks of Bangor.

Alleging that the pope had systematically encouraged the crusade against France, and had refused to listen to overtures of peace from the republic, Bonapartè declared that the armistice was at an end, and put his troops in motion for an invasion of the ecclesiastical state. Near Faenza, the troops of his holiness ventured to contend with the enemy: but they were quickly driven from their entrenchments, and the gates of the town were forced. Cesena, the pontiff's native town, was taken without resistance; and not only the province of Romagna was rapidly subdued, but the duchy of Urbino was also overrun. Having seised the treasures which had not been removed from Loretto, the invaders proceeded to Tolentino, where their course of conquest was stopped by the renewed submission of Pius, who sent Galeppi and three other plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. General Colli, who in vain had endeavoured to organise the pope's force, was less displeased at the negotiation than at the concealment of pacific intentions from him. All objections to unreasonable terms being over-ruled by the menaces of Bonapartè, a treaty was signed without delay[36]. Feb. 19.

The articles imported, that the provinces of Bologna, Romagna, and Ferrara, should be ceded to France; that, in addition to the money promised when the truce was granted, the amount of fifteen millions of livres should be paid by his holiness, in coin, diamonds, and other va-

36 Mémoires historiques et philosophiques sur Pie VI, chap. 27.

luable articles; and that various fortresses and districts should be delivered up to the French, as pledges for a strict compliance with the agreement.

A French army being left to enforce the complete execution of the treaty, the subjects of the pope assaulted, in various places, the insolent intruders, but suffered severely for their insurrective attempts. Towns and villages were given up to military rapine; and many of the inhabitants were put to death. In some parts of the country, particularly in the duchy of Urbino, commotions arose from a wish to shake off the papal yoke, or, at least, procure a redress of grievances; for the misgovernment of Pius had lately increased, amidst the dangers of foreign hostility. His secretary, cardinal Busca, advised him, after peace was restored, to continue the seisure of plate, the property of individuals, and force depreciated paper-currency upon his people. This minister being now discarded, Doria was appointed to succeed him; but the government did not become less oppressive[37].

While the pope was struggling with the difficulties of his critical situation, Bonapartè, animated by his success in Italy, and inflamed with an ardent desire of triumphing over the protector of Germany, resolved to carry the war into the hereditary states of Francis. The archduke, after the loss of Mantua, thought only of defensive hostilities. He formed a chain of posts from the mountains of the county of Bormio to the mouth of the Piavè; and, behind this line, a considerable force was posted. Massena, with the centre of the French army, advanced to Belluna, and overwhelmed the small division of general Lusignan, who, for thirteen hours, had bravely resisted a great force. The right wing then approached the Tagliamento, under the immediate direction of Bonapartè; forded that river with scarcely any loss; took Gradisca;

37 Mémoires sur Pie VI et son Pontificat, chap. 27.

and quickly subdued the territory of Friuli. The left, commanded by Joubert, defeated general Kerpen, and obtained possession of the greater part of the Tyrol[38].

Massena was now ordered to secure the two passages leading from Friuli into Carinthia across the mountains; and he was to make an attempt to turn the archduke's right flank, that all the reinforcements which this prince expected from the Rhine might not be able to reach him. His van, by seising Tarvis, in consequence of the negligence of general Ocskay, precluded the safe arrival of two columns, which were routed by a very considerable superiority of number. New arrangements being deemed necessary by the prince, he disposed his army in three divisions, by one of which Carniola was to be defended, while the second and third, it was hoped, would protect the valley of the Drave, Clagenforth, and the provinces of Styria. Clagenforth, however, was taken with facility. Bonapartè, so far fortunate, yet not insensible of the danger to which his progress was liable, wrote to the archduke in recommendation of peace. His employers did not expect to subdue or revolutionise the hereditary states, but hoped to over-awe the emperor, and extort his assent to such terms as France might dictate.

The letter intimated the wish of the directory for a speedy peace,—a desire which, when signified to the court of Vienna, had been thwarted by the English cabinet. The miseries of war not being experimentally known to the people of Great-Britain, the ministers of that country, said the general, had an opportunity of gratifying their interests and passions: but he trusted that the prince whom he addressed would pay greater regard to the laws of humanity; and he added, for his own part, that, if the present overture should save the life of a single man, he should pride himself more on the civic crown to which

[38] History of the Campaign of 1797, in Italy and Germany, chap. 1 and 2.

he might thus be entitled, than on the melancholy glory resulting from martial success.

Having no authority to treat, Charles imparted the overture to his brother; and, while an answer was expected, he retreated before the enemy. He defended, with great spirit, a defile near Freisach, but continued to avoid a general engagement. He could not prevent the French from over-running Carinthia, and making conquests in Styria, Carniola, and Istria.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of the Tyrol rose *en masse*, for the expulsion of the invaders. Kerpen, thus reinforced, attacked Joubert with alacrity, and quickly re-took various posts. Many of the French fell in skirmishes, and more were captured; and this part of the country was restored to the Austrian government.

When Bonaparte had reached Judemburg, the effect of his letter appeared in the emperor's proposal of an armistice, which was adjusted without delay. General Clarke, who had been commissioned to treat at Vienna before the opening of the campaign, but had not been indulged with a passport to that capital, now acted as a negotiator with the commander-in-chief; and, on the other side, the archduke, major-general Meerfeld, and the marquis de Gallo, treated at Leoben, where

April 18. articles, preparatory to a conclusive treaty, were signed.

On the very day which was distinguished by this preliminary agreement, Hoche commenced hostilities on the Lower Rhine, notwithstanding an intimation from general Kray, of the armistice of Judemburg, and of the probability of successful negotiation. He forced an entrenched camp at Neuwied, while Championnet dislodged the occupants of Uckerath and Altenkirchen; and, in these actions, about four thousand of the Austrians fell or were made prisoners. Hastening to the Lahn, Hoche took Giessen, and Le Fevre was preparing to seise Franckfort,

when a courier announced the signature of the preliminaries, to the great disappointment of the French generals, who were exulting in the rapidity of their progress. Werneck, for supposed misconduct in this short campaign, was dismissed from his command by a council of war [39].

The success of Moreau was as rapid as that of Hoche. He forced a passage over the Rhine amidst strong opposition; and, at Diersheim, a very obstinate conflict ensued; but the Austrians failed in all their attempts to drive back the enemy over the river. Moreau easily reduced Fort-Kehl, and gained possession of other posts of consequence before the dispatches from Leoben arrested his career.

The conduct of Bonapartè, in this campaign, calls for some reflexions. Rashness was more apparent in his conduct than prudence or judgement. Trusting to the superiority of his force, and to the fortune of the French arms, he pushed forward, as if he could quickly annihilate all opposition—as if every thing would bend to his will. But, if a cessation of hostilities had not been agreed to, the predicament in which he had involved himself seemed critically dangerous. The success of the Austrians in the Tyrol exposed his left wing to peril: troops posted in the archbishopric of Saltzburg threatened him on the same side; and his centre and right might indeed advance, but they might proceed too far to effect a safe retreat from a hostile country. Moreau was of opinion that the adventurous Corsican had precipitately entangled himself: but the readiness of the court of Vienna to negotiate, saved him from the probable effects of his indiscretion.

Ever active, ambitious, and enterprising, Bonapartè now directed his revolutionary views toward Venice. The

39 History of the Campaign of 1797, chap. 5.

moderation of the Venetian government was tried to it's utmost extent by the arbitrary rulers of France. After the conference at Pilnitz, the king of Sardinia had urged the republic to concur with him and other Italian princes in an anti-Gallican league; but he could not procure a promise of acquiescence. When the French had taken Nice, the pope, without effect, made a similar application. The senate, not aware of the danger to which the state was exposed, or hoping to avert it by forbearance, resolved to avoid every act that might lead to war. Pesaro, in the *Consulta de' Savi*, or council of the wise, repeatedly proposed military equipments; but the majority preferred an unarmed neutrality; and the nation, enervated by a propensity to pleasure, applauded the timid vote. The temporary increase of commerce, amidst the conflicts of other powers, gratified the merchants and manufacturers; and all ranks seemed to repose in security, as if the storm of revolution would pass over their heads, without injuring their government. In the year 1794, however, the supposed approach of danger occasioned the convocation of the *consulta nera*, or black council, and the promulgation of a decree for augmenting the army and repairing the fortifications. The Venetian administrators were thus employed when the brother of Louis XVI., styled the Pretender, took refuge in Verona. They were desired by the French envoy to dismiss him; but they protected him for almost two years. For their kindness toward this prince they were severely reproached by Bonapartè, when he made his appearance within their territories after he had driven the Austrians from Peschiera. He accused them of being partial to the enemies of France, and menaced them with the fatal indignation of the directory. He quartered his troops in their towns, and instructed his officers to promote disaffection among the people. He levied contributions for the support of those who had no right to make even the smallest

demand; and he filled the country with confusion, seemingly wishing for popular resistance, that a pretext might be alleged for open hostilities[40].

These oppressions at length aroused general indignation. Foreigners were excluded from the capital: troops were levied with diligence; and a naval armament was equipped. The French remonstrated against these preparations: but the government, being now sensible of the necessity of exertion, continued them with spirit. To supply the exigencies of the state, heavy taxes were imposed, some monastic lands were sold, and the churches were stripped of a great quantity of their plate.

A treaty being proposed to the senate, for a confederacy with the French, Spaniards, and Turks, a firm rejection was the answer which the insidious application deserved, and which it accordingly received. A memorable proposal of alliance, from the king of Prussia, was about the same time rejected by the inquisitors of state and the *savi*, without being communicated to the senate.

The directory, considering the minds of a great part of the Venetian community as sufficiently prepared for a change of government, ordered the troops to commence the work of revolution. Baraguay d'Hilliers introduced himself and his detachment into the castle of Bergamo; strengthened it with additional works; and pointed his artillery against the governor's palace. The inhabitants of the town were compelled to sign a declaration in favor of liberty: the governor was constrained to relinquish his trust: the national troops were disarmed, the provincial treasure and corporate funds seised. A body of peasants advanced to support the citizens; but, being attacked both by their mal-content countrymen and the French, they were quickly repelled[41].

40 Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice, chap. 5, 6, &c.
41 The same work, chap. 14.

A party of Milanese and Venetian conspirators, whose intrigues had accelerated the revolution of Bergamo, studiously promoted the same object at Brescia. The governor of this town, and the *proveditor*[42], were unable to stem the torrent; for, while the generality of the inhabitants neither abetted nor opposed the scheme, the boldness of a few carried it into effect. At Crema the tree of liberty was likewise planted; but, at Salo, after the standard of democracy had been erected by some Brescians, the inhabitants and the neighbouring peasants tore the flag, and resolved to maintain the old government. A considerable body of Brescians, denouncing vengeance, marched against them, but, in a brisk conflict, could not prevail over the counter-revolutionists, who, in their turn, formed the blockade of Brescia. Bonapartè having demanded the liberation of the prisoners taken in the late engagement, the senate consented, and thus damped the ardor of the friends of Venice. The released democrats and a multitude of their countrymen, aided by a French detachment, now reduced Salo and the whole Brescian territory to obedience.

The Venetian metropolis was still tranquil; but a storm impended over it. Bonapartè sent Junot with a letter to the doge, accusing the rulers of the state of having instigated the people to take arms against the French, and requiring an immediate disbandment of the troops. The senate denied the charge, and evaded the requisition.

The Austrian court, by the medium of Grimani, the Venetian ambassador at Vienna, exhorted the republic to support the counter-revolutionists with energy; but the dispatches of that minister were suppressed by the inquisitors of state. At this crisis, nothing ought to have been concealed from the senate.

42 A public officer, so called because he *provides* for the general safety and defence.

To accelerate the revolution, the directory had sent a squadron into the Adriatic, without any national flag. One of the ships, in defiance of a general law for the exclusion of armed vessels, endeavoured to force a passage into the port of Lido; but Laugier, who commanded it, lost his life in the attempt. When the French minister at Venice demanded reparation, to which the senate agreed, he introduced Villetard as secretary of legation; and this artful intriguer promoted with indefatigable zeal the revolutionary views of his employers.

Verona had for some time been garrisoned by French troops; whose commander, Balland, affected to be the friend of Venice, while he was a determined enemy of the state. After having in vain endeavoured to irritate the inhabitants into hostilities against the French, that a plausible ground for war might arise, he suddenly fired upon the town from the castle of St. Felix, April 17. on pretence of a tumult which did not afford the least justification of such an attack. The citizens, being aided by the peasants, and by troops that had been employed against insurgents, engaged the dispersed French in the town, and considerably thinned their numbers. A parley ensued; and a convention was drawn up, but not carried into effect. The French re-commenced the cannonade; and the people furiously strove to dislodge them from all the fortresses. A fresh carnage was followed by another conference. Hostilities were then renewed; and general Stratico led a small army toward the town to assist his harassed countrymen: but, as numerous bodies of French approached from different points, vain was the hope of success, while the Venetian troops were comparatively undisciplined[43].

The magistrates now sued for peace. The French insisted upon an immediate and unconditional surrender,

43 Account of the Fall of Venice, chap. 23, 24.

to which the deputies from the town agreed: but the representatives of the sovereign power refused to sign a capitulation which contained no promise for the protection of persons or the security of property. The deputies were detained as hostages for the execution of the inglorious terms; an affront which wounded the feelings of all who remembered the former dignity of the Venetian state.

Considering the French now as masters of Verona, the representatives fled to Venice, and left the people to their fate. Unwilling to surrender at discretion, the Veronese again sent deputies to negotiate; and the French promised, in writing, that religion should be respected, and due regard be paid to life and property. The victors, however, soon commenced a course of depredation, and evinced their inhumanity by the deliberate sacrifice of three respectable men, for having acted with spirit in defence of their country [44].

The reduction of Verona appalled the senate. Vicenza and other towns were left to the intrusion of the enemy; and the despairing senators, having given instructions for the last time to the officers of state, discontinued their meetings. Envoys had been commissioned to treat with Bonapartè in the Austrian territories; and, when they sent an account of the high demands and menaces of the general, the senate ceased to exist. In lieu of that body, a new council began to act, with the doge Manini at it's head.

The declared intentions of Bonapartè to democratise the Venetian government, would have formed an interesting subject of debate, in the grand aristocratic council which the doge and his associates now convoked, if the necessity of compliance had not appeared to the assembly to be so urgent as to preclude discus-

May 1.

44 Account of the Fall of Venice, chap. 27, 28.

sion. It was decreed, with only seven dissentient votes out of six hundred and nineteen, that the envoys should be empowered to adjust with Bonaparte such political regulations as might seem expedient. On the same day, the general issued, at Palma Nova, a violent manifesto, in which he accused the senate of having perfidiously encouraged the people to murder the French in the most dastardly manner, and declared that a government guilty of so many outrages ought to be treated as the determined enemy of France, and, in the first place, to be deprived of all it's possessions on Terra Firma.

Prosecuting their encroachments even during an armistice, the French troops approached within a few miles of Venice, and excited such a panic, that the counsellors of state were ready to surrender even the capital without defence, after they had been assured by the military and marine super-intendents, that the existing force was insufficient to quell an insurrection which there was reason to apprehend, and that the fortifications and the flotilla could not sustain a general attack.

The treachery of Villetard had been for some time organising an insurrection, not only of the citizens, but also of the Sclavonian soldiers in the service of the republic, whom his emissaries had endeavoured to persuade that the government intended to deliver them up to the French. Inflamed by this suggestion, and discontented at the non-payment of their arrears, those mercenaries became clamorous and disorderly; and sanguinary mischief was dreaded from their fury. Some of the counsellors recommended an immediate dismission of the licentious soldiery; a proposal to which the majority agreed.

Morosini, the director of the armed force of Venice, hastened the ruin of the constitution by opening a negotiation with Villetard. The Frenchman advised the speedy introduction of a democratic form of government,

as such a measure would allay the wrath of Bonaparte, and stop the present hostilities. Conditions dictated by him were presented to the counsellors, who had not the spirit to reject them. The formation of a provisional municipality, an invitation to the people to elect representatives, an amnesty for all political offences, the admission of four thousand French soldiers into the city as a guard to the arsenal, and the subjection of the fleet to the joint authority of the French and the native municipality, were the most important of these articles. A great council being called for the ratification of these degrading terms, the doge exhorted the nobles to resign their power, rather than expose their country to the combined evils of external attack and internal insurrection. Little opposition was made to the proposal; and, when it was put to the vote, the calculators of the suffrages called out, that five hundred and twelve favored it, and only twenty dissented from it. A party of Venetian officers, hearing that the decrees of abdication had passed, cried out, *Viva la Libertà!* but the indignant populace exclaimed in reply, *Viva San Marco*[45]!

May 12.

Enraged at the overthrow of the constitution by foreign artifice and violence, the multitude carried the sacred images of the tutelar saint of Venice in triumph to St. Mark's Place, and placed them on the pedestals of the three great standards of the republic. Villetard and his countrymen were bitterly reviled; and wishes were eagerly expressed, that some courageous and patriotic nobleman would put himself at the head of the friends of Venetian independence. Every person of distinction declined the dangerous pre-eminence. Thus unsupported, the populace gained nothing by riot and tumult. Some houses were destroyed, and depredations com-

45 Account of the Fall of Venice, chap. 32, 33, &c.

mitted: but, when the expiring administration had interfered for the restoration of order, even the spoils collected amidst the temporary prevalence of disorder were for the most part delivered up.

Venice, insulted and oppressed, bowed her head to the doom that awaited her. She quietly received her pretended protectors; suffered her treasures to be seised, her institutions to be suppressed, and her religion to be profaned. Her constitution certainly required reform: but the remedy offered by French quackery was worse than the disease. An able and patriotic statesman might have gradually alleviated the disorders of the state: but the rashness and violence of revolutionary politicians of the French school introduced greater evils than those which were removed, and, for every abuse that was corrected, substituted a multiplicity of grievances. They had not sufficient judgement for genuine reform, or sufficient humanity to provide for the welfare of the people.

After the fall of Venice, Genoa could not expect to retain it's independence. It's senate, from timidity, had long favored the French amidst a nominal neutrality: but it's meanness did not conciliate the directory. Jacobin clubs, organised by Gallic emissaries, paved the way for a revolutionary change. It was affirmed (as Paine said of Great-Britain) that Genoa had no constitution; and hence it was concluded that French interference was necessary for the welfare of the state. Instigated by Faypoult, the French envoy, a party of the Genoese rabble, with the aid of incendiaries from France and the Cisalpine republic, excited a tumult, took possession of the city gates and the arsenal, elected new magistrates, and demanded a democratic constitution. The terrified senate, having in vain made proposals of compromise and accommodation, seemed ready to abdicate it's power, when the tradesmen and respectable inhabitants requested to be armed and led against the insur- May 21.

gents. Having taken a great quantity of arms from the arsenal, in defiance of the opposition of the mal-contents, they swore upon their cannon that they would rescue their country from the rude grasp of revolutionists. They fought with such spirit, that the banditti were put to flight: but this dispersion of the populace did not secure the existing government. Morando, a self-proclaimed president of the people, made application, in concert with Faypoult, to the French troops in the neighbourhood; and general Rusca marched with one division to the gates of the city, while Sahuguet encamped with another at an inconsiderable distance. The senate authorised three of it's members to frame new political regulations with the concurrence of Bonapartè; and the appellation of the Ligurian republic was substituted for that of Genoa[46].

To the democratised republics of Venice and Genoa, Bonapartè was no more attentive than to the Milanese state, to which he had given the appellation of the Cis-Alpine republic, and in which the newly-formed Trans-Padane and Cis-Padane governments were absorbed. This he considered as his own offspring; and he was particularly pleased with the opportunity of augmenting it by the incorporation of the Mantuan territories.

Spain was soon punished for having entered into a connexion with France, at the instigation of the duke of Alcudia, styled the *prince of peace*. She lost eight of her largest ships, and an important colony. Four of those vessels were captured by admiral Jervis near Cape St. Vincent. Having observed a large fleet at a distance, he quickened sail that he might reach and encounter it. So great was the disparity of force, that very serious danger attended a conflict: but skill and judgement, on the part of the English, compensated the inequality of number. By an artful *manœuvre*, nine ships, forming a third part of

[46] History of the Campaign of 1797.

the Spanish fleet, were precluded, by a separation of the line, from co-operating with the rest; and fifteen sail then engaged the remaining eighteen. Captain Nelson established his fame by the courage and conduct which he displayed on this occasion. He ably assisted in debarring the secluded ships from action, and in promoting the defeat of the main body of the fleet; and he boarded two vessels with undaunted alacrity.—The other loss which I mentioned, was sustained at Trinidad. Not only the island was surrendered by the Spaniards, but they set fire to three of their own ships of the line, and one was captured by the English [47].

Porto-Rico in the West-Indies, and Teneriffe, one of the Canary islands, were attacked, but not reduced. The port of Cadiz was insulted by a blockade, and the town was injured by bombs; but the strength of the place precluded the hope of conquest.

The Dutch had, in the preceding year, been disappointed in their aims for the recovery of the Cape, and had been deprived of three ships of the line, besides four frigates. A much greater loss now befell them on their own coast. An English squadron, of superior force, made way between their fleet and a lee-shore, and, for three hours and a half, fought with great fury. Out of fifteen ships of the line, eleven struck: but, from the irregularity of the engagement, and the necessity of devoting particular attention to the means of avoiding the dangers of the shore, all could not be brought off by the victors, who took, however, nine of the number, besides two frigates. In seven of the British vessels, seven hundred and seven men were killed or wounded; in the rest, only forty-four. The Dutch victims, and the disabled or maimed, more than doubled that number [48].

47 Gazettes of March 3 and 27, 1797.—The 14th of February was the day of victory.

48 Gazette of Oct. 16.—The engagement was on the 11th.

The progress of the war, while it enriched individuals, and extended the boundaries of the republic, had involved the French finances in extreme disorder, and impoverished the nation. The directors did not take proper measures for remedying the evil; and, indeed, their general administration was neither honorable to themselves nor beneficial to the community. Their efforts, however, secured internal peace; and, though another conspiracy (if credit may be given to their own statement) was formed against them, they soon discovered and baffled it. They intimated to the two councils[49], that a plan had been devised for the subversion of the government; that Dunan, Brotier, Poly, and La-Ville Heurnois, had been arrested for their concern in it; and that the papers which had been seised would demonstrate the extent and the dangerous nature of the conspiracy. Ramel and Malo, two officers who were supposed by the mal-contents to be friendly to the scheme, had obtained a communication of the particulars, and had imparted their discoveries to Cochon, the minister of police. It appeared, that the exiled claimant of the French throne had many agents who took every opportunity of promoting his cause; but the pretended plot was rather a tissue of factious suggestions and intrigues than a deliberate conspiracy. The public ridiculed the affair as a chimera, and called for lenity in the treatment of the prisoners. A council of war pronounced them guilty; but, alleging that the frankness of their confessions, and other extenuating circumstances, rendered capital severity impolitic, the government commuted the pain of death into the confinement of the two first for ten years, the third for five, and the fourth for one year[50].

As the annual renewal of a third of each council was

49 On the 3d of February.

50 Des-Odoards, chap. 51, 52.

ordained by the constitution, the directors were apprehensive that the elections might be unfavorable to the inordinate influence which they wished to obtain. The result justified their fears; and they were involved in frequent disputes with the two assemblies. Barthelemi, who was recalled from Switzerland to a seat in the directory, on the ejection of Le-Tourneur by lot, was disposed to join Carnot against Reubel, Barras, and Lepaux; and the majority of each council, thus encouraged by a division among the members of the executive department, continued their opposition to the misgovernment of Reubel and his bold associates, who had formed various schemes of tyranny and violence.

When the intentions of the executive leaders were sufficiently known to justify the adduction of a formal charge against them, some members of the anti-directorial party proposed, at a meeting of a committee of inspection, that a vote of arrest should be demanded from the council of five hundred: but the majority had not the courage to make the attack, and blamed Willot and De-la-Rue for wishing to be the aggressors. Carnot was solicited to take an active part with the mal-contents; but he excused himself, pretending that their intrigues were too obviously influenced by royalists. Bourdon de l'Oise proposed vigorous measures, as the only means of averting the storm which would otherwise overwhelm the most respectable representatives: but his advice was ridiculed and disregarded.

Merlin of Douay proposed that the directors Carnot and Barthelemi, and many members of the two councils, should be accused of conspiring against the government, and arrested. Sotin, the minister of police, hinted, that they ought to be shot without hesitation: but La-Reveillere dissented from this violent proposal. Barthelemi was seised in his bed, and conveyed to the Temple. A body of soldiers, marching to the place Sept. 4.

where the delegated inspectors and some other deputies were assembled, seemed unwilling to execute the arbitrary orders which they had received: but general Augereau and his chief officers rushed into the apartment, wounded Rovere, Pichegru, and De-la-Rue, and arrested the whole committee, except Dumas, who escaped by pretending to be an officer upon duty. Notwithstanding the blockade of the Tuileries, about thirty members of the council of five hundred took their seats in the hall, Simeon acting as president. An order for their departure arrived from the general. They declared that they would not submit to it: but, when they were threatened with military execution, Simeon, protesting against the outrage, dissolved the assembly. As the deputies were retiring, Aubry was seised and carried off. Eighty members met in a private house, and began to prepare an address to the nation: but, hearing that an armed force had invested the house of Lafond-Ladebat, president of the other council, and had seised seven deputies, they thought it prudent to adjourn [51].

Meeting under the influence of terror, in places appointed by the directory, a considerable part of each council adopted the views of the tyrants. Sieyes and other members, being commissioned to inquire into the schemes of the mal-contents, reported that an anti-republican conspiracy was fully proved, and that the state was seriously endangered by the intrigues of royalists, who wished to re-establish the old *régime* with all it's abuses; and they recommended exile as a mild punishment for men whose guilt deserved all the rigors of law. The individuals marked out for this punishment were sixty-four in number, chiefly deputies, among whom were Pichegru, Des-Molières, Boissi d'Anglas, La-Rivière,

51 Anecdotes Secrètes sur la Révolution du dix-huit Fructidor, et Nouveaux Mémoires des Deportés à la Guiane.

Bourdon, Pastoret, Villaret-Joyeuse, Simeon, Rovère, and Lafond. Pichegru and some others were inclined to restore royalty; but the majority of the proscribed members do not appear to have aimed at any unconstitutional object. They wished to give to the councils their proper sway, and repress the tyranny of the directory: but this was a great crime in the eyes of the triumvirate. Both assemblies joined in the vote of exile; and the directory ordered that the colonial province of Guiana should receive the supposed enemies of the mother-country. "Guiana," said Bailleul, one of the abettors of the triumphant party, with a smile of derision, "is a fine country; and there is nothing very alarming in the proposed transportation [52]."

The prisoners were harshly treated before their embarkation: in their voyage they had little accommodation; and, when they reached the colony, they were subjected to various deprivations and rigorous usage. They found the inhuman Billaud de Varennes in good health; but there were few of the strangers who could long boast of that blessing. Many fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate. Barthelemi, Pichegru, Ramel, Willot, and four others, at length escaped in a boat to the colony of Surinam; and some of these fugitives even found their way to England, where they received protection from British humanity.

The injustice of the directory requires no comment. The triumvirs boasted of their clemency in only banishing men who (they falsely said) "would not have spared the lives of any republicans:" but they were sufficiently aware that a removal to the swamps of Sinamari and Cayenne would in many instances be a death-warrant. They were,

52 Anecdotes Secrètes.—Des-Odoards, chap. 69.—Many of the obnoxious deputies escaped the search of the officers of government; and some were saved by an erasure of their names from the list.

perhaps, as willing as Robespierre himself to shed blood, but they were apprehensive of the effects of that general odium which would follow a revival of sanguinary proscription.

In lieu of the displaced directors, Merlin and François de Neuf-château were chosen by the legislature; and, for the plenipotentiaries employed at Lisle before the explosion of Jacobinical vengeance, Treilhard and Bonnier were substituted by Reubel and his associates. The new diplomatists received such instructions as soon put an end to the negotiation. Lord Malmesbury was contemptuously dismissed, because he was not empowered to agree to a complete restitution of conquests.

The failure of this negotiation did not obstruct the conclusion of a definitive treaty with Austria. The emperor was earnestly desirous of recovering Mantua; but the directory would not resign so important an acquisition. He ceased to be very importunate for it, when Venice was offered to him. By the terms of the treaty, now signed at Campo-Formio, he was allowed to become master of the Venetian capital, and the greater part of the Terra-Firma of the late republic; but Bergamo and other provinces near the Milanese were to be annexed to the Cis-Alpine state; and the French were to possess Corfu, with the neighbouring islands, and the Albanian establishments below the gulph of Lodrino. The Netherlands were ceded to the French; the Brisgaw was transferred to the duke of Modena; and the limits of France were extended to the Rhine[53].

Oct. 7.

The treachery of the French toward Venice cannot be mentioned without the warmth of censure by any historian who aims at an honorable character. They complained, indeed, of the aggression of the people, and chastised them for alleged acts of outrage: but, in promoting a

[53] Des-Odoards, chap. 64

pretended reform of the government, they professed themselves the friends and protectors of the Venetian community, and the substitutors of freedom and happiness for slavery and misery. Yet, after these professions, they transferred the nation to the yoke of a prince whom they had constantly branded as a despot and a tyrant. Was this an act of friendship and protection? assuredly not: it was such conduct as could only have been expected from men who were destitute of fixed principles of policy, and uninfluenced by a sense of honor, justice, or equity.

As the emperor was more intent on the acquisition of territory than on the proper government of his dominions, he was far from being satisfied with the treaty. He particularly lamented the loss of the Milanese and Mantuan provinces; without which, he thought, his share of the spoils of the Venetian republic would be insecure. He consoled himself, however, with the hope of a change in the fortune of the French, against whom the tide might suddenly turn.

This treaty had not long been concluded, when the king of Prussia, who neither promoted nor checked it, and who seemed for some years to have withdrawn himself from the general politics of Europe, died in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Nov. 16. The conduct of this monarch was not, in general, honorable and exemplary. Self-interest was too frequently his guide; and a regard to good faith formed no part of his political creed. His propensity to despotism induced him to counteract the early efforts of the French revolutionists; and his versatility of disposition prompted him to conclude peace with them, even when their views became more openly dangerous and alarming. His treatment of the Polanders indicated shameless rapacity and perfidy; and his desertion of different princes and nations deprived him of all

title to respect. His private life was degraded by dissipation and debauchery: the dignity of the sovereign was lost in voluptuous excesses.

LETTER XIV.

History of Europe to the Usurpation of the chief Power in France by Bonaparte, in 1799.

THE continental war in Europe being closed, after six sanguinary campaigns, Great-Britain and her dependencies alone remained to employ the arms of the enterprising republic. If the French had been seriously impressed with ideas of the moral and Christian duty of abstaining from human slaughter, they would have gladly embraced the opportunity of reverting to the arts of peace, and have exulted in the hope of consolidating their government, improving their means of prosperity, and perfecting, as far as the limited wisdom of their species would allow, their revolution and their reform. But such views did not suit their feelings or their passions. They were inflamed with animosity against anti-republican Britain; and the confident hope of crushing her invigorated their resentment. If our nation had inhabited the continent, incessant attacks from numerous hordes of ferocious revolutionists might have overwhelmed all resistance: but an insular kingdom, defended by a predominant navy, may support itself amidst the wreck of continental states. Providence, I may add, waves over us it's protecting arm, and enables us to maintain our independence and our power.

Menaces of speedy invasion were now thrown out by

the directory. Troops were assembled on the coasts of Flanders and Normandy, under the insulting denomination of 'the army of England;' and Bonaparte was ordered to take the command, that the haughty islanders might be severely chastised and effectually humbled. But that bold and fortunate general was destined for other scenes of action. He wished to be previously employed in extending the fame of the French arms along the banks of the Nile, and in organising a republican government among the Copts and the Mamelouks, not without an eye to the invasion of British India by troops sent through the Persian territories. The latter prospect was indeed distant, but not too remote for the eventual grasp of ambition.

The boasts and the threats of the French did not intimidate either the ministry or the people of Great-Britain. Measures of precaution and defence, however, were not neglected; and the enemy prudently declined all invasive attempts upon this island.

For the settlement of all disputes between France and the Germanic body, and the assignment of indemnities to such princes as might otherwise suffer from Gallic encroachment and usurpation, a congress now took place at Rastadt: but, like other meetings of the same kind, it was not productive of the desired effect.

In the mean time, the British parliament, amidst varied deliberations, marked a new session with financial novelties. The magnitude of the annual loans had swelled the national debt to such an enormous amount, that even the prodigal minister began to apprehend danger from the continuance of the practice of funding, unless future loans should be reduced within moderate bounds. He therefore proposed, that a considerable part of the supplies should be raised by an immediate tax, and that only twelve millions should be borrowed. The new demand was adjusted by the proportion of the assessed taxes.

Some were required to pay, besides the assessment of the current year, a three-fold rate; others, a quadruple, and some even a quintuple rate; but, from the proportion paid by the greater number, the tax was usually denominated the triple assessment. This extraordinary requisition was a severe burthen to the public; but those who complained of it were stigmatised as Jacobins. I ought to add, that an exemption from the new impost was allowed to every one who had not sixty pounds of annual income; that only a small proportional addition was exacted from persons who had less than two hundred pounds a year; and that no one was required to pay more than a tenth part of his income.

To soothe and flatter the people amidst these burthens, the king ordered a public thanksgiving; and the whole royal family, with the lords and commons, attended divine service at St. Paul's church. The naval colors taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, were carried along the streets by seamen who had contributed to the splendid victories obtained by Howe, Jervis, and Duncan. Appropriate sermons were preached on the occasion in the numerous churches of the realm; and the day was closed with general festivity.

A. D. 1798. As the French, in the infancy of their republic, had promoted the public cause by voluntary contributions, the subjects of Great-Britain now followed the example of patriotic liberality. Not only the nobles and the gentry, but the lower orders of the community, gave different sums for the service of the state. Even many of those who disapproved the war, and considered the public money as wantonly mis-spent, sent to the treasury a portion of their savings. From an opulent nation, it might have been expected that the contributions would have been more ample than they were; but, if the enormity of concomitant taxation be considered, the donations will not appear trifling.

The redemption of the land-tax was another new scheme of Mr. Pitt. A more correct and honorable financier would have endeavoured to equalise that impost; but, because the parliament had suffered it to remain unequal for so long a period, he seemed to think that it ought to continue so for ever. Although it was at first intended only for a temporary tax, he proposed that it should be rendered perpetual, and redeemed by the payment of stock. If the proprietor was unwilling to redeem it, any person was at liberty to purchase it. This plan, said the minister, would tend to maintain the credit of stock, by taking eighty millions from the capital, and would afford landed security in exchange for that of the funds[1].

The supplies which were deemed requisite for the year were about twenty-five millions and a half. As I have not usually mentioned the amount of the annual exactions, I merely state this *en passant*, to show the similarity of estimate between Great-Britain and France for the year 1798. Cretet, in enumerating the various exigencies of the republic, represented about twenty-five millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds sterling as necessary for the purposes of government and the prosecution of the war. Mr. Pitt, however, before the end of the session, demanded an additional sum of three millions.

The French had occasional recourse to Holland for pecuniary accommodation; but the Dutch were found less subservient than Gallic arrogance desired. It was therefore resolved, that the ties of fraternity should be so closely drawn as to include full dependence on the part of the Batavian republic. Military force was preferred, on this occasion, to the mildness of exhortation. Midderich, president of the Dutch convention, held a consultation

1 The scheme has been merely in progress from that time to the present day, as there are many landholders who are not convinced of it's advantages.

with some other partisans of the French directory; and orders were given for the arrest of six individuals belonging to the committee of foreign affairs. Twenty-one members of the national assembly were then expelled by a plurality of suffrages; and considerable changes were made among the administrative bodies. These violent proceedings were defended in an address to the public, as necessary for the frustration of the schemes of the Orange party. The *purified* assembly now commanded a new constitutional code to be prepared, resembling that which had been last framed for the French; and the people were constrained to acquiesce in these arrangements. In the following summer, some other changes took place. New directors of the government were appointed by the influence of the army; and the assembly underwent a new purification.

Jan. 22.

The attention of the Gallic directory was not confined to the territories bordering upon France: the pope's dominions were now subjected to equal or greater tyranny. The treaty imposed upon the pontiff in the preceding year by a revolutionary general, was an act of flagitious violence and shameless rapacity. Neither he nor his employers had any shadow of right thus to treat a sovereign pontiff or an independent prince. The seisure of the whole ecclesiastical state was such a sequel as might have been expected from French marauders; but no advocate of sound political morality can presume or pretend to justify it. A sense of gratitude would have prompted them, after they had seised three provinces, to secure the compliant pontiff in the possession of the remainder, and defend him against all attacks. But unprincipled ambition disdains to be guided by that vulgar quality. The overthrow of a long-established government was more suited to the revolutionary spirit; and a course of spoliation was more consistent with the ordinary practice of the directory.

After the peace of Tolentino, revolutionary opinions were propagated at Rome by disaffected citizens, some of whom were committed to prison. These offenders were released at the intercession of Joseph Bonaparte, who, being sent to that city as ambassador from the French republic, encouraged all mal-contents to prosecute their seditious schemes. Within the precinct allotted to him as a public minister (and therefore exempt from the control of the government), the populace began to assemble, and, after receiving French cockades and money, seised the arms that were kept in the guard-houses, and endeavoured to secure a bridge: but a patrole of horse, attacking the rioters, soon drove them back toward the ambassador's palace. He and his friends rushed out; and, as the cavalry fired upon the mob, a general officer named Duphot was killed. Joseph and his suite now retired from the ecclesiastical state; and the pope foresaw that this accident, notwithstanding every apology and offer of satisfaction on his part, would be made a pretence for hostility [2].

Instead of calling out the male adults for the defence of the country, his holiness seemed disposed to trust to spiritual arms. He ordered three of the most sacred reliques in the catholic establishment to be carried in pompous procession to St. Peter's church, and exhibited on the altar for eight days, that the people might venerate them with devout zeal, and implore the divine assistance amidst the solemnities of the Romish ritual and the effusions of a contrite heart. "These are our arms (said the pontiff), holy and pacific arms, because they inflict not death, but tend to procure eternal life for every one who will make a proper use of them, and not infrequently, even in this world, enable pious Christians to withstand violence and oppression."

2 Duppa's Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government, section 1.

Willing to try the effect of negotiation, the pope requested prince Belmontè, the Neapolitan minister at Rome, to treat with Berthier, whose approach was dreaded. The general promised due respect to the papal government, and declared that he only intended to chastise the authors and abettors of the murder of Duphot. Deputies were soon after sent for the same purpose, but were not honored with an audience. A proclamation was now issued from the Vatican, desiring the people not to give the least cause of offence to the French, who had disclaimed all hostile intentions. The republican host, advancing to Rome, procured an immediate surrender of the castle of St. Angelo, took possession of all the gates of the city, and detained some cardinals and nobles, as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the inhabitants, and for the grant of pecuniary aid and general relief to the foreign troops.

Berthier, disregarding his promise, prepared to abolish the papal government. An invitation being sent to him from his partisans in the city, he proceeded to the Capitoline Hill, and thus apostrophised some of those personages whose merits had ennobled the ancient republic. "Shades of Pompey, of Cato, of Brutus, of Cicero, of Hortensius! who so often on this spot defended the rights of the people, deign to receive the homage of Gallic freemen, who are come to re-establish the altars of liberty, erected by the first Brutus." He then, by a proclamation, restored the republic; declared it to be an independent state, under the especial protection of the French army; and sanctioned the provisional government which had been previously concerted between him and the chief mal-contents. The tree of liberty was planted before the statue of Marcus Aurelius, not amidst general acclamations, but only with the shouts of a small party of the natives[3].

Feb. 15.

[3] Duppa's Account, section 3.

The unfortunate Pius was celebrating the anniversary of his election to the pontifical dignity, when two officers entered the chapel in which he was enthroned, and announced the termination of his power. His Swiss guards were dismissed; and he was placed under the protection of republican soldiers. The cardinals were deprived of their authority and possessions, and were obliged to sing *Te Deum laudamus* for the change by which they were degraded and ruined[4].

The new government was exercised by seven native consuls, by whom six ministers of state and of justice were appointed. For the correction of the ancient code, and the formation of new laws, which, however, were not to be carried into effect without the concurrence of the French general, deputies were chosen by the inhabitants of the different provinces, in the proportion of one to every aggregate of thirty thousand persons. Rapine now became the order of the day. The Vatican was stripped of it's valuable contents; the churches were pillaged; and not only the effects of foreigners whose sovereigns were at war with France, were confiscated, but frequent and large contributions were exacted from the natives.

The pope did not long remain in the seat of his power, a witness to the tyranny of the invaders of his country. The French pretended that it was his wish to retire from the Roman territories: but, if he could have enjoyed peace and comfort at home, he would not have emigrated. He was escorted to Sienna, whence he was removed to a monastery near Florence.

In the mean time, many of the French officers and soldiers, not profiting as they expected by the spoils of Rome, disavowed all participation in the rapine which had dishonored the French name, and, affirming that the mi-

4 The pope's nephews, cardinal Braschi and the duke, escaped, by seasonable absence, that personal violence which they had cause to apprehend.

litary chest was full of treasure, demanded from the general an immediate discharge of all arrears of pay. They also protested against the nomination of Massena to the chief command, on the departure of Berthier. Encouraged by this discontent in the army, a body of the inhabitants, disgusted at the conduct of the French, attacked them near the Tiber, but without effect. Other desultory assaults were made, not only in the city, but also in the Campagna di Roma. Many of the French were killed; but the slaughter was more considerable among the insurgents; and, to deter the people from a repetition of such attacks, twenty-nine of those who were taken were put to death for rebelling against the constituted authorities[5].

The troops being pacified by the payment of a part of their arrears, and by the appointment of general St.-Cyr to supersede Massena, the ceremony of *fédération* took place. On a temporary altar, in the piazza of St. Peter, the consuls swore eternal hatred to monarchy, and fidelity to the republic. The soldiers, raising their hats in the air on the points of their bayonets, unanimously vowed attachment to the new government; and the day was closed with festivity. Some alterations were then made in the constitution. Two assemblies were formed, one consisting of thirty-two senators, the other of seventy-two tribunes: but the French general still exercised the supreme power.

The rulers of France also interfered in the government of Switzerland. At the commencement of the French revolution, the cantons were in a tranquil state; but it could not be expected that the doctrines of liberty and equality, propagated among the inhabitants by French emissaries, would be wholly unimpressive. In the cantons of Zurich and Basle, the peasants, not having any share in the government, or in the elections to the coun-

5 Duppa, section 6 and 7.

cils, listened with pleasure to revolutionary tenets, and claimed an equality of privilege with the burghers; and, in the Pays de Vaud, the gentry and citizens, not thinking themselves sufficiently favored by the rulers of Berne and Fribourg, began to be clamorous for a change. The different governments rather fostered the rising spirit by mildness, than checked it by severity. It did not, however, for some years, produce any serious disturbances. When a war had arisen between the French and the Austrians, the Swiss resolved to observe a strict neutrality; and, after the great extension of the war, they adhered to their resolution, at a time when the allies were of opinion that the aid of the cantons might be particularly useful to the common cause,—that is, when Lyons and Toulon were in a state of insurrection. Complaints were made, both by the French and Austrians, of infractions of neutrality on the part of the Swiss: but these charges were ill-founded. The French loudly repeated the accusation, when, having concluded peace with the emperor, they had an opportunity of executing a scheme which they had formed against the independence of the Helvetic state. Mengaud was then sent into Switzerland as representative of the powerful republic; and he gave open encouragement to all who wished for a change of government.

The discontents in the Pays de Vaud furnished an additional pretence for the interference of the directory. The people claimed the right of having an annual assembly of the states, by virtue of the treaty of cession between the duke of Savoy and the cantons of Berne and Fribourg, which had been guarantied by Charles IX. of France. The directory promised to support this claim, and desired the two cantons to respect the rights of the Vaudese. The sovereign council of Berne sent commissioners to ascertain the causes and the extent of disaffection, and devise the means of checking it's progress; and,

when these delegates had made a favorable report, a general oath of allegiance was ordered to be taken. A great number of the Vaudese refused to give this testimony of obedience; and, at Vevay, a commotion arose, which produced the release of some mal-contents who had been imprisoned for sedition.

At Basle, where the incendiary Mengaud chiefly exerted himself, the tribune Ochs, Wernard Huber, a democratic apothecary, and other intriguers, formed a club of Friends of Liberty, and instigated the peasants of the canton to claim the "inalienable rights of men," and demand a new constitution. Some of the castles belonging to officers of the administration were destroyed or damaged by the insurgents, who imposed upon the state a provisional government, until the new system should be matured. "Thus (says a native historian of Switzerland) was Basle the first branch that dropped off from the venerable tree of the Helvetic confederacy, and gave an example which others soon followed with as much levity as infatuation[6]."

In the territory of Zurich, Bodmer and other mal-contents insisting upon a redress of grievances, the supreme council consented to the convocation of an assembly of one hundred persons, for the purposes of reform; and articles of government were soon drawn up, which, after various alterations, served for a time to amuse the people. In the cantons of Lucerne and Schaffhausen, new modes of administration also took place; and, at Soleure, approaches were made to the French system, after strong opposition from the privileged orders.

To Berne, the most powerful of the cantons, the eyes of all were now directed. It's administrators, sensible of the general danger, issued a decree for arming the whole Helvetic nation, as the French threatened the country

[6] Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy, book ii. chap. 10.

with a formidable invasion. In the mean time, colonel Weiss was sent to tranquillise and reclaim the Pays de Vaud; but his exertions had no effect in allaying the revolutionary spirit. The disaffected, increasing in number, seised the public funds, and requested Menard, who commanded a French army on the frontiers, to assist them in the expulsion of the Bernese troops. An adjutant being dispatched to desire the retreat of Weiss, two hussars who accompanied the messenger were killed in a fray, in which they were the aggressors. Menard, however, accusing the Swiss of aggression, invaded the Pays, from which the Bernese retired.

Vainly hoping to divert the French from their scheme, the chief council of Berne, among other concessions, promised to assimilate the government of the canton to that of the great republic. Mengaud, not satisfied with this promise, required the immediate appointment of a provisional council, from which the present rulers should be excluded, and proposed for all the cantons a new constitution, purely democratic. To enforce this change, general Brune assumed the command of the army in the Pays de Vaud; and, while he waited for an accession of force, he amused with idle promises the deputies sent to him from Berne.

As no confidence could be reposed in the specious professions of the French, d'Erlach, the Bernese general, concurred with other leading men in the expediency of anticipating, by a speedy attack, the obvious intentions of Brune. A plan of nocturnal assault was formed; but the council, intimidated by the preparations of the enemy, and apprehending a want of support from the generality of the cantons, revoked the full powers which had been granted to the military commander, and even acquiesced in Brune's requisition of a surrender of it's authority. That general demanding also a dismission of the troops, the council receded from it's late votes, and adopted

the plan of attack: but, when Brune had prolonged a truce which he had granted, the council revoked the orders of hostility.

Gallic arts had already been employed with success in weakening the attachment of the troops at Berne to the government, exciting unfavorable opinions of their officers, and undermining the spirit of loyalty and patriotism. D'Erlach endeavoured, with little effect, to restore confidence and subordination. While he was thus employed, he was informed that his wings, which were far apart, had been attacked by the faithless enemy, and that the castle of Dronach had also been invested. At Lengnau, about nine hundred Swiss bravely defended themselves against more than seven thousand five hundred French, who, having at length overpowered the gallant party, advanced to Soleure, and compelled the commandant to surrender the place, not without a favorable capitulation, which, however, was not strictly observed. By another French corps, the outposts of Fribourg were surprised; and a breach was made in the wall. The Bernese part of the garrison, perceiving the weakness of the fortifications, and finding the magistrates indisposed to a vigorous resistance, marched out of the town; and a new government was framed by those citizens who wished for a reform, while the French seised the arms and public stores.

The insubordination of the Bernese army now rose to the height of mutiny. Some battalions retired from the service: others refused to oppose the invaders; and a retrograde march ensued. The council renewed the order for a general assumption of arms: but, as the decree was not productive of an efficient force, the members abdicated their stations; and a provisional regency, formed by a hasty popular election, began to act. Two divisions of the retiring army murdered their chief officers; and then, at one of the disputed posts, fought with distinguished courage.

At Newenech, the Swiss repelled the enemy, March 5.
and slew many more than they lost. They also acted with spirit at St. Gines and Laupen: but, at their pass of Grauholtz, the conflict was more particularly obstinate. Resistance, however, proved fruitless. The French pressed forward with an overwhelming majority of number, and, in the vicinity of Berne, massacred women and children in their fury[7].

Berne was now surrendered by the terrified inhabitants; the tree of liberty was planted; and new magistrates were nominated. Brune seised the treasure of the state, and found ample spoils of every description. He disarmed the people, that they might not again resist his countrymen; and domineered over the humbled state.

The small canton of Uri, and four others, considering their governments as sufficiently democratic, entered into a league against all innovation. That of Appenzel acceded, but not cordially, to the association. The confederates sent a declaration of their sentiments to general Brune, who replied that the French had no intention of molesting them, but merely expected that they would acquiesce in the new form of government, intended for the Helvetic nation. Although the latter part of the answer was not strictly consonant with the former, the meaning of the whole was evident.

The new constitution was prepared at Paris, not framed, as it ought to have been, by the wisdom and patriotism of the Swiss. By this plan, twenty-two departments were formed: four senators and eight counsellors were to be deputed, by each of those divisions, to act in a legislative capacity; and five executive directors were to be periodically chosen by the legislature. Only ten departments

7 D'Erlach escaped from the field, but was assassinated by some of his countrymen, who suspected him (apparently without cause) of treachery.

April 12. sent representatives to Aarau; and these were induced to confirm the French organisation of the Helvetic government.

Geneva, long the independent ally of the cantons, had obtained the advantages of a reform, early in the year 1789, by the spirit of the people. Amidst the effervescence excited by the incipient spirit of freedom in France, many of the citizens wished for an entire repeal of the system ordained in 1782; but others only desired a modification of it. Each party agreed to a sacrifice of some claims; and the constitution was so far altered as to form a reasonable medium between the systems of 1768 and 1782. The influence of the French directory, however, now procured from the Genevans a dereliction of their independence; and the state was incorporated with France.

The declared intentions of the French directory to form all the cantons into *one indivisible republic*, with an uniform constitution, became a signal of war to the people of Schwitz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glarus. The representatives of these cantons having in vain (in an appeal to the directory) denied the necessity of a reform of their governments, which had already a strong tincture of democracy, recourse was had to arms. The French commissioner Le-Carlier, in a formal address, vindicated the new constitution; and Schauenbourg denounced vengeance against it's opposers. The people declared that it should not be forced upon them: "We will not submit (they said) to a foreign yoke: we acknowlege no other master than God." A council of war was formed at Schwitz, to which the four other cantons sent deputies; but those of Uri were soon recalled. Military preparations were made with diligence; yet the number of combatants did not exceed 10,000. With this small force the confederate leaders resolved

to act offensively against the French: but the troops of Unterwalden were previously desirous of reducing the upper part of their canton, which had submitted to the dictates of France. The inhabitants of this territory, however, to avoid civil war, now agreed to join in the patriotic league.

The allies advanced in three divisions with alacrity. The central body, under Aloys Reding, approaching the borders of the canton of Lucerne, received promises of assistance from the people; and, thus encouraged, demanded a surrender of the chief town. The inhabitants having complied with the requisition, the tree of liberty was thrown down, and the arsenal pillaged. This success was transitory; for, as soon as intelligence arrived of the operations of the French, who had reduced the canton of Zug, the confederates hastened from Lucerne to the defence of Schwitz; of the inhabitants of which canton, the centre was principally composed. By this attention to the safety of a particular canton, the general cause was injured. April 29.

The right wing having reached the vicinity of the lake of Zurich, an engagement occurred, in which the Swiss fought with spirit, but were put to flight. The majority of the troops of this division, soon after the action, avoided farther hostilities by dispersion.

Advancing to Lachen, the French threatened to reduce Schwitz to speedy obedience. Aloys Reding exhorted the people not to despair, but to trust to their swords for safety. At Schindellegi, they bravely defended themselves: but, when the imbecility or the treachery of Herzog, the rector of Einsiedlen, to whose guidance the inhabitants and their neighbours weakly trusted, had laid open that town and the defiles of Mount Ezel to the enemy, they were obliged to fall back to Rothenthurm, where Reding waited for an opportunity of action. Near Morgarten, where Swiss valor had formerly been dis-

played with decisive effect, two engagements took place, to the advantage of the confederates, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers. Other conflicts, however, were not so favorable as to animate their hopes; and they were therefore induced to desire an armistice, that an accommodation might be adjusted with the French. A general assembly was holden at Schwitz; and the result was a determination to accept the new Helvetic constitution. Deputies being sent to announce this vote to Schauenbourg, with a proviso that life, religion, and property, should be secured, a capitulation was amicably signed. The other democratic cantons acquiesced in similar terms; and tranquillity was thus restored [8].

Commotions, however, arose from indignant discontent, after an interval of seeming acquiescence. A general oath (required by the new constitution) being rejected by the people, in the lower division of the canton of Unterwalden, as an encroachment on their rights, Schauenbourg led a considerable army to enforce obedience. The number of opposing warriors scarcely exceeded fifteen hundred: but, as they were inspired with the most determined courage, they did not shrink from the unequal conflict. They entrenched themselves near the lake of Lucerne, with their wives and children; while the enemy, by different *routes*, advanced to the attack [9]. Two columns of the assailants were repelled; but the Swiss could not prevent them from forcing the entrenchments. Even the women now rushed among the hostile battalions, and fought with the rage of despair: the robust mountaineers actually pressed Frenchmen to death in their arms: clubs were used by those who had no

8 Zschokke's History of the Invasion of Switzerland by the French, and the Destruction of the Democratical Republics of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, part iii. chapts. 6, &c.

9 On the 9th of September.

musquets; and some even armed themselves with limbs from the bodies which overspread the field. Enraged at this fierce resistance, the invaders wreaked their vengeance in horrible massacres. They slew all whom they met in the valley of Stantz, of both sexes and every age. They then plundered and burned the chief town and the villages; thus destroying the works of man, after they had mangled the image of God. A gallant party, arriving at this instant from the canton of Schwitz, furiously attacked the desolating barbarians; of whom more than five hundred are said to have fallen by the hands of two hundred, before the latter were overpowered[10].

Such was the melancholy termination of the contest for the independence of Switzerland. A generous and magnanimous nation would have abstained from all attempts to new-model the internal government of the cantons, or alter the system of the confederacy. The Swiss had, indeed, less experience than the French in the art of framing constitutions; but they could not easily have less judgement. The different governments were not so hostile to reform as to afford even a pretext for the interference of any foreign nation; and the *charlatanerie* of the French promised less real improvement than the advice of any other people.

The attack of Malta and the expedition to Egypt were equally unjustifiable with the invasion of Switzerland. Hompesch was then sovereign of the Maltese territories, being the first grand-master ever chosen from the German class. His first care, after his elevation, was to improve the favorable opinion conceived of the fraternity by the Russian emperor, who had considerably augmented the revenues of the grand priory and commanderies in that part of Poland which his mother had seised. Having ratified the convention signed for this

10 Zschokke's History, part iv. chap. 1, 2, &c.

and other purposes, the grand-master sent an ambassador to Petersburg, to confer the ensigns of the order on Paul and his family, and declare him it's protector. This prince engaged to support the establishment with all his influence at foreign courts, and sent orders for that purpose to his envoys. But the hostile malignity of the French baffled the views of the friends of Malta. The seisure of the revenues of the Maltese order, in France and it's dependencies, did not satisfy Gallic rapacity, or allay that disgust with which the votaries of democracy viewed an association of nobles. The conquest of the island had for some time been meditated; and for this act of violence an opportunity was afforded, when an armament was prepared for a descent on the coast of Egypt.

In returning from the Levant to take the command of the grand fleet, Brueys stopped at Malta, and, with treacherous views, assumed an appearance of neutrality. He sent a ship of the line into the port of Valetta to be repaired; a service in which the natives readily assisted. In the mean time, the seamen in chaloupes were sounding the coasts, and Caruson, the French consul, was employed in propagating disaffection to the government. After these preparatives, the French admiral sailed away, intimating his satisfaction and professing amity. He found the island apparently in a good state of defence; but he trusted to the efficacy of artifice and corruption.

When the first division of the French armament appeared before Malta, declarations of friendship were renewed; and surprise was expressed at the grand-master's preparations for resistance. On the approach of the remainder, Bonaparte requested the free entry of the harbour and full liberty of landing. Caruson was sent by the council of state to intimate that these requests could not be granted with a due regard to the laws of the

country; and he took this opportunity of informing the Corsican, that he might depend on the assistance of four thousand Maltese, who would rise against the knights as soon as the French should give the signal by throwing a bomb into the town [11].

Having received permission for only four vessels to enter at a time for the purpose of procuring water, Bonaparte complained of the inattention of the grand-master to those principles of hospitality which formed the basis of the order, and, referring also to a proclamation issued in 1793 by the Maltese government, which prohibited all intercourse with the French republic, he declared that he would substitute force for the moderation which he had intended to practise. He now ordered his troops to make a descent at seven different points. Fort St. George was instantly surrendered by it's pusillanimous or rather treacherous commandant; and some other fortifications were quickly seised by the invaders, who ranged over the country, with the disaffected inhabitants, committing depredations and outrages. Many of the knights had been seduced from their allegiance: the soldiery and the people were in a state of insubordination: the grand-master, even if he had been perfectly well disposed, could not enforce obedience; and uproar and confusion prevailed. Some attempts were made, however, to harass the enemy both by sea and land. The French smiled at these efforts, and continued with alacrity to seise one post after another. In the mean time, the populace in the city attacked the knights, and murdered four of them; and the weakness of the government appeared in the difficulty with which this insurrection was quelled. On the following day the riots were renewed; and dissensions rose to such a height that the armed natives even shot each other [12]. June 10.

11 History of Malta, by Louis de Boisgelin, book iii. chap. 5.

12 Boisgelin's History of Malta, book iii. chap. 5, 6.

The mal-contents had not yet admitted the French into the city; but, in the evening, they rushed toward the palace, disclaimed all submission to the grand-master or the assembly of the states, and declared that they would immediately submit to the French. The council now sent deputies to propose an armistice; and, the next day, a capitulation was signed, importing that Malta, with the isles of Goza and Cumino, should be subject to the French republic; that the privileges and property of the inhabitants should be secured; that the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt should endeavour to procure, for the grand-master, a principality equivalent to that which he now lost; that the interest of the knights, in point of honorable maintenance, should also be promoted by the French, as far as their influence with different powers might extend; and that all civil acts or ordinances promulgated under the late government should still remain in force [13].

These terms were soon violated by the French. The laws of the directory were substituted for those which had lately prevailed; and acts of tyranny and rapine were daily committed. The chief administrators of public affairs were Ransijat, a traitorous knight, and St. Jean d'Angeli, a French commissary. The people were enslaved by their pretended protectors: many were compelled to join the French army or serve in the fleet: the knights were driven from the island; and the political scene assumed a new aspect.

When the French resumed their voyage, general Vaubois was left with four thousand men to garrison the Maltese forts. A tax imposed for the support of the foreign troops increased the discontent which had been produced by the rigors of the new government; and, when the treasures of one of the churches in the old city were on the point of being sold by auction, a tumult arose, which

13 Boisgelin, book iii. chap. 6.

proved fatal to Masson, the commandant, and about sixty of the soldiers. The insurrection spread over the country; and, except the capital, the whole island was in a state of hostility to it's late conquerors.

Bonapartè, not being discovered by the English on his way, arrived safely on the African coast with the spoils of Malta. The sight of Egypt animated the hopes of the aspiring general. Having given orders respecting the disembarkation, he sprang into a boat, and boldly led the way. No opposition was made to the landing of the French; but, in their march from the isle of Marabout to Alexandria, they were harassed by desultory attacks. When they were within cannot-shot of the walls, the proposal of a friendly conference was answered, July 2. on the part of the garrison and the inhabitants, by shouts of war, and by acts of hostility. They knew that the European general would offer them his *protection;* but they were not disposed to accept an offer which would involve their subjection to an odious yoke. The invaders soon scaled the walls, and, having overpowered the resistance of the troops and the people, took inhuman vengeance for the justifiable opposition which they had sustained. They perpetrated an indiscriminate massacre, in a place which they had no right to enter. Even the mosques did not repress their fury: those temples were not suffered to afford protection to the infirmity of age, the weakness of sex, or the engaging tenderness of childhood[14].

Having provided for the retention of Alexandria, and sent instructions to the admiral to moor the fleet in the bay of Aboukir, the general prepared for more important conquests. Desaix led one division across the desert; and in this march the soldiers suffered severely

14 Intercepted Letters from the Army of Bonapartè in Egypt, part i.

from hunger, thirst, and fatigue. When the Mamelouks pressed upon them, the main body opportunely arrived to support them. The assailants were now beaten off, and were afterwards routed at Shebrissa.

Morad, an enterprising Mamelouk, who, with the bey Ibrahim, had the chief management of affairs in Egypt, had levied a considerable force, with which he posted himself at Embaba. Bonapartè, having a superiority in point of number, did not decline the combat. His opponents rushed, with eagerness and alacrity, upon the French right; and, not dismayed by the effects of a steady fire from more disciplined ranks, continued to advance. The bayonet at length checked their impetuosity, and pierced the most forward of their number. Another part of the French army attacked the village, and forced the entrenchments. The Mamelouks were thus defeated, with small loss on the part of the victors, who found rich spoils in the camp. Morad now became a fugitive: Ibrahim and the pasha of Grand Cairo also fled from immediate danger; and the inhabitants of that capital relinquished all thoughts of defence[15].

July 21.

As Ibrahim was known to be employed in augmenting his army, Bonapartè, after a hasty organisation of Cairo, marched against him. His advanced guard skirmished with the rear; but he could not prevent the escape of the bey to the confines of Syria. While he was engaged in this expedition, he was alarmed with intelligence of the maritime success of the English.

Keeping a vigilant eye over the preparations and movements of the French, the British monarch hoped to chastise their presumption, if they should venture to contend with the masters of the sea.

Not wishing to meet a foe in the voyage, they had

15 Précis des Evenemens Militaires.

taken a course by which they expected to elude an attack. They had passed by the way of Candia, and reached Egypt after Nelson had in vain searched for them on that coast. A subsequent search was more fortunate to the English, who, gladdened with a sight of the republican fleet, eagerly hastened to an engagement, without the least doubt of triumphing over all the difficulties presented by the situation and arrangements of the enemy. Nelson was bold, active, and enterprising; and his courage was accompanied with skill and judgement. He was warmly attached to the maritime service, zealous for the honor of Great-Britain, and ever ready to attack her enemies, particularly the French revolutionists. Rodney, Howe, and Duncan, could not always command the cordial co-operation of their officers; but Nelson seemed to infuse his own spirit into the hearts of all the captains who served under him. His name and example seemed to rouse and to animate every individual in his fleet.

There was no striking disparity between the naval force commanded by Brueys and that of Nelson: but the French admiral had the advantage in other respects, being apparently well stationed and secured on the land-side. The English, if they had been in similar circumstances, would in all probability have repelled, without difficulty, a very vigorous attack. The assailants broke the French line: three ships were soon taken, and, after an engagement of four hours, l'Orient, a ship of uncommon magnitude, blew up, with the loss of the major part of the crew. The result of farther conflict was the capture or destruction of all the hostile fleet, except four ships, two of which were only frigates. Besides the flag-ship of the unfortunate Brueys, who fell in the heat of the action, the Timoleon blew up, being set on fire by her own captain; and a frigate was also destroyed, even after a surrender, by

Aug. 1.

the orders of it's commander. In addition to the three former prizes, six sail of the line were captured. This memorable triumph established, beyond all competition, the fame of the British navy [16].

It is, at the same time, necessary to state, that several instances of misfortune, on the part of Great-Britain, occurred in this year. In the Belgic territory, after the destruction of some canal-sluices and small craft, eleven hundred and fifty British soldiers were reduced to a situation similar to that of the troops at St. Cas (forty years before), and, after a spirited action, were constrained to surrender. In the West-Indies, our countrymen were also unsuccessful; for, at the end of a fifth campaign in Hispaniola, they left the island to the divided domination of the negro Toussaint, the mulatto Rigaud, and the French.

Some compensation for this loss accrued to the English in the Mediterranean. Minorca was invaded; and a bloodless conquest was achieved: such was the pusillanimity of the enemy.

While the British nation exulted in the victory obtained by Nelson, the alarm, which had arisen from a rebellion in Ireland, also yielded to emotions of joy. Although the catholics of that realm had been indulged with the removal of various incapacities ordained by former laws, they were not content while they thought themselves entitled by their loyalty to farther concessions. Some bold mal-contents who had imbibed jacobinical principles, inflamed the disgust of those sectaries, and entered into associations of general reform.

Aware of their machinations, the vice-regal cabinet had recourse to strong measures, which, however, did not extinguish the growing evil. After the arrest of Dr. Mac-Nevin and other revolutionists, the flame of rebellion broke out [17]. Naas was attacked, but was effec-

16 Charnock's Life of Lord Nelson. 17 On the 24th of May.

tually defended. The garrison of Prosperous did not so well resist the rebels: but, near Dunlavin and in other parts, they were routed with loss. Catherlogh was a scene of horror; for four hundred of their party were there encompassed and massacred. In the province of Ulster, the insurrection was soon quelled, chiefly by a victory at Ballinahinch: but, in the south-eastern parts of Leinster, rebellious efforts were not quelled without difficulty. The loyal troops were on some occasions repelled: yet, in general, they prevailed by superiority of arms and discipline. At New-Ross, the mal-contents suffered severely; for, in a fruitless assault upon that town, fifteen hundred of their companions (some accounts greatly increase the number) lost their lives. A body of the fugitives wreaked their vengeance on the royalists who had previously been captured, of whom about two hundred were murdered. A still greater number of captives were massacred at other times. At length, the head-quarters of the rebel host, near Enniscorthy, were forced; and the army then dwindled into small parties, whose outrages gradually subsided. Some of the leaders and most active rebels were tried, and put to death; and not a few were suffered to emigrate. Above one thousand French, landing in the north-west of Ireland, routed an opposing force in two engagements: but they were constrained to surrender on the approach of a formidable army. The Irish who had joined them were defeated; and the vigilance of sir John Warren, by the capture of the greater part of a French fleet, prevented the farther attempts of the enemy to inflame the spirit of rebellion.

Still intent upon war, Mr. Pitt took advantage of the animating effects of Nelson's triumph, and promoted a new league against the French. The Russians now took arms, and quickly reduced Cephalonia and other islands which the French had wrested from the Venetians. They were aided in this expedition even by the Turks. The

grand signor had hitherto observed, with little emotion, the progress of the revolutionary *mania* in France. He did not think that it would have any effect in shaking the fidelity of his people; and, therefore, he quietly suffered the thunder to roar at a distance. But, when the French, with a wanton spirit of conquest and rapine, had presumed to revolutionise a country over which the Porte claimed dominion, Selim admitted the propriety of the advice offered by the British court, and resolved to oppose the violators of the rights of nations.

A British subsidy was granted to the czar in the next session; and, to increase the means of hostility, the late assessment was so altered as to be rendered equivalent, in every instance, to a tithe of income. Depending before on the style of living, it was, in many cases, much less than that proportion.

The new king of Prussia, Frederic William II., was so studious of neutrality, that he turned a deaf ear to the earnest solicitations of the British cabinet: but the emperor Francis was easily persuaded to prepare for a new war. The French directory did not shrink from the danger, but rather courted it.

His Neapolitan majesty had been stimulated by his queen and ministers to re-enter into the war; and their immediate object was the subversion of the new Roman government, the principles of which, they assured him, were incompatible with the security of his monarchy. He invaded, with a numerous army, the territories lately belonging to the church, but met with only a temporary success; for Championet, soon afterward, defeated several divisions of the Neapolitan host, and recovered Rome, which Ferdinand and general Mack had seised. The French now advanced to Gaeta, which, though defensible, did not withstand them. Capua was besieged for ten days, and was then surrendered by prince Pignatelli, who, when the terrified king had

A. D. 1799.

fled to Palermo, acted as regent. The loyal populace of Naples, and the rustics, attacked the enemy between Capua and that city, but were defeated with severe loss; and the metropolis submitted to the French yoke.

In the extended plan of hostility formed by the directory, the first object was to obtain possession of the Grison territory, that a communication might be preserved with Germany. Massena advanced for that purpose, and, crossing the Rhine near Baltozers, obstructed all communication with Feldkirch, which he had ordered Oudinot to attack, while Demont took measures for the expulsion of general Offenberg from Coire. Unassisted by Hotze, who was fully employed at Feldkirch, or by the Grisons themselves, who forbore to take arms on the occasion, Offenberg was surrounded in his post, and, after a gallant defence, was obliged to surrender. Repeated assaults were made upon the entrenchments of Hotze, as preludes to the operations of Jourdan; but the French were repulsed in each attempt with considerable loss. Jourdan, weary of fruitless expectation, attacked the advanced guard of the archduke's army, and posted himself on the heights of Ostrach. A part of his force, being assailed by Charles, made a resolute defence, but could not maintain it's station. At other posts, warm conflicts also arose, to the disadvantage of the French, of whom twenty-five hundred were killed or wounded. The Austrians were still more successful in the battle of Stockach. Jourdan says, that March 25. he had only thirty-four thousand men, on this occasion, to cope with about eighty thousand; but, though the archduke had certainly a superiority of number, the difference was far from being so considerable as the French general represents it to have been. The efforts of Soult and St.-Cyr were so well directed, that the French made great progress, and nearly drove the Austrians from the shelter of the woods between Liebtingen and Stockach. Charles

advanced, with a numerous body, to support his retiring troops, and gave a new turn to the battle. Jourdan claimed the victory without sufficient grounds; for it was obviously gained by the archduke, but not without the death, wounds, or captivity, of about five thousand men.

The army, sent by the emperor Paul beyond the Alps to act against the French, reached the Veronese in the spring, under the command of count Souvoroff. On the approach of this distinguished general, Moreau, who expected reinforcements from various quarters, entrenched his army on the right bank of the Adda. The count, having reduced Bergamo, advanced toward the river, with a combined army of Russians and Austrians, to force a passage. The post of Lecco was stormed: that of Brivio proved only a trifling obstacle. At Trezzo, a bridge was hastily formed, and the allies dislodged general Serrurier's division: but the retiring republicans, being supported by fresh battalions, rallied, and nearly turned the right flank of their adversaries. Another column, having opportunely crossed the river, charged with the bayonet, and relieved the endangered corps. Driven successively from Pozzo and Veprio, Serrurier and the remains of his force were constrained to become prisoners of war. General Melas forced the entrenchments of a canal near Cassano, attacked a fortified bridge, and triumphantly conducted his whole division over the Adda to Gorgonzelo. The routed enemy, of whose number about ten thousand were killed or wounded, fled toward Milan, whence the major part retreated into the Genoese territories, while Moreau hastened into Piedmont to quell commotions which had arisen at Turin, and improve the defensibility of the citadel[18].

April 27.

On the death of Victor Amadeus III.[19] his son Charles

18 Précis des Evénemens Militaires, 1799.—Vienna Gazette of May 6.

19 In the year 1796.

Emanuel IV. had ascended the tottering throne, at a time when the Piedmontese had recovered, but in an imperfect degree, the blessing of peace. He was soon compelled, by the domineering enemies of his father, to enter into an alliance with them, and resign himself in a great measure to their control. Sanguinary disturbances were excited in his dominions by the partisans of France; and the encroachments of the Ligurian republic also involved him in hostilities. On pretence of friendship and protection, the directory desired him to admit a French garrison into the citadel of Turin. He complied with the requisition; but his acquiescence only served to encourage farther insults; and he was at length obliged to relinquish the sovereignty of Piedmont, and retire into Sardinia[20]. The grand duke of Tuscany was still less fortunate; for the French deprived him of all his territories.

The Austrians continued to act with courage and zeal. The archduke having ordered a general attack upon the French line, with a view of penetrating into the Grison country, the posts in the Lower Engadin were so fiercely assaulted by Bellegarde, that the success of the Austrians seemed to be almost certain; but Lecourbe and his brave associates at length compelled them to retreat. Hotze attacked the fort of Lucien-Steig, while numerous bodies of Swiss and Grisons surprised Dissentis and Hantz. He failed in the attempt, and lost nearly the whole regiment of Orange by slaughter or captivity. Menard advanced against the Swiss, and dispersed their army, after killing about two thousand of them. Soult was likewise successful against the armed peasants near Schweitz and at Alt-dorff.

While Massena was providing for his defence in Switzerland, after he had received intelligence of the progress

20 In December, 1798.

of the allies in Italy, Hotze renewed his attack upon Lucien-Steig, and gained possession of that key of the Valley of the Grisons. Bellegarde then drove the enemy from Richenau and Coire; and the grand line of defence formed by Massena was pierced in all parts. The shock was felt from the lake of Constance to mount St. Gothard.

May 14.

No important conflict occurred between Souvoroff and any of the French generals, for some weeks subsequent to the battle of Cassano: but Kray, three days after that engagement, distinguished himself by a victory near Verona. He was attacked by Scherer, who hoped to meet with better success than had attended his exertions at Porto-Legnago, where he had been repelled with no small loss. The French passed the Adige in force, and gained some advantages: but they received a serious check from the cool valor of the Austrians, who slew or captured about three thousand men. In the following week, Kray was again victorious; for, in the well-contested battle of Magnano, the French were totally routed and their number suffered a great diminution.

While Souvoroff remained in the Milanese, superintending divided operations and detached sieges, Moreau occupied a strong camp between Valenza and Alessandria, and was supported by the strength of Casal and of Verua. The field-marshal repeatedly endeavoured to draw him into an engagement. He sent a Russian detachment to break the French line; but Grenier and Victor repelled the assailants. He ordered Wuckassovich and other able officers to attack the chief posts; and, the camp being thus opened, Moreau retired to Coni, not without recovering that communication with Genoa which had been interrupted by insurrections of the peasants. The citadels of Alessandria and Turin were now invested; and that of Milan was taken after nineteen days of regular siege.

May 24.

Mantua, which had been for some time besieged, was left by general Kray under a blockade; and he proceeded to take measures for obstructing the retreat of Macdonald's army, then in the Tuscan territories. Victor was detached by Moreau to meet this officer, and assist him in opening a passage; and the commander-in-chief advanced toward Savona, intending, as soon as he could enter into a close concert with Macdonald, to risque a general engagement with Souvoroff. Taking the route of Modena from Tuscany, the French met the division of general Hohenzollern; and a fierce conflict ensued, in which Macdonald was wounded; but his troops repelled the foe, and nearly destroyed the rear-guard in the pursuit. He then marched to Parma, and, hastening to the Po, attacked the citadel of Placentia.

The progress of Macdonald alarmed Souvoroff, who became sensible of the danger of a junction between that active commander and Moreau. He ordered his whole disposable force to assemble between Tortona and Placentia; and both armies were soon so near each other, that an engagement occurred, in which the divisions of Ott and Frolich maintained their ground until the field-marshal arrived with a strong body of Russians, and compelled the French to retire. On the two following days, the battle was renewed, and the whole plain, from the fort of San-Giovanni to Placentia, was covered with the bodies of unfortunate men, who had not sufficient interest in the war to urge them to risque their lives, if they had been left to the operations of their own free will. In these conflicts, about six thousand were killed or wounded on each side; and, of the French, above nine thousand were made prisoners [21].

June 17.

The republicans, who retreated in good order, were pursued for three days by Souvoroff; but, hearing that

21 London Gazette.—Précis, &c.

Moreau had obtained an advantage over Bellegarde, he then returned to the south-westward, to check the career of his vigilant antagonist. The citadel of the Piedmontese capital being now reduced, he had an opportunity of strengthening his army with a considerable part of the besieging corps; and, being reinforced from other quarters, he marched with fifty thousand men toward Tortona, while Moreau hastened from Novi to secure himself in the Genoese territories.

Some spirited engagements had in the mean time taken place in Switzerland. The Austrians, in their way to Zurich, were exposed to frequent attacks; but they boldly advanced, and, out-flanking Massena, constrained him to take a new station behind the Glatt, from which, however, he soon removed to an entrenched camp in front of Zurich. The archduke approached that strong position, and assaulted the out-works. He then attacked the whole line, which was defended from the dawn to the close of day. About six thousand men were killed or wounded on both sides. Massena, slowly retiring, entrenched himself near the lake of Zug; and Zurich became the head-quarters of the Austrian prince, who, after this success, sent his whole left wing to strengthen the army of Souvoroff[22].

June 4.

The reduction of fortresses now employed the attention of the field-marshal. Alessandria was at length surrendered to him, when the besiegers were preparing for a general assault. He ordered Kray to prosecute the siege of Mantua with additional vigor. Some of the exterior posts were taken by storm: Fort St. George was abandoned by the garrison; and the body of the place was in serious danger, when general Latour consented to capitulate. Souvoroff earnestly wished to add Tortona to his conquests, before he should risque another

July 28.

22 London Gazette of June 21.—Précis, &c.

general action: but Joubert, who, in consequence of a political change at Paris, had been ordered to supersede Moreau, made such movements and dispositions as brought on an early engagement.

If Souvoroff had not suddenly marched back to the westward, Macdonald might have been precluded from an escape: but he effected his retreat into Tuscany, and returned to France, while his troops, passing by the way of Genoa, formed a junction with those of Moreau, and were stationed on the right by the new commander. St.-Cyr conducted that division against Souvoroff; and to Perignon the charge of the left wing was given. Near Novi, the battle commenced; and it had not long raged, when Joubert, animating the men by laconic speeches to vigorous exertions, received a ball in his heart. Moreau, who had taken the field as a volunteer, now resumed the command, and displayed his usual activity and courage. The right of the allies, commanded by Kray, recoiled twice from the rude shock of the foe, and made little impression upon the mountainous post which they assailed. The centre likewise found great difficulty in maintaining it's ground; and the superiority of the confederates in number did not seem likely to secure the victory. But the efforts of the left wing, under Melas, at length opened the way to a more flattering prospect. He ordered Frolich to turn the right flank of the French, and so opportunely and skilfully supported the movements of this officer, that the scheme was attended with complete success[23]. The endangered division fled; and the rest of the army soon joined in the retreat. About eight thousand of the republicans were killed or wounded, and four thousand captured; and, of the Austrians Aug. 15.

23 *Cette manœuvre* (says the author of the *Précis*) *décida la victoire*; and Souvoroff bore honorable testimony, on this occasion, to the merit of the Austrian general.

and Russians, six thousand lost their lives or were injured by wounds.

From this victory the confederates scarcely derived any other benefit than the acceleration of the surrender of Tortona. The vanquished army took a strong position in the Genoese territory, while the field-marshal hastened to the Tanaro, to observe the movements of Championet, who was endeavouring to unite the forces which he commanded near the Alps, with those of Moreau. Kray was detached with a considerable corps to co-operate with the archduke, whose left wing had been out-flanked by the address and perseverance of Lecourbe.

The success of the allies had been so dearly purchased, that the directors of the campaign resolved to try the effect of a new plan of operations. Switzerland was to be the grand scene of action, not for a combined army, but for the Russians under Souvoroff: Kray and Melas were to act in Italy with Austrian and Piedmontese troops; and, in Germany, the archduke was to be at the head of his brother's forces and those of the empire.

In executing the new arrangements, the allies were exposed to partial attacks, which they repelled with spirit. The Russians, defended by their own valor, and aided by the movements of Kray, reached the mountain of St. Gothard, and arrived safely in Switzerland. Korsakoff, who was not a very able general, had already appeared in that country with a fresh army of Muscovites, and stationed himself near the middle of a line extending from the Rhine to the lake of Wallenstadt. Massena resolved to attack this line before the arrival of Souvoroff; and the scheme was executed with courage and success. Hotze, whom the archduke had intrusted with the defence of Switzerland, was surprised near the Linth, and lost his life in the conflict. Petrasch, who succeeded to the command, could not prevent the troops from retreating in disorder. Korsakoff withstood the assailants for a

time; but he was at length defeated with great loss, and Zurich was taken by storm. Souvoroff was now advancing with his usual confidence, but met with spirited opposition in his progress. He was attacked by Lecourbe in the valley of Mutten; and, though he prevailed so far as to repel the enemy in some obstinate engagements, he found his progress obstructed by Massena's judgement and superior knowlege of the country.

Korsakoff, in the mean time, retired toward Schaffhausen, and Petrasch to Feldkirch, while the corps of Condé and the Bavarian troops posted themselves near Constance. The possession of that city was warmly contested: but, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke d'Enghien and general Bauer, it was seised and retained by the French. The field-marshal effected his retreat to Coire, and then proceeded to the borders of the lake of Constance, where his harassed troops found repose. His character was still high in the opinion of military men: but his ill success in Switzerland disgraced him in the eyes of the northern emperor[24].

In Germany, the operations, for some months after the battle of Stockach, were of inferior importance to those which I have recently described. General Muller acted in the Palatinate for the French republic, and kept in check the numerous levies of militia. The prince of Schwartzemburg supported the cause of Austria and the empire, and general Meerfeld acted on the same side without the distinction of extraordinary merit. The French seised Heidelberg, and bombarded Philipsburg, which, however, they could not reduce. About the close of the summer, the archduke marched into the Palatinate, stormed Neckerau and other posts, and dispossessed the French of Mannheim: but they re-took that city after his return toward Switzerland, and formed the blockade

24 Précis des Evénemens Militaires.

of Philipsburg. Prince Hohenlohe, by spirited attacks, obstructed their operations, and drove them from their works; but they prevailed in an assault upon the greater part of the hostile line, and resumed the blockade. General Sztarray, however, assaulted with success their line of investment; and the fortress was relieved.

Returning to the affairs of Italy, I may inform you that the city of Genoa, after the battle of Novi, was put in a state of siege. It was not, indeed, actually invested; but the ordinary government was superseded by military authority. Leaving that capital in tranquillity, Championet removed to the westward, to provide for the defence of Coni, the key of Southern Piedmont. Melas, who intended to besiege that town, assembled a considerable force between the Sture and the Tanaro, and formed a strong line of investment. The French endeavoured to cut off his communication with Bra and Turin, whence he drew supplies: but he baffled their aim by strengthening his right wing, and altering his position. Each army being ordered to risque a general attack upon the opposite posts, the French were less successful than their adversaries, and retreated in all points, when eight thousand of their number had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Coni was now subjected to a close siege; and nineteen batteries played with such efficacy, that the commandant, being pressed by the inhabitants to save the town from destruction, consented to capitulate, in the second week from the opening of the entrenchments. The generals Kray and Klenau had promoted the success of the besiegers, by preventing Championet and St.-Cyr from relieving the garrison. To check the activity of Klenau, St.-Cyr, after the loss of Coni, attacked him in a strong post, and entirely dislodged him: but he was not disabled from taking up his winter-quarters at a short distance from Genoa. All the passes from France into Italy were at the same time occupied by Austrian troops;

and the Ligurian metropolis had little chance of effectual relief[25].

The exploits of the French and their adversaries, in other parts of the world, must now be recorded. Bonaparte, after a long continuance in Egypt, where he superintended numerous reforms, reverted to military pursuits. The conquest of Syria was a part of the scheme of operations which he now formed. Ahmed, surnamed (for his cruelty) *Al-Gezzar* or the Cut-Throat, had risen into notice under the patronage of the bey Ali, the temporary sovereign of Egypt; had succeeded the sheik Daher as pasha of Acre, and at length acquired the government of Damascus. When the Porte had declared war against the French, troops were sent to co-operate with him in Syria, and to expel the intruders from Egypt; and sir Sydney Smith, whose name was a tower of strength, was ordered to act in the same cause.

About twelve thousand men were selected for the Syrian expedition. General Regnier, reaching the vicinity of Al-Arish, attacked a Mamelouk corps sent to the town with provisions, killed two beys, and routed the detachment. Bonaparte, soon after, joined the army, and prosecuted the siege with a spirit which enforced a speedy surrender. He granted favorable terms to the garrison; and, proceeding to Gaza, took possession also of that town, in which valuable supplies were found. Jaffa was taken by storm; and many of its defenders were slaughtered[26]. Near Zeta, the French were attacked; and,

25 Précis des Evénemens Militaires.

26 When the French had desisted from the massacre, even those who knew the unfeeling spirit of their commander did not expect that the prisoners would be put to death. But, according to sir Robert Thomas Wilson and other writers who had good opportunities of information, a scene at which humanity shudders eternally disgraced the general who gave the fatal mandate, and the soldiers who obeyed him. When the invaders had been for three days in quiet possession of the town, three thousand eight hundred captives, whom Bonaparte considered as useless encumbrances, were conducted to an eminence, disposed in ranks, and shot under the eye of Berthier.

when they had repelled the foe, they were bewildered among the mountains, and suffered some loss before they could extricate themselves. They passed a river near Acre in the face of Al-Gezzar's troops, and opened trenches on the east side of the town: but their battering cannon (sent from Alexandria) being captured by English cruisers, the siege could only be carried on with ordinary field-pieces.

The Syrian pasha, despairing of the preservation of Acre, was on the point of retiring from it with his treasures; but he was exhorted by sir Sydney Smith to defend it with vigor. It was little better than an open town, and therefore required all the skill of engineers to fortify it with expedition, and all the courage of warriors to man it's works. The British marines and sailors assisted the garrison; and sir Sydney, contending against the disturbers of the peace of the world, displayed the zeal and valor of a Christian hero. He co-operated, indeed, on this occasion, with the enemies of Christianity: but he considered even the votaries of the Koran as more respectable than irreligious marauders and atheistical anarchists.

During the siege, Bonapartè left the camp when he was informed of the operations of a considerable army of Syrians, Arabs, and Mamelouks. Junot being in danger of an attack which he might not be able to withstand, Kleber was sent to support him; and this officer soon put to flight a detachment that opposed him near Cana. Hearing that the enemy approached mount Tabor in great force, the commander-in-chief hastened to the scene of peril.

Kleber, who was surrounded by a numerous host, consisting chiefly of cavalry, formed his division into a square, and resisted frequent attacks: but, in all probability, he would have been ultimately overwhelmed, if Rampon had not arrived with a reinforcement, and if a body of horse, opportunely sent by the general, had not rushed

upon the Mamelouks. He boldly renewed his efforts; and the baffled enemy fled in confusion.

Bonapartè now returned to the camp before Acre; and the siege was prosecuted with spirit. A breach being made in one of the towers, an attempt was made to force a passage into the town: but the opening was found insufficient for that purpose. To prevent the tower from being undermined, the British seamen and marines sallied out under the conduct of lieutenant Wright, while the Turks attacked the besiegers in their trenches. The mine was rendered unserviceable; but the Turks, finding the French on their guard, made little impression. Bonapartè, prodigal of the lives of his men, hazarded frequent assaults upon the place. Baffled in every attempt, he was enraged at his ill success, and inflamed with malignant animosity against the gallant knight to whose prowess it was chiefly imputable. He even ordered an assault while a letter which he had sent to the pasha, proposing a truce, was under consideration; but the garrison being prepared for it, punished with death the most forward of the violators of military honor [27].

Even the obstinacy of Bonapartè gave way to the valor and perseverance of the defenders of Acre. He desisted from the siege on the sixty-first day from it's commencement, and took the opportunity of night to retire from the walls. He sent off the wounded soldiers, and his heavy artillery, by sea; but they fell into the hands of the English. Many of his men perished in the precipitate retreat—some by fatigue, others by the desultory attacks of the natives [28]. When he reached Cairo, he claimed the praise of victory, and boasted of having

27 Letter of sir Sydney Smith, in the Gazette of Sept. 10.

28 The author of the *Précis* affirms, that the retreat was effected in good order; but sir Sydney, with greater probability, represents it as very disorderly. Both agree in stating, that the French committed horrible ravages in their retrograde march.

ruined the army of Gezzar. He appeased the discontent of his troops, and coolly prosecuted both civil and military arrangements.

As the exertions of the French troops under general Desaix require transient notice, it may be observed that they reached Menekiah after a difficult progress, and advanced to attack the bey Morad upon the heights near that town. They were harassed by the van-guard; but they intimidated the main body into a retreat. A more regular engagement soon followed. The bey's troops endeavoured to surround the French near Sediman, but could not break the compact phalanx which they furiously assaulted. They were afterwards dislodged from various posts, and routed near Fayoum; and at length they retired beyond the Cataracts. The French, in this expedition, treated the inhabitants of Upper Egypt with rigor and cruelty, instead of conciliating them by mildness and moderation.

Another bey now took the field as an opposer of the French. Hassan attacked them in their various marches; but, in a battle near Syene, he was wounded and defeated by Renaud. Morad, having re-appeared to the northward of the Cataracts, was pursued by Desaix, yet not overtaken. To check the hostilities of the Arabs, the general sent a part of his army toward the Red Sea, to seise Cossir, and repair the fort. At the same time, Kena, on the eastern bank of the Nile, was fortified by his direction.

Ibrahim and Morad, returning into Middle Egypt, menaced the French with an attack of their posts near Cairo: but the advance of a detachment under Le-Grange terrified the former into a retreat; and the march of Bonaparte to Gizeh had a similar effect upon the latter. The commander in chief was now informed of the arrival of a Turkish armament on the Egyptian coast. He directed his course to the north-west to meet his new enemies;

and learned, on his march, that they had taken the fort of Aboukir, and were entrenching themselves on the peninsula, in expectation of a Mamelouk reinforcement. A speedy attack being therefore adviseable, both wings of the Ottoman army were at once assailed by Lanusse and Lasnes, while Murat rushed upon the central division. The pasha Mustapha commanded the Turks; but he was not qualified to contend with the able generals who encountered him. About four thousand of his men were killed or wounded; and the garrison which he had placed in the fort surrendered it to the French after a siege of eight days [29]. July 25.

The ambition of Bonaparte, being satisfied as far as Egypt was concerned, or regardless of the fate of that country, now looked forward to aggrandisement in Europe; and he found an opportunity of returning to France. Kleber then conducted the war, and the French defeated a division of the Turkish army; but the general soon negotiated with the vizir for a safe retreat, as the army labored under the want of almost every comfort. A convention was signed for that purpose: but, when lord Keith declared that he would not suffer it to be executed, Kleber re-attacked the enemy, and proved victorious.

A prince whom the French wished to assist, and whose interest would have been promoted by their success in Egypt, had already been punished, for his inauspicious connexions, with ruin and death. This was Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore, who, cherishing a keen animosity against the English, meditated hostilities in concert with the French. But, before he was fully prepared for action, a discovery of his intrigues exposed him to an attack from the India company. Lord Mornington, who was

29 It is stated in the *Précis*, that three hundred wounded men, and the bodies of eighteen hundred victims, were found in the fort by the captors.

then governor-general, was not of the military profession; but his bold and ardent spirit infused itself into the operations of the army. He hoped to finish the war in one campaign; and his orders were executed with decisive effect. Supplies were raised with unusual dispatch; and a zealous desire of promoting the public service seemed universally to prevail.

March 6. In the first battle which this war produced, two thousand Europeans and Sepoys defeated ten thousand of Tippoo's men at Sidasir. At Malavelli the Sultan's adversaries again had the advantage, and also at Suttanpotta; and the siege of his capital was quickly formed. He was confounded at the sanguine confidence and daring spirit of the besiegers; and, amidst the uneasiness which he felt, he was less provident, vigilant, and cautious, than the danger required. The strength of the place, however, baffled all attempts during the greater part of a month; and farther supplies were required to enable the investing army to maintain it's station. At length such an opening appeared in the wall, as seemed sufficient to facilitate an assault. About four thousand four hundred men were selected for the occasion by general Harris; and, forming two columns, they advanced under

May 4. the conduct of Baird, and forced their way into the town, of which they obtained full possession with small loss. Tippoo was thrice wounded, and was found lifeless under an arch at the entrance of a fort. The slaughter of his men ceased as soon as they ceased to resist; for the captors of Seringapatam had not the ferocity of Tartars or Moscovites. The French who were in his service were apprehensive of British resentment: but they were not injured or molested. His favorite minister Sadduck, the encourager of his tyranny and cruelty, was found dead, being supposed to have been murdered by some of the Mysorean soldiers.

The victorious English and their allies (the *nizam* or

ruler of the Decan, and the Mahrattas) did not seise the whole territory of Tippoo, but bestowed a considerable part on a young Hindoo prince, from one of whose ancestors Hyder Ali had, forty years before, usurped the principality. A treaty of partition was then adjusted for the benefit of the confederates, the India company taking the greatest share, and the Mahrattas receiving the smallest portion.

Thus did Great-Britain apparently so far augment her power in India, as to think herself entitled to defy the attempts of the native princes. But the fabric of her Indian greatness is not, perhaps, of the most substantial kind. The civil and military establishments of the company are on so large a scale, as to obstruct it's financial prosperity; and it's occasional wars are productive of an enormous debt. It's influence and sway are not permanently promoted by conquest; for an extension of dominion, if not followed by prudence and moderation, may only serve to increase odium and inflame resentment.

The directors of the affairs of France lamented the ruin of Tippoo: but they more poignantly deplored the extinction of their own power. Before I inform you, however, of that political change which resulted from their misgovernment and unpopularity, it may be proper to observe, that, near the close of their odious sway, they lost that republic in Italy which had been formed on the ruin of the papal power, and, on the other hand, secured Holland by a seasonable display of vigor.

Rome and it's dependencies were recovered by the co-operation of the English and Austrians with the troops of his Neapolitan majesty. General Garnier, negotiating with commodore Troubridge, agreed to retire from the Roman territories. Pius VI. had already been precipitated into the grave by the ill treatment which he received from the French, whose prisoner he was when

he died. The cardinal di Chiaramonte was chosen at Venice to succeed him, and assumed the pontifical name of his unfortunate predecessor.

The other event to which I alluded may be introduced by a remark, stating the confident opinion of the English premier, and of Mr. Dundas, secretary for the war department, that the Dutch, insulted by the arrogance and injured by the rapacity of the French, would be pleased with such an opportunity of shaking off the yoke, as might be afforded by a strong fleet and army, sent by princes who either were, or supposed themselves to be, deeply interested in opposing the aggrandisement of France. Great-Britain was fully sensible of the expediency of taking vigorous measures for that purpose; and the Russian court expressed an inclination to promote the same object. Sir Ralph Abercromby sailed with an army at the close of the summer, and effected a landing at the Helder Point. As the troops advanced, they were attacked with spirit; but they killed a great number of the assailants, and seised the fort. Two large ships, and many frigates and sloops, were also captured.

When the invaders had struggled for some time with want of accommodation, they pushed forward to a place where they were better lodged and supplied. A combined army of French and Dutch then endeavoured to check their progress; and a battle ensued, which terminated to the advantage of the English. The Russian host soon after arrived; and the collision became still more violent.

The expectation of being joined in the field by the Dutch proved fallacious. They were not willing to come forward in aid of their former allies; and, if they had been so disposed, the increasing numbers of French soldiers, sent to animate them against the English, would have over-awed and deterred them.

The British and Russian troops now attacked the whole

line; and the latter bore down all opposition, Sept. 19.
until, having penetrated too far to be assisted by the less furious English, they were flanked by general Vandamme. They resisted with great courage, but could not effect their retreat before two thousand five hundred of their number had been killed, wounded, or taken. The British columns displayed intrepidity, and at the same time preserved order: but their commander, the duke of York, was induced to give orders for a retreat, although (by his own account) sixty officers and above three thousand common men were captured by his battalions [30].

A fleet of eight sail of the line in the Texel, commanded by Story, had already been transferred from the authority of the republic to that of the fugitive stadtholder. The admiral pretended that he was a zealous republican, but that the traitors whom he commanded were unwilling to obey him and to fight.

In a conflict near Bergen and Egmont, the English and their fellow-combatants were victorious: Oct. 6.
but, of the former, above thirteen hundred were killed or wounded. In a subsequent engagement, likewise, the enemy lost the honor of the day: but the troops of the two nations purchased with great loss their unimportant advantage.

The impracticability of expelling the French from Holland, notwithstanding these victories, at length became evident; and, as the season precluded offensive operations against those who were better sheltered and protected than the invaders, a retreat was proposed in a council of war, and readily voted. But, to secure the retreat, it was necessary either to negotiate, or to inundate the country. The former measure being adopted, general Brune demanded a restitution of the fleet lately

30 London Gazette of Sept. 24, 1799.—Précis des Evénemens Militaires.

given up by Story, and a surrender of fifteen thousand prisoners, out of the number taken before this campaign. The duke of York objected to both these demands as unreasonable: and after farther discussion, it was agreed
Oct. 18. that only eight thousand captives should be restored without exchange.

The joy of the directors at the expulsion of the English and Russians from Holland, did not long subsist undiminished. The re-appearance and popularity of Bonapartè threatened them with a change of government. That ambitious general, that artful politician, resolved to direct to his own advantage the discontent which prevailed. Sieyes, who was then a member of the directory, held meetings with Rœderer, Talleyrand, Volney, and Renard de St. Jean d'Angeli; and, after various discussions, it was agreed that a consulate should be formed, with a man of great military talents at it's head. Berthier, Moreau, and other generals who were then in Paris, were not acquainted with the particular schemes of the Corsican, though they well knew his earnest desire of political power. When it was proposed that he should be invested with the command of the militia or guard of the capital, the greater part of the assembly of elders concurred in the vote; and, at St. Cloud, an extraordinary (but not unprecedented) scene occurred [31].

Nov. 10. Bonapartè, insisting upon an immediate change for the benefit of the republic, supported his demand by a display of military force. Resolute soldiers rushed into the hall where the council of five hundred had opened it's deliberations, and met with little opposition when they ventured to expel the members. By both councils three chief magistrates were appointed; and two committees were instructed to prepare a new constitution. Eighty individuals were to compose a senate;

31 Memoirs of Talleyrand, vol. ii.

one hundred were to form a tribunate; and three hundred a legislative body. The bold general and Cambacères were to act as consuls for ten years, and Le-Brun for five. Such were the important fruits of Bonaparte's sudden return from Egypt!

LETTER XV.

Continuation of the History to the Treaty of Amiens, in 1802.

IT may at first excite your surprise, my dear son, that the French, after wading through streams of blood to a republic, should so soon revert to monarchical government; for the first-consul to whom they now submitted had the power, though not the name, of a king. The Romans retained, for many centuries, their hatred to royalty and their republican zeal: but the French, after the lapse of only seven years, resigned their commonwealth to the ambition of a Corsican adventurer. Your surprise on this occasion will be diminished by reflecting on the volatile character of the people, and on the conduct of the successive rulers of the republic. Under the name of a free government, every kind of oppression was exercised: life, liberty, and property, became the sport of inhuman and unprincipled men. Wars were studiously protracted and wantonly multiplied; and repeated conscriptions were carried into effect with arbitrary violence. Weary of such despotism, the nation wished for a change, and seemed to acquiesce as readily in Bonaparte's assumption of power, as if he had claimed the sovereignty by a regular descent from Clovis or from Hugh Capet. The change, however, was merely that of several tyrants for one.

A general promise of good government, on the part of the first-consul, was accompanied with a particular profession of pacific inclinations: but those who were acquainted with his character did not give credit to his assurances in either case. After various internal arrangements, he intimated to our court a desire of an accommodation of all disputes, in an epistle not written (according to *etiquette*) by one of his ministers to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, but addressed by him to the king himself, whose patriotic virtues he condescended to applaud. He mentioned the necessity of peace, and the true glory derivable from it; and trusted that two nations so enlightened as France and Great-Britain would no longer be actuated by false ideas of glory and greatness. Lord Grenville affirmed, in the answer
A. D. 1800. which he was ordered to write, that "the king had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire of the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe;" and denied, that he either was or had been engaged in any "contest for a vain and false glory," as he had only endeavoured "to maintain, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects." He added, that it would be useless to negotiate while the French seemed still to cherish those principles which had involved Europe in a long and destructive warfare.

The minister exposed himself to censure by not accepting the offer of negotiation. It was argued, that the interest of Bonapartè urged him to make peace, as he would naturally wish to consolidate his power at leisure, and gratify with a return of tranquillity the people who had raised him to the dignified station of their first magistrate; that terms less unfavorable or dishonorable might therefore be obtained from him than the directory would have granted; that, with regard to the observance of a treaty, good faith might at least as confidently be expected from him as from the house of Bourbon, whose honor had

rarely been a theme of encomium; and that an experiment might be made without injury, as even a short respite from war would afford a seasonable relief, without paralysing the future efforts of our countrymen; and that, even if no treaty should result from negotiation, our court might claim some merit from having evinced a readiness to put an end to the war.

An address in favor of vigorous hostilities being voted by each house, ample supplies were granted, and the heavy tax upon income was rendered still more oppressive. Whatever the premier desired, in point of policy, finance, and legislation, he easily obtained; so blind and so general was the confidence that was reposed in him!

This session was rendered unusually interesting by the agitation and adoption of a grand scheme of legislative union. The existing connexion between Great-Britain and Ireland not being deemed sufficiently close for mutual safety, it was proposed in the cabinet, soon after the suppression of the Irish rebellion, that the two parliaments should be united.

There was reason to expect, that the subversion of a resident and independent parliament would wound the feelings of a high-spirited nation, and that the loss of some advantages derivable from such a legislature would be more considered by the popular members and by a numerous part of the community, than the probable acquisition of general benefit from an imperial parliament. Even the rumor of the scheme, therefore, excited in Ireland strong sensations of disgust; and, when the lord-lieutenant[1] mentioned the king's hope of a speedy improvement of the connexion between the realms, some of the most eloquent members of the house of commons so forcibly roused the assembly, that all the efforts of the ministry could only procure, in one division, a majority

1 In January, 1799.

of one, and, in another, a preponderance of two votes. In two subsequent discussions, each party alternately prevailed.

Addressing the commons of Great-Britain, Mr. Pitt insisted on the expediency of applying, to the case of Ireland, that principle of union which had been so advantageously brought into practice at a time when alarming discord prevailed between the English and Scotish parliaments. He did not say that any serious disagreement existed between the Irish legislature and that of Britain; but, from the independence of the former, and the risque of it's being occasionally influenced by local prejudices, or by the arts of factious demagogues, he apprehended that a material variance might sometimes arise on points essential to the welfare of the British empire. This danger was the more alarming, as the French (he said) were still meditating, in concert with Jacobinical traitors, an absolute disjunction of Ireland from the empire with which it had been so long connected.

The outlines of the plan were repeatedly discussed in both houses. A scheme of such magnitude and importance could not be expected to pass without multifarious strictures and spirited animadversion. It was assailed by the sarcastic wit and nervous oratory of Sheridan, the more chastised and dignified eloquence of Grey, the acuteness of Tierney, and the casuistry of Laurence. The earl of Moira opposed it chiefly on the ground of it's being repugnant to the wishes of the people of Ireland: earl Fitzwilliam and lord Holland resisted it, because they conceived that it was unnecessary, and might be highly injurious to the connexion which it was intended to cement.

The minister was stigmatised as an Arch-Jacobin, who, on pretence of improvement, wished to encroach on the freedom and invade the rights of an independent na-

tion;—as an advocate of tyranny, who aimed not only at the subjugation of Ireland, but also (by the transfer of subservient members from the enslaved country) at the annihilation of the liberties of Britain;—and as a systematic deserter of those constitutional and patriotic principles with which he had commenced his parliamentary career. It was affirmed, that every purpose of connexion was answered by the identity of the executive power of the two realms, and by other ties of established efficacy; that, even in the event of the proposed union, there could not be that incorporation, either physical or political, which had been adjusted in the case of Scotland; that the removal of all religious restrictions would more effectually promote concord and unity than the subversion of the parliament of Ireland; that mischievous discord might be apprehended from an enforcement of the execrated project; and that nothing but the declared sense of the people, freely given in new elections, could justify such an extraordinary measure.

None of the arguments or remonstrances adduced or urged could prevail on the cabinet to abandon the scheme: it was merely postponed for a year. This delay tended to strengthen the ministerial interest in the Irish house of commons: and a majority of forty-two voted against the popular cause. This commanding superiority continued until all the articles, framed according to the outlines which had been sketched and voted in England, were included by the two houses in an address to his majesty. The different provisions were successively examined and adopted by the British lords and commons; and the bill at length received the royal assent. It contained eight articles. By the three first, an union of the two realms, a confirmation of the protestant succession, and a consolidation of the parliaments, were ordered. The next stipulation adjusted the mode of securing the in-

Jan. 16.

July 2.

terests of Ireland in the combined legislative body. For this purpose, four prelates were ordered to sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight laic peers were to be chosen for life, while two members for each of the thirty-two counties, and thirty-six citizens and burgesses, were to represent the Hibernian commons. The fifth article united the churches of England and Ireland, leaving that of Scotland still distinct. By the sixth it was provided, that the people of Great-Britain and Ireland should "be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on articles of commerce, being the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either country." The seventh left the public debt of each kingdom on a separate basis, with regard to interest and final liquidation; and required that the expenditure of the united kingdom should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Britain and two parts for Ireland; but, after the lapse of twenty years, it was to be at the option of the parliament to continue this arrangement or fix a new rate. The eighth article provided for the maintenance of the laws which were then in force, and the preservation of the regular courts of judicature, subject, however, to such alterations as might appear to the legislature to be occasionally expedient.

These stipulations and arrangements were well calculated for the purpose at which the court aimed: but the measure would have been more worthy of praise, if it had not been forced upon the Irish nation. The exercise of every kind of influence upon the house of commons, and the omission of that constitutional appeal to the electors which so important a change required (an appeal which the minister would readily have recommended in a case connected with his personal interests), precluded the freedom of assent, and prevented the act of union from being a fair compact between independent nations.

The first-consul thought less of an invasion of Great-Britain or of Ireland than of the personal prosecution of the war against the emperor of Germany. The difficulties of an Alpine passage served only to stimulate his ardor. He joined the army which had been ordered to rendezvous near the lake of Geneva, and proceeded to Martigni, in the Valais. At the village of St. Peter, it was necessary to hollow the trunks of trees into the form of troughs, that the cannon might slide along in them. The gun-carriages were conveyed on sledges, except the wheels, which were carried upon poles; and the men could only ascend the mountain of St. Bernard one by one, moving with the utmost caution. The descent was still more dangerous: but scarcely any lives were lost, either by precipitous falls or by the overwhelming force of masses of hardened snow. Aosta, though occupied by an Hungarian battalion, was quickly reduced: the fort of Bard might have been long defended; but it made a very weak resistance. A detachment under general Bondet scaled the walls of Ivrea: Lasnes stormed Romagno, and Murat seised Vercelli. The Tesino was crossed in the face of the enemy; and the city of Milan quietly received the invaders. At Pavia valuable magazines were found: Placentia was not sufficiently protected: nor was the passage of the Po effectually obstructed [2].

While the first consul was at Milan, the fate of Genoa was determined. The siege had been converted into a blockade, after several fierce conflicts, in which both parties lost a multitude of men. General Massena, with a small French and Cis-Alpine garrison, found considerable difficulty in preserving order among the inhabitants; of whom, during the blockade, fifteen thousand are said to have perished, many by famine, others by

2 Marengo, ou la Compagne d'Italie, par Joseph Petit.

epidemic diseases. When he agreed to a surrender of the place, he would not suffer it to be called a *capitulation:* he and the brave garrison merely consented to retire [3].

An engagement at Montebello preceded the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians had the advantage for some hours; but, when the division of general Watrin had warmly supported the French van, the republicans prevailed, and drove their adversaries toward Voghera, capturing above four thousand men. The victors waited at San-Juliano for the arrival of the rest of the army; and the plain of Marengo, between Tortona and Alessandria, became the scene of a memorable conflict.

With such energy did the Austrians commence and prosecute the conflict, that general Victor and the left wing were thrown into great disorder. Both the cavalry and infantry retired into the rear; and the anxious consul was alarmed with the dread of danger. The centre, and the right wing under Lasnes, continued to resist: yet these divisions were at length repelled. Murat, with a body of dragoons, protected the right flank of Victor; and Bonaparte sent succours to the other divisions: but the tide of success still flowed in favor of the Austrians, who had out-stretched the French, and threatened to turn their army. The grenadiers of the consular guard now strove to support the honor of the republic, and sustained three charges without shrinking. Another attack compelled them to retreat, yet without wild haste or confusion.

June 14.

The greater part of the French troops that had not wholly ceased to fight, occupied a defile, which was fenced on one side by a wood, and on the other by thick vineyards. The village of Marengo flanked this posi-

3 Journal des Opérations Militaires du Siège et du Blocus de Gènes, par un des Officiers Généraux de l'Armée d'Italie.

tion to the left. The Austrian general, bringing up a formidable line of artillery, posted his infantry in the wood and the vine-yards, and kept his cavalry in readiness to seise every advantage,—indeed, to complete the expected discomfiture of the enemy.

Now appeared, very opportunely for the credit and power of Bonapartè, the divisions of Monnier and Desaix; and their arrival encouraged the re-advance of a great number of fugitives. The consul and Berthier ran among the ranks, and inspired confidence by their exhortations, while the hostile artillery thundered upon the defile. Boldly rushing forward, the French soon checked the manœuvres and the efforts which threatened to surround their army; and Melas, who, before he perceived the approach of the fresh divisions, had incautiously extended his wings, found himself unable to secure the advantage which he had apparently gained. His men fell back from the borders of the defile; but they fought in the plain with some remains of spirit. The cavalry, attacked by the bayonet, were so disconcerted that they could not protect the infantry; and a host so near the point of triumph did not escape defeat. The impetuosity of Murat completed the efficacy of the impression made by Desaix; to whose memory (for he fell in the action) due honors were paid by his victorious countrymen [4].

According to a French statement, six thousand of the Austrians were killed or wounded, and seven thousand, besides seven generals, were made prisoners; while, in the opposite army, only eight hundred men lost their lives, two thousand were wounded, and one thousand one hundred captured. But this account is not so well supported as to ensure belief. The former calculation must be diminished, and the latter augmented.

4 La Campagne de l'Italie, par Petit.—Voyage en Suisse et en Italie, fait avec l'Armée de Reserve.

The shock of signal defeat, following the sanguine hope of an important victory, had such an effect on the baron de Melas, that he requested the favor of a truce, and even agreed to the surrender of Genoa (so lately and so dearly purchased), and of the principal fortresses of Piedmont and the Milanese.

Compared with the campaign of Italy, that of Germany was not highly important, in the eye of a soldier, but was by no means of slight import in the view of a philanthropist, as it proved fatal to a great number of human beings. In the battles of Engen and Moskirch, the exertions of general Kray on the one hand, and of Moreau on the other, did not secure to either of those commanders the undoubted honors of victory. Subsequent engagements opened to the French a passage into the heart of Bavaria; and the usual course of plunder ensued.

A renewed negotiation between the king of Great-Britain and the republic had no other effect than that of inducing the emperor to refuse his assent to the preliminaries of peace which had been signed in his name by the count de St. Julien; and the war re-commenced in the autumn: but the battle of Hohenlinden checked his rising hopes. The Austrian centre, on that occasion,
Dec. 3. was pierced by the continued efforts of the French; and the wings were broken with less difficulty. Pushing into Upper Austria, the victors reached the banks of the Ens. The terror of their arms led to a truce, as their countrymen were at the same time prosecuting a career of success in Italy.

The treaty of Luneville was now concluded. Francis
Feb. 9, 1801. consented to make some additions in Germany to the territories ceded at the former pacification, and acquiesced in the transfer of the Tuscan duchy (which, as well as the kingdom of Naples, had been recovered in 1799) to the duke of Parma.

Great-Britain thus lost an ally, at a time when another prince also seceded from the coalition. The English had been unsuccessful in an attempt upon Ferrol: but they took Curaçao, and reduced Malta by blockade. By not surrendering the latter island, however, to the chivalrous potentate who had been declared patron of the order, they inflamed the resentment of one whom the intrigues of the French had already alienated from the British court. The czar ordered a detention of their ships and a confinement of the seamen, and prevailed upon the Danish and Swedish courts to concur in an armed neutrality.

This league did not intimidate the English premier. He resolved to face the storm, rather than give way to it; but when actual hostilities arose in the Baltic, he was no longer a member of the cabinet.

A change of administration, for which many had long wished, now took place. Mr. Pitt was, apparently, so established, that no hope of his expulsion from the helm arose to cheer the ranks of opposition. It seemed as if he could accomplish any measure, however unconstitutional, and carry any scheme into effect, however absurd or impolitic. There was, however, one project to which he could not prevail upon his royal master to agree. When he was employed in promoting the union with Ireland, he persuaded the catholics to favor the scheme, by holding out the prospect of a repeal of those restrictions to which they were still subjected. He did not solemnly pledge himself to that effect, but assured them that he was a well-wisher to their emancipation, and added that they might reasonably expect to be gratified, as it would no longer be unsafe to indulge them. But, when he mentioned the affair in the cabinet, the king opposed it from conscientious motives, alleging that it was inconsistent with the oath which he had taken at his coronation for the maintenance of the religion esta-

blished by law. Piqued at this resistance on the part of a prince who had so long followed the advice of his ministers, and wishing for a temporary release from the fatigues and the anxieties of office, the first lord of the treasury resigned his employment; and lord Grenville, earl Spencer, and other members of the cabinet, also retired from their stations.

Bred under the eye of an able orator and an admired statesman, Mr. Pitt had received early instructions in the art of public speaking and in politics: but he did not possess equal merit in both departments. He had a greater fluency of speech than extent of capacity, more eloquence than judgement, more splendor of oratory than profundity of wisdom. Elate with the admiration which had attended his first parliamentary efforts, he fancied himself capable of conducting the machine of government with a masterly hand and with pre-eminent skill. In this respect, he arrogated higher praise than he deserved. But, as I have already traced the course of his administration, I need not recapitulate my sentiments. I shall merely add, that he was so far disinterested, as not to become opulent by the spoils of the nation, though he consented to accept a sinecure as a recompence for the toils of state.

The successor of Mr. Pitt was Mr. Henry Addington, who, for above eleven years, had enjoyed the honorable post of speaker of the house of commons. Lord Hawkesbury, known in that assembly by his suggestion of the probable facility of a march to Paris, was elevated to the important station of secretary for foreign affairs: the direction of the admiralty was committed to sir John Jervis, who, for his victory over the Spaniards, had been ennobled as earl of St. Vincent: lord Hobart became minister of the war department in lieu of Mr. Dundas, who subsequently obtained for his services the honors of the peerage; and lord Eldon was commissioned to

preside in the court of chancery, as lord Loughborough had joined his friends in the act of resignation.

Mr. Pitt hoped to direct the new premier in his general operations, without the responsibility of actual office: but Mr. Addington, trusting to the favor of his sovereign, to whom his conciliatory manners rendered him more acceptable as a confidential member of the cabinet than the ex-minister, was less compliant than his patron wished or expected. From inclination, however, he pursued the general line of policy which had marked the administration of Mr. Pitt.

Favorable intelligence from the north quickly followed the new appointments: but whatever merit might be claimed by the cabinet for the success in the Baltic, was due to Mr. Pitt and his official co-adjutors, by whom a considerable fleet had been sent out under the command of sir Hyde Parker.

Denmark was the first object of attack, being the nearest and also the weakest of the three northern states. Resistance was expected from both sides of the Sound: but only the garrison of Cronenburg fired upon the intruders. The Danes still retain some portion of the courage of their ancestors. Trusting to the spirit of the people, the court resolved to maintain it's pretensions, by resisting the naval force of Great-Britain. Preparations were made with an alacrity that could scarcely have been expected from a nation which had been so long at peace; and, as it was supposed that admiral Parker, neglecting inferior objects, would attack the metropolis, new fortifications were erected, and all the modes of defence which the situation would allow were eagerly adopted.

The British fleet, having passed the Sound with little injury, presented itself before the Danish capital; and lord Nelson in the Elephant, with eleven other ships of the line, four frigates, four sloops, seven bomb-vessels,

April 2. and two fire-ships, attacked the line of defence, composed of seven sail of the line and ten large floating batteries, besides gun-boats. The engagement was very spirited on both sides. The result was favorable to British valor, and graced the brow of Nelson with a new wreath. All the Danish ships that bore a share in the action were sunk, burned, or taken, after two thousand of the defenders, and above nine hundred and forty of the assailants, had been killed or wounded[5].

The Danes were humbled by this defeat; being convinced of the firm determination of Great-Britain to support her maritime superiority by a violence which strict justice would not authorise, and which only the customary latitude of selfish policy could palliate or in any degree excuse. They would not, however, have so soon relinquished or waved their pretensions, if their powerful ally had remained in the enjoyment of life and of power.

The Russian prince did not govern with wisdom or moderation. He had no sound principles; he followed no regular system. He had not the benevolence of a philanthropist, the magnanimity of a hero, the judgement of a legislator, or the sagacity of a politician. Mr. Pitt could speak in high terms of his great qualities, when he entered into the crusade against France: but, in such a cause, that minister would have panegyrised the good sense of an idiot, and have applauded the humanity of a tyrant. Paul was not so estimable or so great a man as he was represented in the animated but delusive declamations of a Pitt, or in the vapid effusions and unprophetic strains of a Pybus. He was a weak and narrow-minded prince, unqualified for the due discharge of the functions of imperial sway. Having entailed upon himself the hatred both of the nobility and

5 London Gazette of April 15.

the people, he was murdered by a party of bold conspirators, who placed upon the throne his eldest son Alexander, then in the twenty-fourth year of his age. March 24.

The new czar, in the *ukase* in which he announced his accession, declared his determination of governing the empire by the laws of "his august grandmother, Catharine the Great," and in conformity with her general system. He commenced his political career with some judicious and patriotic regulations. He gratified every class of his subjects with marks of his regard. He abolished the degrading servility of homage which had been exacted, not only from the lowest but from the highest of the people, when the sovereign or any part of his family appeared in public: he released many individuals whose liberty had been sacrificed to the vengeance, not the justice, of an arbitrary and secret tribunal: he rendered the nobles less liable to the caprice of despotism, restored the privileges of citizens and burghers, granted to the peasants the right of cutting timber in the forests, and increased the facilities both of internal traffic and foreign commerce.

As Alexander had spoken of Catharine's system in terms of praise, some politicians supposed that he would adhere to the late convention: but, as he wished to be on friendly terms with Great-Britain rather than with France, he listened with patience to the expostulations of the former court; released the British vessels from the embargo, and the seamen from confinement; and consented to a temperate discussion of the claim of search.

When a truce for fourteen weeks had been adjusted by lord Nelson with major-general Waltersdorff, sir Hyde Parker sailed to Carlscrone, and demanded an explicit answer to the question, whether the Swedish monarch would relinquish, or prosecute the hostile schemes which he had formed in concert with Russia.

Gustavus replied, that he was determined to execute his engagements with his allies, but that he was ready to listen to equitable proposals of accommodation, regularly offered to the united northern powers by British plenipotentiaries.

Fitzherbert, who had negotiated the treaty of Versailles for Great-Britain, was now sent to Petersburg to supersede the armed neutrality by a convention less unfavorable to the maritime interests of this country. While he was thus employed, the subjects of the three northern states were suffered to enjoy a general freedom of navigation; and a confident hope of peace succeeded the late alarms.

The king of Prussia, in concert with the northern confederates, had taken possession of Hanover on frivolous pretences: but, influenced by the altered politics of the court of Petersburg, he now announced his readiness to re-establish his suspended amity with Great-Britain; alleging, that the measures which he had been induced to pursue, as an ally of the northern powers, were no longer "applicable or expedient." Yet, if they were applicable or expedient before, they had not ceased to be so, as Britain had not relinquished the pretensions which gave rise to the confederacy. The rivers whose entrances had been obstructed by his order against British vessels, were now re-opened; and the German territories of our sovereign were restored.

The negotiation soon produced an agreement between Great-Britain and Russia, importing that even a convoy should not protect neutral trading vessels from being subjected to a visitation or search, when ordered by the captain of a ship belonging to the public navy of a belligerent state; and that the alleged maxim, "free ships make free goods," should not secure the whole or any part of a cargo from being seised, if the effects or goods should be the property of an enemy to

June 17.

the visiting nation; but that neutrals might carry away the produce, either raw or manufactured, of a country engaged in war (yet not of it's colonies) after having obtained it by regular purchase. By one of the articles, the British court promised to restore the captured colonies[6] and ships of the Swedes and Danes, on their acceding to this convention.

Soon after the elevation of Mr. Addington to the chief ministerial post, a negotiation had been opened with France, in compliance with the general wish of the united nation. While it was secretly prosecuted, the war in Egypt was continued. Menou, who had succeeded to the command of the French army, when Kleber lost his life by the dagger of a Moslem assassin, prepared to defend the country against a British force which arrived under sir Ralph Abercromby. The debarkation of the latter was a dangerous service: and it was not effected, even by the bold alertness of the troops, without a loss which the officers lamented. A more serious loss was sustained when the army had advanced a few miles from the place of landing: and, in the engagement which proved fatal to sir Ralph Abercromby, the havock was still greater. A false attack upon the British left preceded a resolute attempt to turn the right, against which the French infantry, supported by a strong body of cavalry, advanced with great impetuosity. Twice were these assailants repulsed; but they did not retire before they had suffered severely. Those who assaulted the centre were also compelled to retreat. The commander-in-chief was wounded in the thigh; but he treated the wound as a trifling hurt rather than a serious injury, and coolly continued to direct the movements of the army. When the victory was ascertained, the energy of his mind could March 21.

6 The islands of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Santa-Cruz, had been seised by the English.

not prevent his frame from yielding to pain and fatigue. He fainted, and was conveyed into a ship, where the effects of the wound put an end to the life of an excellent officer and meritorious subject[7].

The subsequent operations were less sanguinary. General Hutchinson, when Rosetta and other towns had been taken by the English and the Turks, made dispositions for the siege of Grand-Cairo, which the French soon surrendered. Alexandria was afterwards reduced by the vigor of Hutchinson, who consented to the safe conveyance of the French troops to their native country.

Sept. 2.

Some naval occurrences in Europe had preceded this fortunate result of the Egyptian campaign. An attack upon some French ships, in the bay of Algeziras, occasioned the loss of a British ship of the line. In another action, sir James Saumarez captured one Spanish vessel, and two others blew up. An attempt to destroy, in the harbour of Boulogne, the flotilla which had been constructed for an invasion of England, failed even under the direction of lord Nelson.

Peace was at length restored. Preliminaries were adjusted in London; and, after an interval nearly of six months from that agreement, a more regular treaty was signed at Amiens, importing that only Ceylon in the east, and Trinidad in the west, should be retained by his Britannic majesty, out of all his conquests during the war; that his ally, the queen of Portugal, should only lose Olivenza (which had been lately taken by the Spaniards) and a part of Guiana; that Corfu and the six other Venetian islands should constitute a republic; and that Malta should be restored to it's former possessors.

March 27, 1802.

7 Gazette of May 15.—Baldwin's Political Recollections relative to Egypt. In these three engagements, above five hundred and fifty men were killed on the part of the English, and almost three thousand were wounded.

When the eventful war which arose from the French revolution was thus terminated, the power of the republic was enormously great. With the territories which had been governed by Louis the Sixteenth, the Netherlands and a flourishing portion of Germany were incorporated, as well as Geneva, the duchy of Savoy, and the principality of Piedmont. The Dutch bowed their necks to Gallic tyranny. The Swiss, enslaved by the directory, had not been able to recover their independence. Spain, forgetful of her ancient dignity, was a subservient and degraded ally. The Cis-Alpine state was completely under the yoke of the first consul, who had been constituted it's president for ten years. It not only comprehended the Milanese, but included a considerable part of the Venetian territories, the duchies of Mantua, Modena, and Parma, besides some of the provinces which had belonged to the see of Rome. Tuscany, governed by a vassal king, was in effect a province of France; and the Ligurian republic did not presume to dispute the will of the predominant nation.

LETTER XVI.

A View of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonisation, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Treaty of Amiens.

THE subject of this letter, my dear son, is comprehensive and important, and particularly interesting to the native of a country distinguished by maritime power and commercial greatness. The three topics in question were brought down in a former epistle to the time of the war between Great-Britain and Spain, which was occasioned by the insults and depredations committed on the coasts of Spanish America. Of the voyage of commodore Anson you have already been informed. It served

to harass the enemy, while it extended the knowlege of seas and coasts.

While Anson was diffusing terror along the coast of Peru, the Spanish mathematicians Juan and Ulloa were employed in a survey of that interesting country. They had been sent by Philip V., with Condamine and other members of the French academy of sciences, to measure a degree of the meridian near the equator, and, by comparing their observations with the measurements taken near the North Pole, to ascertain the form of the earth. The result of this inquiry was a confirmation of the opinion of sir Isaac Newton, who maintained that the earth was an oblate spheroid, flattened at the poles, and projecting near the equator. The settlement of this problem was important in geography and navigation; and the remarks made during a long residence in South-America tended, by a correction of errors and prejudices, to a melioration of the state of the Spanish colonies[1].

For many years after the voyage of Ulloa, and the scientific expedition of Maupertuis and Clairault toward the polar circle, the French and Spaniards undertook no important voyage; but the Russians were particularly active in exploration. The seas between the northern parts of Asia and America were visited by successive navigators, and many islands were discovered, constituting what is denominated the Northern Archipelago. On some of these, colonies were planted.

After a long intermission of discovery on the part of Great-Britain, the present king resolved to fit out some ships for that purpose. As Byron appeared to be qualified for such a service, he was appointed to conduct the exploratory expedition. Of the strait of Magellan (or

[1] Voyage Historique de l'Amérique Méridionale, fait par Don George Juan et Don Antoine de Ulloa.

Magalhaens) he had particular orders to make as correct a survey as the weather would allow. He was employed for seven weeks, with an allowance for occasional anchorage, in passing through the strait: but, during this slow progress, all his men remained in a good state of health. In traversing the Pacific, the scurvy made it's appearance among them; and, when they were within sight of some fine islands, they could not sufficiently approach them to procure seasonable supplies. In the fifteenth degree of southern latitude, and the hundred-and-fiftieth of western longitude, two isles (named by Byron King George's Islands) were discovered. Another, which afterwards presented itself, was denominated from the prince of Wales; one from the duke of York; and several other well-inhabited spots in the ocean were seen by the voyagers, before they reached Tinian. Hence they proceeded to the isle of Java, and to the Cape of Good Hope. In May 1766, the two ships re-appeared in the Downs, above twenty-two months after they had sailed from that part of the channel.

During this voyage, the discovery of the longitude at sea, in a more accurate mode than by the log, was so far promoted by the time-piece of Mr. Harrison, when he had improved it by long investigation and repeated practice, that the government rewarded him by a present of seven thousand five hundred pounds (in addition to a former grant of two thousand five hundred pounds), in consequence of a report signed by Dr. Maskelyne and other good judges of mechanic contrivance and workmanship[a]. His method, however, of allowing for the effects of heat and cold, by making thin plates of brass and steel act on the spiral spring, did not give general satisfaction. Le Roy, clock-maker to the king of France, constructed for his chronometers a thermometrical balance, which

a He at length received the whole of the recompence promised by parliament —namely, twenty thousand pounds.

proved more efficacious than Harrison's contrivance. The English time-pieces were afterwards improved by Arnold and Kendal, and the French ones by Berthoud.

The next voyage of moment was that of captain Wallis, who, in August 1766, sailed from Plymouth with two armed ships and a store-vessel. When he had almost cleared the strait of Magellan, he lost sight of the ship commanded by his colleague Carteret. Proceeding to the Pacific, he sailed on that ocean for eight weeks, before he dignified his voyage with discoveries. He then gave the names of Queen Charlotte, Glocester, Cumberland, and Osnaburg, to four islands which he supposed himself to have first seen. An extensive spot afterwards appeared, called by the natives Otaheitè or Taheiti, and, by the captain, King George's Island. A brisk traffic commenced for hogs and fowls, for which knives and nails were gladly accepted by the natives. In a bay the strangers were attacked with stones; but, by the use of fire-arms, they soon over-awed the assailants. When peace was restored, the island was surveyed, and found to be well peopled, and not ill cultivated. The charms of the female inhabitants proved irresistible; and the captain found a friend in queen Oberea. He discovered other islands occupied by a race similar to the Otaheiteans, and then sailed to the Ladrones and to Java[2].

Carteret, after his separation, visited Juan Fernandez, which the Spaniards had fortified; searched in vain for Davis' Land; gave names to the islands which Quiros probably had seen long before; examined the coasts of New-Britain and New-Ireland; and made such discoveries and observations as proved that his voyage was not useless.

In the hope of rivaling British navigators, a voyage

2 Dr. Hawkesworth's Account of the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret.

was undertaken under the auspices of the court of Versailles, by a military officer who had some maritime experience. In 1764, when the duke de Choiseul swayed the cabinet, the French had colonised one of the Falkland islands, that vessels bound to the Pacific ocean might meet with temporary shelter and supplies: but, when the Spaniards insisted on their prior claim to those islands, Louis XV. promised to recall his subjects from them, and sent out M. de Bougainville to regulate the cession of the groupe. That gentleman sailed from Nantes, in November 1766, with the prince de Nassau-Siegen, and, being joined at Monte-Video by two Spanish vessels, proceeded to the settlement, which he surrendered, as well as all claim to any one of the islands, to Puente, who had been appointed governor by his catholic majesty. He then returned to the northward, to meet a store-ship which was to accompany his frigate in a voyage of discovery. Finding it on the coast of Brasil, he re-sailed to the southward, and contended with tempests at the entrance of the strait of Magellan. He did not pass through that long and dangerous channel in less than seven weeks and three days. Arriving at Otaheitè after the English had visited the island[4], he was received in a friendly manner, and was charmed with the attractions of the country. In the prosecution of his voyage, he approached, in May 1768, a number of fine islands, to which he gave the appellation of the Archipelago of the Navigators: but he had little intercourse with the natives. He admired the construction of their boats; but their cloth, he thought, was inferior to that of the Otaheiteans. To an insular groupe of which a part had been examined or seen by former voyagers, he assigned the denomination of the Great Cycladès. When he descried the Molucca isles, not one half of his men could

4 It is supposed that the Spaniards had discovered Otaheitè long before.

perform their duties, as the scurvy had spread it's ravages among the crew. The air and the produce of Boero, however, quickly allayed the violence of the disease. The pestilential air of Batavia was severely felt: but the expediency of procuring refreshments induced the captain to pass some time at that settlement. He then sailed to the isle of France, and left a part of his crew to augment the colonial population. After a voyage of two years and four months, he arrived in his native country with the honor of being the director of the first French voyage round the world[5].

Captain Cook commenced the first of his three celebrated voyages while Bougainville was employed in a similar task. In the armed ship Endeavour (a name modestly suited to the object), he sailed from Plymouth in August 1768, accompanied by Mr. Green, Mr. Banks (afterwards president of the Royal Society), and Dr. Solander, a Swedish naturalist. He met with no difficulty in doubling Cape Horn; and he accurately settled the latitude and longitude of various places in that part of his *route*. At Matavai, in Otaheitè, the transit of Venus over the sun was observed (in June 1769) in due form and with great advantage. With the assistance of the high-priest Tupia, who had been prime minister to queen Oberea, the captain discovered Huaheine and other islands, and gave them the general name of Society: the inhabitants nearly resembled those of Otaheitè. In New-Zealand (of which he made the circuit, and which, he found, was neither a single island, nor a part of a continent, as different navigators had supposed, but consisted of two islands), he was involved in a contest by the untamed spirit of the canibal natives, some of whom were killed and others wounded by his indignant crew. Hence he sailed to New-Holland, the eastern coast of

5 Voyage autour du Monde, par la Frégate du Roi, la Boudeuse, et la Flute l'Etoile.

which, unexamined before, he explored with attentive diligence for the space of one thousand eight hundred miles. Affixing to this part of the country the appellation of New South-Wales, he took possession of it in the name of his sovereign. As doubts existed with regard to New-Guinea, whether it was a distinct island, or a continuation of New-Holland, he resolved to ascertain that point; and it proved to be of the former description. He then repaired to the isle of Timor, lost many of his men by the foul air of Batavia, and returned to Britain, in June 1771, by the way of the Cape and St. Helena[6].

A desire of determining the dispute relative to the existence of a great southern continent, prompted the king to give orders for a new voyage, the direction of which was properly given to captain Cook. He sailed with Furneaux in the summer of 1772, and soon arrived at the Cape. The search was prosecuted with zeal; but no continent was found, although the two ships proceeded to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees ten minutes south, and the longitude of thirty-eight degrees east. Leaving that icy region, the voyagers steered to the north-east, and reached New-Zealand in safety. The Society and Friendly islands afterwards received them. The latter groupe did not appear to them to have been visited by any Europeans since Tasman's discovery of it in 1643; and the new appellation was given by Cook to record the obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, though a quarrel arose at New-Amsterdam (or Tongataboo,) in which two of the natives were shot by the Europeans. When the search had been resumed, the vessels were parted by a gale. Cook's ship, the Resolution, sailed as far as the latitude of seventy-one degrees south, and the

6 Hawkesworth's Account of Cook's first Voyage round the World.

longitude of one hundred and six west, without discovering any thing but heaps of ice. The Adventure anchoring off the coast of New-Zealand, the invalids, who were numerous, were sent on shore. A tent being robbed by the savages, one of them received a wound; and this chastisement generated a spirit of revenge, of which the strangers felt the severe effects. Two officers and eight of the crew being sent up Charlotte Sound, captain Furneaux was alarmed at their long absence, and dispatched an armed party in quest of them. An engagement ensued with a body of natives, some of whom fell; and, in the pursuit, the fate of the former party was ascertained. The unfortunate men had been massacred, and various parts of their bodies had been actually eaten by the savages. Furneaux, with the survivors, crossed the Pacific in an easterly course, passed Cape Horn, and returned to Plymouth after a two-years' voyage[7].

Ignorant of the fate of his countrymen, Cook turned to the northward when he thought he had made sufficient attempts for the desired discovery. He stopped at Easter-Island, of which Gonsalez, a Spanish navigator, had taken possession in 1770; and the gigantic statues or idols excited the astonishment of his officers. He surveyed the Marquesas, saw four isles, to which he assigned the name of Palliser, and again examined the Society islands. He afterwards discovered New-Caledonia, and then sailed to the latitude of Cape Horn. The southern Thulè, the nearest known land to the south pole, was viewed and named by him in the sequel, with Sandwich Land and other territories. The voyage was thus extended to three years.

At the termination of this voyage, the Spaniards were engaged in a survey of the north-west coast of America.

[7] Journals of the Voyages of the Resolution and the Adventure.

This task was executed by don Juan de Ayala, whose chief pilot was Maurelle. These associates proceeded as far as the fifty-eighth degree of latitude, but did not mark their voyage with any striking discoveries. Some years afterwards, Ignacio Arteaga sailed to Prince William's Sound, and examined various parts of the coast without any remarkable result. The Spaniards now paid more than their usual attention to California, colonised districts which were before unoccupied, and improved former settlements.

Captain Cook was destined to make farther discoveries. He and Clerke commenced, in July 1776, a voyage in search of a northern passage. They sailed to the southward from the Cape, and reached a desolate spot which had been recently surveyed by M. de Kerguelen, who erroneously supposed it to be the projecting point of a southern continent: but it was merely a small island. Mangeea, Wateeoo, and Otakootaia, were discovered in their way to the Friendly Isles; and, in January 1778, during their northern progress, they found eleven islands, extending from the nineteenth to the twenty-third degree of latitude. They were named from the earl of Sandwich, and were surveyed with pleasure by our voyagers, to whom the natives were in general kind and hospitable. Manufacturing skill, and some knowlege of agriculture, were observed among these tribes; and their lands were in many parts fertile; but the country was not so delightful as that of Otaheitè or Tongataboo. Proceeding to North-America, Cook and his associate discovered Nootka (or King George's) Sound, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and were there gratified with an opportunity of trading for valuable furs. The people were a dull, indolent, and squalid race. At Prince William's Sound the inhabitants seemed to have two mouths: the cause of this strange appearance was a

longitudinal incision in the under lip, ornamented with studs of shell or bone. In the latitude of sixty-one degrees, a river or inlet excited hopes; but, when examined, it did not gratify by it's length the wishes of the party. About five degrees beyond that parallel, the coast of Asia was seen, and the Tschutski tribes were visited. It was afterwards ascertained, that the two continents were separated, in one part, by a channel of the width of only thirteen leagues. The ships sailed above three hundred miles beyond that spot, and were then stopped by a great body of ice, beyond which no unfrozen sea was visible. Thus baffled, the voyagers altered their course to the southward. A severe misfortune, soon after, excited general sorrow. Captain Cook was preparing to check the practice of depredation, at Owhyhee, one of the newly-discovered islands, when a contest arose, in which he lost his life. He had a bold undaunted spirit, and was, at the same time, humane and benevolent. His judgement and ability, in the profession which he had embraced, few will be inclined to dispute [8].

Clerke now became commodore, and Gore succeeded Clerke, who died after a renewed but ineffectual northern search. The voyagers then sailed to the coast of China, and returned to England in October 1780. In one of the ships, not a man died during the voyage: in the other, five persons died, three of whom were not in a good state of health at the time of their departure from the British coast.

The recommendation of the fur trade by Cook occasioned a number of voyages. Two of these were undertaken by captain Hanna, who sailed from China to Nootka, and, safely returning, disposed of his cargo to advantage. Several ships sailed from India for the same

8 Life of Captain James Cook, by Dr. Kippis.

purpose: a Portuguese merchant sent out two vessels from Macao: one went under the Austrian flag from Ostend, and another from Trieste. The lucrative attractions of this trade also led to the formation of a partnership in London, with the name of the King George's Sound Company; and two vessels were fitted out by the commercial associates, in the year 1785, for a voyage to North-America. Portlock and Dixon, who had accompanied Cook in his last voyage, were the captains now employed. They stopped for supplies at the Cape-Verd islands and the Falkland groupe, and proceeded to Cape-Horn, whence they hastened to the Sandwich isles. Their appearance excited an alarm among the natives of Owhyhee, many of whom imagined that they had come to revenge the death of captain Cook. A traffic, however, was carried on in Karakakooa bay for hogs and vegetables; and the ships then sailed to Whahoa, or Woahoo, which Portlock considered as a more desirable spot for a colony than any other island of the groupe. On the coast of North-America, near Cook's River, the voyagers found a party of Russians, who had taken their abode among the savages for the summer. As only a few skins could be there procured, the two captains bore away for King George's Sound, but were prevented by the winds from entering it. They therefore re-visited Owhyhee, and, having obtained an abundant supply of the means of subsistence, returned to Whahoa, where Taheeterre, the king, under the guise of friendship, seemed to meditate hostilities. They now repaired to Atooi, where a house was built for them by order of the sovereign of the island. Again directing their course to America, they safely arrived on the coast. Dixon then separated from Portlock, and discovered Queen Charlotte's Islands, which, however, the French affirm, were first seen by La Pérouse. Each ship procured a good cargo of furs,

which were sold at Canton; and both returned in safety to Great-Britain [9].

About the time when the voyage of Portlock commenced, a French navigator was sent out by Louis XVI., who was fond of geography and attentive to navigation. The Boussole and the Astrolae were put under the command of M. de la Pérouse, who, like Cook, was brave, experienced, and skilful. The commodore, having received judicious instructions from his royal master, passed through the strait of le Maire, and sailed to the coast of Chili, where he saw many descendants of the original natives, an uncivilised race, not fully subdued by the Spaniards. At Easter-Island he was well received; and he gave the inhabitants a stock of European seeds for cultivation. They appeared to him to be superior in the useful arts, but inferior in the institutions of civil polity, to the people of Mowee [10], whom he visited in his way to North-America. On that coast, in the fifty-ninth degree of northern latitude, he entered a bay, which he named the Port of the French, almost surrounded by lofty mountains covered with snow. He hoped to find, in this part of the coast, a passage which might lead across the continent; but the appearance of some *glaciers* stopped his course; and, in another part, he met with a similar check to his progress. In one of these searches, six of his officers and fifteen of his crew were drowned. Returning to the southward, he visited California; and then sailed to the westward, to the Marianne islands and to China. After a reparation of the ships and a procurement of considerable supplies at Cavite, the port belonging to Manilla, he steered to the Japanese coasts, and to Eastern Tartary [11].

9 A Voyage round the World, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788;—the Narrative by Captain George Dixon.

10 The largest of the Sandwich islands, except Owhyhee.

11 Voyage de la Pérouse autour du Monde, redigé par Milet-Mureau, General de Brigade.

He examined the island of Segalien, and found it inhabited by people of a short stature, who subsisted by hunting and fishing, but who were not rough or uncivilised in their manners. He wished to pass through the channel which separates that island from the continent; but, finding it too shallow near the extremity, he anchored in a Tartarian bay, to which he gave the name of the naval minister Castries. The inhabitants of this part of the coast were civil and hospitable, and seemed to live under a patriarchal kind of government. On a farther exploration, he was convinced that Chicha, separated by a strait from Segalien, was the land of Jeso, of which the existence had been denied; that Segalien was the Oku-Jeso; and that the islands of the States and the Company were not imaginary spots.

Having surveyed the Kurile isles, he repaired to Kamtschatka; and then, turning toward the south, wandered over the Pacific until he reached the Isles of the Navigators, visited and described by M. de Bougainville. The ferocity of the natives of Maouna did not immediately show itself: but, when a party had disembarked for the purpose of procuring fresh water, eleven of the voyagers, among whom were the captain of the Astrolabe and an intelligent cultivator of science (Langle and Lamanon), were murdered by the treachery of the barbarians. The ships afterwards proceeded to the coast of New-Holland, and were seen in Botany-Bay at the time when the English were steering from that bay to Port-Jackson for colonial purposes. Mutual civilities passed between the commanders; and M. de la Pérouse resumed his voyage with hopes of ulterior discovery: but, no intelligence has been obtained of his subsequent proceedings, or the fate of himself and his associates. They either perished at sea, or lost their lives by the violence of savages.

M. d'Entrecasteaux was sent out, in search of La

Pérouse, by the constituent assembly of France: but all hopes were extinguished by the result of his voyage, in which, however, he added some discoveries, particularly near New-Caledonia, to those of his unfortunate countryman.

The colonial scheme to which I alluded was adopted during the administration of Mr. Pitt. To clear the prisons, with an eye to eventual benefits derivable from new possessions, the king ordered a considerable embarkation for Botany-Bay, in New-South-Wales. The number of convicts amounted to five hundred and eighty-four men and two hundred and forty-two women, who were guarded by two hundred and twelve marines. Captain Arthur Philip, who had served with reputation both in the English and Portuguese navy, was invested with the chief command of the squadron, and destined to be the first governor of the eventual colony. The voyage to Rio de Janeiro occupied twelve weeks; and, when seeds and plants, and different stores, had been procured at that port, the ships proceeded without any remarkable incident to the African Cape. Although the inhabitants had recently labored under a dearth, about five hundred animals of various denominations, chiefly poultry, were purchased at the Cape, and carried off by the commodore, who arrived in Botany-Bay in January 1788, when above eight months had elapsed from the commencement of the voyage. On the shore appeared a body of savages, armed with spears, which, however, they threw down as soon as they found that the strangers had no hostile intentions. They had not the least particle of clothing; yet did not seem surprised at the sight of well-clad persons, or impressed with a sense of shame [12].

Finding that the bay did not afford sufficient shelter

12 Voyage of Governor Philip to Botany-Bay, chap. 2 to 6.

from the easterly winds, that the land about it was swampy, and that fresh water was scarce, the commodore resolved to seek another station. Port-Jackson, situated three leagues to the northward, was found to be, in every respect, a more desirable spot; and, at one of the coves of this harbour, named from lord Sydney, an ordinary disembarkation took place [13]. While the majority of the men were clearing the ground of the trees and underwood with which it was encumbered, a hasty encampment afforded temporary shelter; and, at a meeting of the whole colony, formal possession was taken of that part of New-Holland which extends from York-Cape to the south-eastern cape, and from the coast to the one hundred and thirty-fifth degree of east longitude; a country to which was given the denomination of New-South-Wales, much more extensive than all the British dominions in Europe. The governor, in various excursions, endeavoured to conciliate the natives: but they long continued to be shy and jealous. They appeared to belong to the numerous race dispersed over the South-Sea islands. They had made little progress in the arts: their canoes were wretchedly formed: their huts were very slight and incommodious; and they could not secure themselves against frequent visitations of famine. Feb. 7.

A settlement was soon after formed on Norfolk Island, to the north-west of New-Zealand, under the direction of lieutenant King, who found it nearly covered with trees and plants, and was astonished at the fertility of the soil. A cluster of islands to which lieutenant Shortland gave the appellation of New-Georgia, and other isles in the Pacific Ocean, were discovered, but not colonised, in the homeward voyage of two of the transports.

13 Mr. White, the surgeon who attended the governor, speaks of this harbour as the "finest and most extensive in the universe, and at the same time the most secure."

The progress of the colony to a regular establishment was slow. Supplies of delinquents were occasionally sent: but such articles of subsistence as the colonists could not obtain in sufficient quantities from the land which they inhabited, did not always arrive from other countries so soon as they were required; and the scarcity sometimes bordered on famine. The greater part of the convicts avoided farther guilt; but some were so incorrigible as to call forth the rigors of law. At various times, discontented individuals found the means of escaping to islands in the Pacific, some of which, in consequence of the instructions given by these fugitives, may hereafter become nests of pirates.

The British discoveries induced the Spanish court to order an exploration of seas and regions. Malaspina, an intelligent Italian, commenced, in 1790, a voyage round the world, and found a groupe of islands in the Pacific, which he did not suppose to have been before seen by any Europeans. Spanish jealousy postponed the publication of his narrative; and I do not find that it has yet appeared.

A voyage of which we have more accurate (because specific) information, was undertaken about the same time by captain Vancouver, at the expence of the British government, for the determination of the dispute respecting a passage from the North-Pacific to the Atlantic. From the Cape he steered to New-Holland, and found, on the south-western coast of that very extensive island, a secure and commodious harbour. The inhabitants of the adjacent territory appeared to be a miserable race, scarcely superior in instinct or intelligence to the wretched occupants of the inhospitable country called by the Spaniards *Tierra del Fuego*. Considerably to the southward of the Society islands, the captain discovered one which the natives called Oparo. It had an uncultivated appearance; but he supposed it's population to amount

to fifteen hundred persons, who seemed to be "exceedingly well fed, and extremely well made." At some of the Sandwich islands, a cold civility was observed in the behaviour of the natives, instead of the friendly generosity of the Otaheiteans. It is remarkable that an Englishman, a Welshman, and an Hibernian, were found at Atooi: they had been left by an American vessel, for the purpose of collecting pearls and sandal-wood [14].

From the accounts published by the Hudson's-Bay Company, it was concluded by many geographers, notwithstanding the hopes of those who considered the strait of Juan de Fuca as leading to the North-Atlantic, that no such communication existed. The strait was found; but it's length is bounded by a mountainous barrier. Various other openings were seen by Vancouver; but, when they were examined, they only disappointed, by their sudden termination, the rising hopes of the voyagers.

Repairing to Nootka Sound, the captain received that district which the Spaniards consented to restore; and he then took possession of the country to the east, denominating it New-Georgia. He visited various parts of California, and found the inhabitants obliging and friendly. In a subsequent season, he renewed his exploration of the North-American coast; and, from Fitz-hugh's Sound, he passed up a cove with boats, but without meeting with any prospect of a continued passage. A groupe of isles near that sound, he named from the Princess Royal. He passed to the east of the Archipelago of the Prince of Wales, and up different channels with which the continent is indented, as far as fifty-six degrees fifteen minutes north: but no passage to the Atlantic presented itself. After his return to California, he more

14 A Voyage of Discovery to the North-Pacific Ocean, and round the World, performed in the years 1790—5, by Captain George Vancouver, vol. i.

particularly noticed the defenceless state of that province, and reflected on the facility with which New-Albion, at least, might be withdrawn from the Spanish yoke, to which the natives were far from being reconciled. Revisiting the Sandwich islands, he procured a formal surrender of Owhyhee to his sovereign. Tamaahmaah, the king of the island, in a council holden on board of Vancouver's ship, stated the expediency of obtaining protection from one great power against the rest of the nations that visited his people, and recommended, for that purpose, a submission to the king of *Britannee*. The chieftains agreed to the proposal, and the surrounding crowd in the canoes voted it by acclamation. In return for this nominal favor, they received some cattle and sheep; and the man who was supposed to have given captain Cook the first wound, was gratified with an implied pardon [15].

An ulterior survey of the American coast was not neglected. Cook's River and Prince William's Sound were examined in boats, but without success. A Russian colony was found in these parts; and the settlers claimed the country as belonging to their sovereign. Having discovered King George's Archipelago, and fruitlessly pursued different openings, the captain desisted from the search, and returned to Nootka. He afterwards sailed near the Maria Islands, crossed the equator, and stopped at Valparaiso in Chili, where the scurvy, which had broken out among the crew, was prevented, by a seasonable change of air and of food, from becoming fatal to any one of the number. He passed round Cape Horn, proceeded to St. Helena, and re-appeared in the British channel, when he had been above five years absent from this country.

This voyage, combined with the third of captain Cook, and with that of Phipps toward the North Pole, under-

15 Vancouver's Voyage, vol. ii. and iii.

taken in the year 1793, destroyed the hopes of finding a passage between the north of Asia and of Europe. There are seas to the north of those two quarters of the world, and also of America: but they are blocked up by ice, and in no season of the year are they passable; nor is there any reasonable expectation of discovering a navigable communication from the western coast of America to Hudson's-Bay or the North-Atlantic. Mr. Mackenzie, an adventurous merchant, passed from Canada across the continent of North-America, in two expeditions of trade and discovery, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, and farther contributed to the removal of all doubts upon that subject.

A voyage less important than that of Vancouver, but not trivial or useless, was undertaken for the purpose of extending and securing the whale-fishery in the Pacific, by a discovery of the best harbours for refreshment or naval reparation, as the Spaniards were not disposed to adhere to their stipulations for the admission of the British fishermen to the privilege even of a short continuance on the coast. The captain examined many islands, some of which he recommended as useful stations; namely, Mocha near the coast of Chili, Lobos, the Gallipago isles, Cocos, and Socoro near the gulph of California[16].

Reverting to French navigation, I am required to take notice of the voyage of captain Marchand, who, in an armed ship constructed for the occasion, commenced, in December 1790, the second voyage which the French ever completed round the world. Paying extraordinary attention to the currents, he found that, from the latitude of the northern parts of Brasil to that of Paraguay, they had constantly set to the south-west, their daily effect upon an average being ten or eleven miles; and that, in

16 Colnett's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean.

approaching the Rio de la Plata, the vessel had been drifted to the east-north-east, about twenty-one miles in a day; an influence which he ascribed to the action of that great river. When he reached the latitude of sixty degrees south, the weather was squally, and hail and snow fell; but the thermometer did not, as he expected, fall below the freezing point. He doubled Cape Horn with great ease, during our season of spring; and, within six months from leaving Marseilles, he arrived at the Marquesas de Mendoça, five lofty islands discovered in 1595 by the Spaniards. He examined Santa Christina with peculiar attention, and found the soil apparently fertile, the valleys covered with cocoa-palms, plantains, bread-fruit-trees, firs, &c. The men were naked, with the exception of a small piece of drapery manufactured from the bark of the mulberry-tree. They were tall, stout, and well-formed; very active, and ingenious in some branches of art; mild, humane, and hospitable. The females were better clothed, and less *tatooed* than the males; lively, volatile, and fond of pleasure[17].

Observing, from his anchorage in a bay of the island of Santa Christina, a fixed spot on the horizon to the north-west, the captain was animated with the hopes of discovery; and in June, 1791, he met with an island to which the officers by acclamation gave his name. Four others were afterwards seen, which he also claimed the merit of discovering. But, as they may be deemed a part of the Mendoça groupe, and were known to the Otaheiteans, besides being seen in the preceding month by a North-American captain, the merit is not very considerable. He marked them in his chart as the Revolution Islands: one seemed to be about forty-five miles in circumference, another thirty.

17 Voyage autour du Monde, pendant les Années 1790, 1791, et 1792, par Etienne Marchand, tome i.

In sailing from those islands to the north-west coast of America, the currents were found to set to the north and the west at the rate of about six miles in twenty-four hours. Intent on the procurement of furs or skins, Marchand now repaired to Chinkitanay or Norfolk-Sound, where he was met by a flotilla of canoes, full of wild Americans, who began and concluded their traffic with singing. The country appeared like a vast forest; and the people subsisted chiefly by hunting and fishing.

Proceeding to Queen Charlotte's Isles, the French were surprised at the sight of some curious specimens of the progress of a rude nation in sculpture—figures of chieftains, and other representations over the doors of houses. The buildings also were of better construction than the strangers expected to find. On the western coasts of those islands, Marchand discovered three good harbours.

In his course from America to the Sandwich islands, he met with no circumstances of interest or variety. On his arrival at Owhyhee, he procured not only the usual supplies, but some fruits which had grown from seeds left by Europeans. In all the canoes, the natives brought out women mingled with the hogs: the former objects of attraction were modestly and prudently refused, while the latter were readily accepted. He was of opinion that the Spaniards had discovered a part of the groupe long before the time of captain Cook; and the difference of stated position is not so great as in some islands which are indisputably the same with each other. On leaving the groupe, he endeavoured to ascertain the height of different mountains: and Mouna-Koa, in Owhyhee, appeared to him to be the highest in the world, next to that of Chimboraço in Peru. Proceeding to the west-north-west, he found that a violent current, occasioned by the channels which separate the two divisions of the Sandwich groupe, had in one day carried his ship above nine leagues toward the north. In twenty-six days from that

time, he reached Tinian, which he found uninhabited, and inattractive in it's aspect. When he arrived at Macao, he was disappointed in his commercial views by finding that the court of Pekin, having recently concluded a treaty with Russia, had prohibited the introduction of otter-skins and other furs into the southern parts of China. He sailed out of the Chinese sea by a strait, then little known (between the isles of Banca and Billiton), which he found far preferable to the dangerous strait of Banca. After a continuance of eleven weeks at the isle of France, he sailed toward the African coast, and found that in twenty days and a half the currents had driven the vessel about one hundred and twelve leagues more to the westward than appeared from the daily observations: in the latitude, also, apparent errors arose from the same source. At St. Helena he could only partially supply the wants of his crew, as two years of drought had greatly injured the resources of that rocky and volcanic island, notwithstanding the extraordinary industry of the inhabitants. Within twenty months from the commencement of the voyage, he anchored in the port of Toulon, having sailed in that time fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-eight leagues (a space nearly equivalent to twice the circumference of the globe), and lost only one man during the whole voyage; and this death was not occasioned by the scurvy, which, when it appeared on one of the sailors, the surgeon of the ship, Roblet, cured by a sand-bath[18].

Soon after the termination of M. Marchand's voyage, the English commenced one which excited extraordinary attention. It was not a circumnavigation of the globe, but a voyage to China, undertaken upon a grand scale, in the hope of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce with the court of Pekin. Lord Macartney was the

18 Voyage par Marchand, tome ii.

ambassador to whom the task of conciliation was intrusted. His secretary was sir George Staunton; and in his train were two Chinese interpreters, and many votaries of art and science, beside the nautic complement of the two ships fitted out for the occasion. He proceeded to Brasil for supplies, and then sailed to the south-east, to Tristan d'Acunha. By a physician who attended him, the isle of Amsterdam was examined; and, on it's west and south-west sides four small cones were observed, "with craters in their centres, in which the lava and other volcanic substances had every appearance of recent formation." In another part of the island he viewed a crater, then full of water, considerably exceeding that of Ætna in diameter. Without touching at the Cape, the ships traversed the Indian ocean to the island of Java, where many of the voyagers felt the effects of the insalubrious climate. A civil war existed in Cochin-China when the strangers arrived on that coast. They were urged to join in the contest: but they properly refused. The ambassador at length reached Tacoo, a Chinese port; and he and his retinue then embarked in yachts, and were conveyed up the *Pei-Ho* (or White River) to Tien-sing, a large and flourishing town, whence they proceeded to Tong-choo-foo, where they were lodged in a spacious temple. To Pekin they were now conducted by land in pompous procession, attended by mandarins and a body of soldiers [19].

When the splendor of a remote and rarely-visited city has been a frequent topic of high praise, it usually sinks beneath the expectations of those who are admitted to a sight of it. This was the case with Pekin, which did not excite, in any extraordinary degree, the admiration of it's British visitants. It's extent was indeed very great,

19 Account of an Embassy from the King of Great-Britain to the Emperor of China, by Sir George Staunton, vol. i. and ii.

and the streets were very wide: but the public buildings in general were not magnificent, and the private houses were mean, seldom exceeding one story in height.

The emperor having invited the ambassador to his palace beyond the great wall, the construction of that boasted work was examined. It's body was found to be an elevation of earth, eleven feet in thickness, flanked by a wall of masonry, upon which was a terrace of brick-work, not exceeding twenty-five feet in height. The form of the small holes in the parapets, apparently coëval with the wall, induced the observers to believe, that the Chinese had (as is generally supposed) a very early knowlege of the effects of gunpowder.

Seated on his throne, Kien-Long (or Chen-Lung) gave audience to lord Macartney, and graciously received the globes, mathematical instruments, watches, and other works of art, which were presented to him. A banquet followed; and seeming good-will, but no cordiality or real friendship, prevailed.

The hopes of a treaty were soon perceived to be ill-founded. Reflecting probably on British encroachments in the East Indies, and influenced by the suspicious temper for which the Chinese are remarkable, the emperor did not suffer the intruders to remain long in his dominions. He dismissed them with exterior respect; but those who had a keen sense of honor could not avoid perceiving marks of contempt.

In passing through the provinces of Shanton, Kiang-nan, and Chekiang, the English had a cursory survey of the agriculture and rural arts of the Chinese. They scarcely observed a single spot uncultivated. Even morasses were rendered productive; for hurdles were placed over them, covered with earth, in which various seeds were sown. Water-wheels were used for the irrigation of the neighbouring grounds. Canals were numerous, and one of them extended to the length of about five hun-

dred miles, furnished with locks of a simple but applicable construction. The view of these and other objects of curiosity, however, did not compensate the ambassador's disappointment in the grand purpose of the voyage.

The Chinese sovereign soon after received the honor of a visit from an ambassador of the United Provinces; but his imperial majesty considered it as the result of commercial avarice rather than of a disinterested wish for his friendship. The strangers were entertained with festivities, while they were watched as spies and guarded as prisoners.

The voyagers who discovered the islands of the Pacific ocean thought more of the improvement of navigation and commerce than of religion, and attended more to the temporal than to the spiritual wants of the rude inhabitants. Divines of the methodist persuasion lamented this deficiency of pious zeal; and it was resolved, at some consultations of these sectaries, that a voyage should be undertaken for the express purpose of imparting a knowlege of Christianity to the natives of the South-Sea islands. Subscriptions for that purpose were solicited and obtained; and a ship, named the Duff, was at length equipped, in which four ministers, and many laymen who were capable of acting in various branches of useful employment, consented to embark. Prayers were offered up in the meetings for the success of the voyage; and hopes of an ample Christian harvest were eagerly entertained. Wilson, who was attached to the sect, had the command of the vessel, which sailed with the missionary flag in August 1796, and, in the following March, anchored off the coast of Otaheitè. The natives seemed to be pleased at the thought of having a British colony in their country; and a fertile district was ceded to the eighteen methodists, who made choice of that island for their residence. The Duff then sailed to the Friendly Isles; and ten missionaries were left at Tongataboo. Two

were afterwards conveyed to the Marquesas, and put on shore at Santa Christina: but the minister Harris, disgusted at his situation, and dreading famine, refused to stay. His friend long remained there, but was unable to convert the inhabitants. The sectaries who resided at Tongataboo found the people less dissolute than those of Otaheitè, yet not disposed to imbibe a new religion. Three of the number were murdered in a civil war, which was absurdly imputed to their arts. The others at length found an opportunity of escaping[20].

For some months after the arrival of the missionaries at Otaheitè, they were rather employed in the management of their own concerns, and in determining how they should act, than in forwarding the great work of conversion; and when they began to preach and persuade, they found the natives firmly attached to their idolatrous practices and profane customs. Despairing of success, harassed and plundered by the islanders, eleven took advantage of the approach of a mercantile ship, and procured a conveyance to New South-Wales. Other religious adventurers afterwards landed on the island; but they met with little success, although Otoo, the chieftain, was inclined to promote a reform among his people.

No regular trade has yet been established with the islands in the Pacific; nor have any intentions of colonising them been formed by our ministers. The trade of Great-Britain, indeed, does not very urgently demand extension; and settlements in those islands are not objects of imperious necessity.

At the time of the pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle, the commerce of Britain was far from being inconsiderable. It received progressive encouragement from the king and the parliament; and it's branches were occasion-

20 Transactions of the Missionary Society in the South-Sea Islands.

ally extended by the active spirit of adventure. From the beginning of the reign of George II., the number of mercantile ships had greatly increased; and many of the arts and manufactures, connected both with foreign and internal trade, had in that interval been improved. For the regular promotion of these objects, a society was formed in 1753; and rewards were offered by it's members for proficiency in various arts.

Inland trade was greatly promoted by that eagerness for the multiplication of canals, which arose from the success of the duke of Bridgewater. That nobleman, having a quantity of coal, which he could not vend to advantage on account of the great expence of land-carriage, caused a canal to be cut from Worsley to Manchester, under the direction of Brindley, an ingenious mechanic, who had been bred a wheel-wright. No locks were introduced in it's progress; and it was carried through irregular grounds within vast mounds of earth, under hills by means of tunnels, and, by an aqueduct which was deemed an impracticable work, over the navigable river Irwell. This canal was opened in 1761; and it's benefits were soon felt by the proprietor and the public. It was afterwards extended to Liverpool; and the example was followed by a body of subscribers, who wished for a similar navigation from the Mersey to the Trent. In other parts of the country, canals were constructed by public spirit, animated by a thirst of lucre; and, at the present day, new ones are in progress, even where they do not appear to be requisite. To facilitate the conveyance of coal and other heavy articles from the pits or mines to the barges, iron rail-ways were formed in preference to those of wood, which had long been in use [21].

The additions made to the American dependencies of Great-Britain, at the peace of Paris, greatly increased the

21 Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation, by David Macpherson, being a Continuation of Anderson's History of Commerce.

demand for our manufactures; and, at the same time, the extraordinary change in the affairs of the India company, had a similar effect. Colonial accessions were also requisite for both hemispheres; and, although many emigrations consequently took place, the departure of the adventurers did not visibly injure the agriculture and arts of the mother-country.

In the year of the pacification before mentioned, the imports of Great-Britain amounted in value to twelve millions five hundred and sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds, and the exports exceeded fifteen millions five hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred pounds. The burthen of the shipping reached to five hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five tons; and the customs produced two millions two hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred pounds. In 1774, the year which preceded the commencement of the American war, the imports were fourteen millions four hundred and seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds; and the exports seventeen millions two hundred and eighty-eight thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds. They declined considerably during the war, but soon rose after the restoration of peace [22].

When war arose between Great-Britain and the revolutionary rulers of France, our imports bordered on twenty millions, and our exports, including foreign merchandise re-exported, approached the value of twenty-five millions; and, in the course of the war, they so far rose as to amount, in 1800, to thirty millions and a half, and forty-three millions. I am here stating the official value: the real marketable value was above fifty-five millions four hundred thousand pounds, on the former head, and, on the latter, fifty-five millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The greatest importation in that year, except from the

22 Macpherson's Annals.

colonies, proceeded from Russia; and the most copious exportation was to Germany. With Russia, Sweden, and some other nations, the balance of trade was against Great-Britain; but the general balance was favorable. In the year 1798, the prime minister was of opinion, that the profits of foreign trade amounted to twelve millions, and those of internal traffic and varied industry to twenty-eight.

The trading vessels belonging to the different ports of the British dominions, in 1792, exceeded the number of sixteen thousand and seventy, the tons being one million five hundred and forty thousand one hundred and forty-five. In 1800, the ships were seventeen thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and the burthen was estimated at one million eight hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine tons. Of the whole number of vessels England fitted out above two-thirds. At the same time, the royal navy, which in 1761 did not exceed three hundred and seventy-two vessels of all sizes, amounted to nine hundred and six, one hundred and ninety-five of which were of the line.

The chief British manufacture is the woollen branch. In making fine cloth of this description, no nation can justly be said to excel the English; but, for the perfection of the manufacture, it is necessary to have a mixture of Spanish wool. It is computed that the woollen goods annually produced by the artisans and workmen of Great-Britain are not of less value, upon the average, than fifteen millions and a half sterling. The leather manufacture may be valued at ten millions and a half; that of silk, at two millions seven hundred thousand pounds; that of linen, at two millions; that of hemp at a million and a half. Fourteen millions form the supposed value of articles in iron, steel, tin, lead, plating, &c. and three and a half may be reckoned for those of copper and brass. In some of these branches of art, the steam-engine was employed. The great improver of this machine was Mr.

Watt, who, with the assistance of the ingenious Mr. Bolton, in 1775, added wonderfully to the power of the engine, so as to render it capable of turning mills for a great variety of useful purposes.

When the increasing demand for cotton goods had suggested the expediency of quickening the progress of spinning, various contrivances were devised for that purpose; but their effect did not answer expectation. At length, in 1767, Hargrave, a weaver in Lancashire, invented a machine called a *Jenny*, which was rude in it's original form, but was soon improved, while it's contriver, harassed by persecution, for having attempted to diminish the employment of the people, died in poverty. Arkwright, who was at first a rustic *tonsor*, applied his mind to this object, and procured a patent for spinning by means of rollers. His first mill was worked by horses; the second by water. He obtained patents for other improvements, and died in a state of well-merited opulence. Spinning and carding, in consequence of his judicious contrivances, were subsequently performed with wonderful celerity. These discoveries occasioned the introduction of the calico and muslin manufactures[23]; and from the extension of the trade, the result (notwithstanding the diminution of labor in each piece of work) was the employment of a much greater number of persons than had before been engaged in the business. The annual value of cotton articles, taken at an average, may be computed at nine millions and a half.

For the improvement of porcelain and pottery, we are indebted to Mr. Wedgwood, with whose well-formed ware not only his countrymen, but also several of the continental nations, were abundantly supplied. The manufacture of glass was highly improved. Clocks and

23 The muslin made in Scotland has been brought into general use: but it is no more equal to that which is manufactured in India, than the British imitations of cambric are to the French originals.

watches were constructed with greater neatness and precision. Astronomical instruments received an accession of accuracy and an extension of power; and those which belonged to other branches of science were fabricated with increasing skill.

The trade of France quickly revived after the restoration of peace in 1748: but the folly of Louis XV., in provoking a new war by his colonial encroachments in North-America, baffled the hopes of his commercial subjects. The next interval of peace was longer, but was not so well employed as it ought to have been; and it required extraordinary exertions, after the peace of 1783, to put trade again in a flourishing state. The French then strenuously endeavoured to secure the chief share of the North-American commerce: but they could not, even from the animosity which yet rankled in the hearts of the provincials against the mother-country, obtain so great an advantage; nor, indeed, did they take proper measures to conciliate the subjects of the United States; for, in the colonial traffic, they subjected the latter to various restrictions, and made large exceptions both with regard to imports and exports.

By a treaty concluded with Sweden, in 1784, the French monarch consented to resign the small and infertile island of St. Bartholomew to Gustavus III. in return for a full freedom of trade with Sweden. In the following year, he erected a new company, with the privilege of trading to every country beyond the Cape of Good Hope, except the isle of France[24], to which *depôt* all other French merchants were permitted to send vessels. In a decree of commercial regulation, he expressed a wish for such an unrestricted circulation of the produce of all countries, as might give to the whole civilised

24 This isle was now, in some measure, re-colonised. On the island of Madagascar, in the same ocean, a French colony had been planted in 1774 by count Benyouski; but it was neglected by the government, and abandoned.

world the appearance of an united nation: but, as all states were not yet disposed to concur in a scheme of this kind, it was expedient, he said, to prohibit the importation of various British and other goods, which might interfere with French manufactures. Mutual prohibitions, however, on the part of France and of Britain, gave way in 1786 to a commercial treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the subjects of each kingdom should be treated by the other, in point of duties, with as much indulgence as was shown to any nation, and that only small duties should be levied on British cottons, woollens, and other desirable articles, or on French wine and brandy, millinery, cambric, &c. France also extended her trade by particular treaties with the czarina, the king of Prussia, and the American republic.

The war with Great-Britain, after the French revolution, reduced the trade of the French to a low ebb, and tended to the extraordinary depression of their manufactures: but these effects were deemed trivial by those who imagined that they had obtained the blessings of liberty. It was stated, in an official report presented to the three consuls of France, in 1800, that two thousand nine hundred and seventy-five French vessels had entered inward, and three thousand three hundred and fifty-eight cleared outward. If we admit this statement to be true, we may be certain that the number would have been, in a very high degree, greater in time of peace.

The commerce of Spain was in a languishing state at the accession of Charles III.; but that prince removed some of the restrictions with which his brother had left it shackled, and in some measure roused his subjects from the torpor which had seised them. Many years, however, elapsed before he gave any great degree of encouragement to the American trade: for the establishment of monthly packet-boats in 1764 from Corunna to the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico, and of six in a year

to and from the river de la Plata, with permission to individuals to export merchandise to the amount of one moiety of the cargo, and import American produce in the same proportion, proved a very insufficient extension of the traffic. At length, in 1778, he granted the liberty of trading with many American towns, to all who would be content to ship goods from seven prescribed ports. This comparative freedom so pleased the public, that the opportunity was readily embraced; for, in that year, besides sixty-three ships from Cadiz (the port to which the trade had been confined, the number of vessels being also limited), ninety-nine sailed from Malaga and other ports. The merchandise conveyed in these one hundred and sixty-two ships consisted, in the proportion of five-eighths, of articles furnished by the French, English, Dutch, and some other nations; for the natives were then so backward in manufactures, that they only worked up a very small part of the great quantity of wool produced in their country. From France and Britain they received calico, linen, wrought silk, fine woollen, worsted stuffs, iron and steel goods; from the former they also imported jewellery, haberdashery, perfumery, and sometimes corn; from the latter, an abundance of salt-fish for *maigre* days. From Holland they had common lace, linen, paper, grocery, and cutlery: Germany and Switzerland contributed to supply them with linen and haberdashery. At the time before specified, they had about four hundred and fifty mercantile vessels; of which number Catalonia and Biscay nearly furnished the whole: yet the coasting trade was chiefly carried on by foreign traders. Ten years afterward, the exports from Spain to America exceeded three millions one hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and seventy pounds sterling, being two millions three hundred and thirty thousand two hundred pounds beyond the amount of the year 1778. The foreign merchandise, included in this calculation, did not equal that of the nation. The

imports from America, at the same time, were valued at eight millions three hundred and eighty-two thousand two hundred pounds, and were composed of coffee, sugar, tobacco, cocoa, cochineal, indico, cotton, leather, and gold and silver bullion, besides coin. The two last articles have, in many years, exceeded six millions sterling, without including the millions which are clandestinely imported. Among the commercial productions of Spain we may reckon wine, brandy, oil, barilla, soda, salt, madder, leather, cork, and lead. The manufactures of the country were considerably improved and extended before the war arose with revolutionary France, but by no means so effectually as to produce a sufficient supply of articles for all the provinces and colonies of Spain[25].

Instead of the imperfect intercourse with the East-Indies, carried on by one annual ship, Galvez, the minister for the colonies, proposed that a direct trade from Cadiz should be opened with the Philippine islands. A company was formed in 1785 for that purpose; and, though it's first voyage was not very profitable, succeeding attempts were exceedingly beneficial. It's vessels were allowed to trade with the ports of Caraccas and Maracaybo, and with the provinces of Mexico and Peru, as well as with the oriental colonies of Spain[26].

25 Itinéraire Déscriptif de l'Espagne, et Tableau Elémentaire des différentes Branches de l'Administration et de l'Industrie de ce Royaume, par Alexandre de Laborde,—Paris, 1809.

M. Bourgoing, speaking of the introduction of a cotton manufacture at Avila by two Englishmen, in 1789, says, that they were for a considerable time in danger of being murdered as odious heretics, and that the peasants of the neighbourhood, from a superstitious dread, studiously avoided going near the spot where the strangers resided. But this senseless prejudice and alarm at length subsided; and, in 1792, above seven hundred persons were employed in the new manufacture. Poverty was thus banished from Avila; and the fame of the two Englishmen occasioned their presentation and gracious reception at court. The manufacture, however, afterwards passed into other hands, and was nearly annihilated. *Tableau* de l'Espagne Moderne, tome iii.

26 Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne, par *J. F. Bourgoing*, tome ii.—This writer is the same person with the chevalier *Bourgoanne*, to whom were attributed the Travels in Spain, published in 1789.

The proportion of general trade with Cadiz, in 1791, was as follows. Of one thousand and eight ships which then entered the port, one hundred and eighty were British, one hundred and seventy-six came from Spanish America, one hundred and sixty-two from different ports of Spain, one hundred and sixteen were French, one hundred and four Portuguese, ninety belonged to subjects of the United States of North-America, eighty were Dutch, forty-one came from Denmark, twenty-five from Sweden, only one from Russia, one from Hamburg, twenty-two from Ragusa, eight from Genoa and Venice, one from Manilla, and one from an imperial port. This extensive commerce rendered Cadiz the most opulent city in Spain.

The trade of Portugal was improved under the government of Joseph and his daughter; but, if those sovereigns had been less prejudiced and more enlightened, the valuable resources of their country would have been much better employed than they were. Their mines of iron were neglected: those of lead were not properly worked: manufactures did not flourish in full vigor; and, near the close of the eighteenth century, about two-thirds of the land were left uncultivated. The lucrative export of wine, however, was considerably augmented, while the import of woollen cloth from Great-Britain was diminished by the encouragement that was given to native industry. Commercial treaties were concluded with nations which hitherto had carried on only an indirect trade with Portugal; and the colonial traffic was subjected to improved regulations. The chief exports, besides wine, were oil, fruit, salt, drugs, cork, and cotton.

Of the commerce of Italy, the English had a great share; and the port of Leghorn was more particularly under their influence, before it was seised by the French. In

this town silks and stuffs were well manufactured. Genoa had a brisk trade with France and Spain; and some of it's manufactures (velvet, brocade, lace, &c.) were in a flourishing state. At Turin, trade was less vigorous. The city of Milan abounded with artisans; and the country was better cultivated than the rest of Italy. The Venetians retained a sufficient share of trade to draw a great number of ships to their chief port; for, in 1791, above a thousand vessels entered the harbour. Corn, fruit, drugs, paper, cloth, mirrors, coral, iron, &c. were exported by the subjects of that republic. Rome had little trade. From Naples and Sicily were exported wine, oil, silk, flax, hemp, cotton, wool, and cattle.

The French long enjoyed the principal share of the trade of Turkey and Greece: but the English also secured a considerable proportion of it. It is in a great measure passive on the part of the Turks, who have scarcely any mercantile vessels. Their carpets are in great request; their drugs and dyes are useful; their silk is not so good as that of Italy, but it is still a desirable article.

Among the Russians, commerce prospered under the fostering care of Catharine II.; and their articles of exportation were usefully increased by the spoliatory acquisitions in Poland. They supplied many of the European nations with iron, copper, timber, sail-cloth, hemp, flax, pot-ash, peltry, and coarse linen. They traded with China by caravans, and exchanged their furs for precious stones, porcelain, tea, silk, and cotton. From Persia, by the Caspian lake, they procured silk (both raw and manufactured), carpets, and fine stuffs, in return for iron, steel, and furs.

The trade of Sweden was not in a very flourishing state at the time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was chiefly carried on with Denmark, Russia, Great-

Britain, France, Portugal, Holland, and Germany. Gothenburg was the principal port next to the capital. From that town the trade with India was prosecuted: but this branch of traffic was much less beneficial to it's inhabitants than the herring-fishery, which, between the years 1753 and 1763, increased in produce from twenty thousand seven hundred barrels to one hundred and eighty-six thousand six hundred; and the Swedes were enabled to dispose of their fish at a cheaper rate than could the Dutch or any other traders. In 1781 the exports from Sweden amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds sterling, and the imports to one million and twenty-seven thousand pounds; so that the balance was, by three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, in favor of that kingdom. The most valuable exports were iron, copper, timber, fish and their oil, pitch and tar: the most expensive import of that year was rye, sugar the next, and then hemp.

By the Trolhætta canal (cut through rocks with great skill and extraordinary labor), and other communications, a passage was opened for goods across Sweden, from Gothenburg to Stockholm. The Sound-duties were thus saved, and the dangerous navigation of the Baltic avoided. This scheme was in agitation so early as the reign of Charles XII.; but it was not completed before the year 1800.

The exports from Denmark and Norway to Britain were usually less than those of Sweden, and the imports much greater. In 1774, the progress made by the Danes in the woollen manufacture induced the court to prohibit the importation of British articles of that description: but the balance of trade with Denmark continued to favor this country; for the goods sent to that kingdom were frequently double, in point of value, to those which were received. The Danish India company

flourished for a time: but, when private trade was allowed, it's affairs declined; and the monopoly was at length reduced to a mere shadow, without injuring the prosperity of the Oriental settlements. The Danish exports consist of timber, iron, tar, peltry, cordage, and a few other articles. Wrought iron, copper, and brass, glass and earthen ware, cotton and linen goods, leather, hats, and silk, are among the imports.

The commerce of the United Provinces flourished until they were involved in a war with Great-Britain, in 1780; and, after the return of peace, it did not rise to it's former extent. Both their East and West India companies gradually declined in opulence and credit, in consequence of the increasing concern of other nations in the colonial trade. The former, in 1786, could only be saved from bankruptcy by considerable loans from the government. Our trade with Holland, even during the revolutionary war, continued to be considerable; and the articles received from that country were generally far inferior in value to our exports.

In the Prussian dominions, the spirit of commerce increased after the peace of Hubertsburg, and more particularly after the partition of Poland. Manufactures were widely diffused. In the Electoral Marche, linen, woollen, silk and cotton, were wrought in an improved style: in the Middle Marche, porcelain was an important article: in the duchy of Magdeburg, stuffs of various kinds were fabricated: in Silesia, the linen manufacture highly flourished: in Pomerania trade was brisk; from Stettin were exported corn, timber, glass, pot-ash, madder, tobacco, lapis calaminaris, and antimony. From East and West Prussia, planks, hemp, flax, and corn, were exported; and the imports were lead, tin, copper, broad-cloth, sugar, fruits, spices, wine, and brandy. The trade of Embden, in East-Friseland, was not at first

encouraged by the great Frederic: but he at length gratified the burghers with an India company and with other favors.

The trade of Saxony continued to be considerable, it's products being numerous and valuable. Among these we may reckon silver, iron, lead, copper, cobalt, and precious stones; hemp, flax, saffron, and hops. The porcelain of Dresden is admired, as is also that of Meissen.

The Palatinate flourished in point of manufactures and traffic: but, when the elector had succeeded to the Bavarian inheritance, the former part of his dominions received less encouragement from the court, and betrayed marks of neglect.

The Hanoverian territories were not so well cultivated as they might have been; for, notwithstanding the sterility of many districts, some are sufficiently fertile to encourage an agricultural spirit. At the same time, manufactures of linen, coarse woollen, paper, glass, gold and silver lace, were carried on with success; and many articles in copper and iron were also well fabricated.

The Saxons exercised their industry in a variety of modes; and their towns were enlivened with the bustle of trade. Their mines were wrought with skill, and the products were neatly formed into useful and ornamental articles. Linen, cotton, woollen, silk, lace, and other objects of constant or frequent demand, were manufactured with skill and dispatch; and Leipsic, besides a considerable share of general trade, was the greatest literary mart in Europe.

Trade was encouraged in the Austrian dominions by Maria Theresa, by her sons Joseph and Leopold, and her grandson Francis. Joseph was fond of conversing with merchants and artisans, to whom his suggestions were sometimes useful. He invited foreigners to give

spirit and extension to the traffic of his people. He increased the commerce of Ostend and Trieste, and opened a trade by the Black Sea. The mines of Austria and Hungary, the valuable mineral produce of the latter region, the linens of Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia, were exchanged for the woollens of other countries, for silks, colors, coffee, sugar, &c. Horses, oxen, corn, and tobacco, were also among the productive articles of traffic.

The Swiss diligently attended to agriculture, as far as the rugged nature of their country would allow, and carried on various manufactures of immediate use and necessity, without being particularly eager for the prosecution of foreign trade. Yet they sent cattle and provisions to other nations, linen and cotton goods, silks and stuffs, lace, and watches. The Genevans long excelled in the last species of workmanship; but it is now generally allowed, that British artisans are more skilful in that branch of art.

LETTER XVII.

A Survey of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Year 1763 to 1802.

THE greater part of history, my dear son, unfortunately consists of scenes of blood and slaughter, exhibiting a melancholy picture of the misapplied energies of the human race. After the view of so many dreadful effects of ambition and political animosity, a display of the state of civil society, a survey of art and science, of institutions, manners, and customs, will afford a pleasing relief to your mind. You cannot, however, expect

that I should dwell upon every point connected with these topics. The limits which I have prescribed to myself will not admit diffusion, or allow minuteness of discussion.

The French continued to surpass the other nations of Europe in exterior politeness, in elegant and pleasing manners. They had a winning suavity and graceful ease, freedom without coarseness, and vivacity without rudeness. They excelled in conversation, and in the art of rendering themselves agreeable in society—I mean temporarily, not permanently; for I doubt their general capability of real or sincere friendship.

Their licentiousness with regard to the female sex did not decline even under the sway of Louis XVI., whose rigid morality was not accompanied with such imposing majesty of demeanor as to command an imitation of his chaste example. If we exclude every idea of actual guilt on the part of his queen, her levity may be supposed to have had an effect not altogether favorable to conjugal decorum. In another respect, it is allowed, that her disinclination to the formality of *etiquette* impaired the dignity of the court, and diminished the respect of it's attendants and votaries. Familiarity tends, according to the proverbial remark, to breed contempt; and, where no foundation for contempt exists, it lessens reverence. I do not affirm, that Marie Antoinette was coarsely or meanly familiar: her share of Austrian pride would not suffer her so to degrade herself: but, by encouraging freedom of access to the courtly sanctuary, she contributed to a decline of the fervor of adoration.

The revolution occasioned a great change in the manners of the French. It transformed them into a rough and brutal race, as destitute of feeling as of politeness. It blunted their social energies, and absorbed their private sensibilities. It taught them to refer all their actions to objects or purposes of patriotism, at a time when few

of them seemed to be acquainted with the true means of promoting the interest of their country. It so unsettled the volatile minds of an inconsiderate people, that they were unfit for dispassionate inquiry and calm deliberation. Appearances, by such men, were taken for realities, and presumptions for proofs: arguments were disregarded, and opinions were formed without the least foundation in correct judgement. A democratic *furor* pervaded the community, overpowered law and reason, banished good-breeding and politeness, and almost exploded civilisation itself.

The liberal arts suffered amidst the decline of courteous and elegant manners. The arts which were principally cultivated were such as were conducive to the accommodation of ordinary life, or connected with the practice of war. This was studied with peculiar eagerness, not so much in history or in old works upon tactics, as in conversation and in mental inquiry. To this art every thing was rendered subservient. Without consummate excellence in it, said the leaders of the revolution, the nation would be subdued by it's numerous and powerful enemies. Their philanthropy, they pretended, induced them to wish for a total cessation of war: but the present state of the world would not admit such concord: yet it was hoped that gradual approaches would be made to those improved morals and purified dispositions which might ultimately preclude sanguinary contests. But, with whatever zeal the military art was studied by officers, or by those who wished to enter into a profession supposed to be honorable, the force of number was chiefly instrumental in producing the extraordinary success of the republican troops.

During the revolutionary war, the French improved the construction and management of their field-pieces, and introduced flying artillery, with seats on the carriages and the limbers, with which they made a great

impression. In more than one engagement, they were assisted, according to the French accounts, by the new invention of air-balloons, which they owed to a sudden thought of their countryman Montgolfier, although a similar idea had previously occurred to Dr. Black, Mr. Cavendish, and Mr. Cavallo. A bag being filled with heated air, one or more persons rose in a car annexed to it, and soared to a great height; and, when that species of air was found to be dangerous, from the necessity of taking up a brasier or furnace with the car, inflammable air, produced by pouring oil of vitriol upon the filings of steel, or by some other chemical process, was substituted for it. The movements and supposed intentions of the opposite army were communicated by the aëronaut to the French general, who thus derived an important advantage.

The rapid conveyance of military intelligence was promoted in France by the use of the telegraph; a machine resembling that which was recommended by the philosophic marquis of Worcester about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was constructed under the eye of M. Chappe. It has since been brought into use in the country which had a better claim to it.

Before the revolution, a constellation of ingenious men, in various branches of science, established the fame of France. M. d'Alembert was distinguished both as a mathematician and polite scholar. He contributed many valuable articles to the *Encyclopédie*, and wrote the celebrated introduction to that great work. He first studied law, and then medicine; but neither of those professions suited his taste. He threw light on the motion and resistance of fluids, explained the theory of the winds, illustrated the integral calculus, investigated the philosophy of music, and resolved a variety of problems in astronomy. Freedom of thinking he promoted, and, under an arbitrary government, asserted the claim of

mankind to liberty. He was invited by Frederic of Prussia to preside over the academy of sciences at Berlin, and by Catharine II. to superintend the education of the grand duke Paul: but he rejected both offers. It is to be lamented, that he entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity, and was indeed disposed to deny all revelation. In this point his fellow-encyclopedist Diderot agreed with him. The latter was not so conversant in mathematics and natural philosophy as M. d'Alembert: yet he was a scientific as well as an elegant writer. Clairault, the astronomer, disputed with d'Alembert on various points; and his Tables of the Moon seem preferable to those of his rival. The count de Buffon investigated the abstruse subject of the primary formation of the earth; but his theory, which refers it to an igneous origin, is too fanciful to obtain many proselytes, or to require particular notice. In his natural history he was too speculative and hypothetical, and not sufficiently exact or methodical: but his great work on that subject is attractive and interesting, from the variety of it's topics, it's style and manner. Brisson, who preceded him, was a more accurate naturalist; as was also d'Aubenton, who assisted Buffon.

Macquer skilfully analysed dyes and earths, and gave a more regular form to chemical knowlege. Morveau-Guyton trod in the same path; and, with the assistance of Lavoisier, Berthollet, and Fourcroy, he produced, in 1787, a system which tended to overturn the theory of Stahl, who had referred almost every thing to *phlogiston*, or the principle of inflammability. A more accurate nomenclature was devised by the same associates, whose system soon gained ground, and at length generally prevailed. Several new acids, metals, and earths, were discovered by their sagacity; and Lavoisier, in particular, found oxygen to be the grand acidifying principle. He illustrated the nature of air and of heat, and pro-

nounced the latter to be a distinct substance, rather than a mere quality. He also threw light on the physiology of animals, as Tillet and Vauquelin did on that of vegetables.

The numerous uses of chemistry, and its application to agriculture, to almost every mechanic art, to natural history, and medicine, were more clearly pointed out, and more fully established, by these and other modern philosophers, than by any of their predecessors; and thus great benefit accrued to the world.

Mental philosophy, when studied in France, unfortunately led to infidelity. The ability of various writers on this subject lost itself in metaphysical subtilty. In moral philosophy, also, the French at this time were more refined than judicious. Their historians were lively and agreeable, but not, in general, sufficiently attentive to accuracy of statement. Their novelists wrote in a popular style; but many of them taught erroneous sentiments, and exhibited false views of life. Their classical scholars were superficial rather than profound; and, though some good Latinists appeared among them, few were skilled in Grecian lore.

In the fine arts, ability and skill were possessed by some natives of France, if not by a great number. Deshayes promised to be an admirable painter; but he died at an early age. The productions of Greuze and Grenée are admired: the landscapes of Vernet procured him high reputation: Guerin was an historic painter of merit: Roslin and la Tour excelled in portraits. Pigale was high in the ranks of sculptors: Le Moine was also a distinguished statuary: but his groupes are not equal to his busts. Julien's statue of La Fontaine, and his figure of the female bather, are admired. Stephen Falconet had acquired celebrity by his groupe of Pygmalion, before he executed, for the empress of Russia, the equestrian statue of Peter the Great. The completion of this *chef-*

d'œuvre, placed upon a mass of stone (said to weigh above three millions of pounds) which had been transported with extraordinary labor from Lachta in Carelia to Petersburg, was accompanied with a release of many debtors, and other acts of grace from the czarina. Mademoiselle Collot, daughter-in-law to this artist, executed a model for the head of the figure, with great skill. —Cars, Monnet, Le Mire, and others, were eminent in the art of engraving.

The ornaments of the French theatre were Le Kain, La-Rive, Molé, and Mademoiselle Clairon. The first broke through the disadvantages of nature, and became an excellent tragedian; the second had great merit in the same department: the third was remarkable for comic humor, as was also Préville: the lady was an admirable representative of tragic characters. Among ingenious comic dramatists we may reckon Destouches, Saurin, and Beaumarchais. Few of the modern French tragedies are esteemed. The musical composers and performers were not highly distinguished, in comparison with those of Italy and Germany: but the talents of Gretry, in the former department, were respectable.

Besides the individuals whom I have mentioned, there may be several whose abilities and attainments render them more deserving of notice than many of those who are particularised in this survey. I merely observe, *en passant,* that they are not omitted from any idea of their inferiority of merit, but because they do not occur to my recollection.

The progress or decline of religion must not be neglected in a sketch of society, of which it is a strong cement. The luxurious and dissipated habits of the higher clergy, and a decay of piety among the inferior ecclesiastics, were very observable before the accession of Louis XVI., whose religious spirit feelingly lamented this degeneracy. That prince was requested by the

clergy, in consequence of the resolutions adopted in a general assembly, to take measures for the repression of infidelity, and also to discountenance the protestants, who, presuming upon the indulgence of the court, asserted their claims to that freedom of worship and practice which the existing laws denied them, and encroached on the rights of the catholic church. However depraved and immoral were many of the dignitaries of the church, they thought it their duty to oppose the licentiousness of the disciples of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, whose efforts threatened the establishment with danger; but their intolerant spirit toward the protestants had a less justifiable foundation. The king gave them a favorable answer; but he was less pleased with the latter than with the former part of their remonstrance. The infidel and democratic philosophy continued to gain ground; and the protestants were not so discouraged, as to wave their pretensions. They at length, in the year 1787, obtained what they deemed their rights.

The revolutionists made a violent attack upon the clerical fabric. The supporters of the former system were persecuted: constitutional prelates and priests were appointed, with reduced stipends; and, at one time, religion was so neglected, that the goddess of reason seemed to supersede the God of the Christians. The church revived in the sequel; and, while all sects were tolerated, the catholic system was re-established. The executive directory permitted a council to be holden at Paris in 1797; and various decrees and regulations were promulgated for the settlement of the church. Bonaparte, to whom all religions were equally acceptable if they did not obstruct his ambition, confirmed the restoration of catholicism.

The study of politics and oratory flourished during the revolutionary agitations; but the fine arts and the abstract and sublime sciences were repressed, and nar-

rowed in their range. Philosophers and artists were exposed to obloquy and persecution; and no other merit was regarded than that which was connected with party. An enlightened astronomer was sacrificed in the person of Bailly: an excellent chemist suffered in the form of Lavoisier: the acute metaphysician Condorcet committed suicide to avoid the *guillotine;* and other distinguished men were prematurely driven from the world. But, when the terrific reign of Robespierre was closed, the arts and sciences seemed to revive. Even the sanguinary David, who deserved death as a promoter of the atrocities of that tyrant, escaped proscription. His genius as an artist overpowered the odium to which his guilt had exposed him. The Junius Brutus of this painter is a piece of great merit; and equal praise is due to his representation of the story of the Horatii and the Curiatii. The composition and coloring are good, the expression admirable, and the effect impressive.

The establishment of the national institute tended to give fresh vigor to science; and the number of valuable pictures, statues, monuments, and other productions of art, collected in conquered countries, and accumulated in public repositories, stimulated the talents and exertions of the French. La-Place, La-Lande, and Mechain, now applied, with renovated zeal, to the study of the celestial system: La-Croix explored the profundities of mathematics: La-Metherie dived into the *arcana* of geology; and Gosselin rivaled d'Anville in geographical knowlege. De-Lille gratified readers of taste with his elegant poems; and, while Segur and other historic writers gave luminous displays of extraordinary incidents, Madame Stael[1], Mademoiselle Cottin, and numerous novelists of both sexes, amused the public with the effusions of sentiment and passion.

1 Daughter of Necker.

In the enlightened period which I am now considering, Great-Britain may be said to have exhibited a splendid galaxy, streaming with varied lustre through the hemisphere of science and learning. Almost every branch of natural philosophy and of mechanic art, and various branches also of elegant literature and refined erudition, have been improved by the judgement and taste of our countrymen. A minute display would be unnecessary: a cursory survey is sufficient for my purpose.

It may seem inconsistent to commence the display of British merit and excellence with the mention of a native of Bourdeaux: but Dr. Black, though born in France, was of British extraction, and studied and flourished in this island. His discoveries in chemistry diffused his fame over Europe. He ascertained the existence of a peculiar species of air, which he named from it's appearing in different bodies in a fixed state. It was afterwards proved that this was an acid; and, being formed of carbon united with oxygen, it was denominated the carbonic acid. Dr. Black also taught that doctrine of heat which is now generally admitted; and he threw light upon other chemical and philosophical operations. Mr. Cavendish added inflammable hydrogenous air to the discoveries of his friend; ascertained the composition of water; and, by these and other inquiries, cleared many disputed points in chemistry. Dr. Priestley warmly contended for the declining doctrine of phlogiston; manifesting, in this point, less than his usual acuteness. By the discovery of oxygen, this indefatigable philosopher led to a better knowlege of the component parts of common air. He also improved our ideas of the nature of light, illustrated the *phænomena* of electricity, analysed acids and alkalies, and threw light upon vegetable physiology. His political opinions exposing him to obloquy and persecution, he retired from Great-Britain to North-America, where he enjoyed the protection of the president Jefferson. Kirwan

studied the chemical philosophy with extraordinary zeal; and he may be considered as the best of our geologists and mineralogists. Whitehurst, an ingenious speculator, framed a new theory of the earth. Dr. Hutton also inquired, but in a less scientific manner than did Kirwan, into the original formation and progressive structure of the globe.

Astronomy was cultivated by Maskelyne with an ability which rendered him a worthy successor of Bradley: but Herschel, who is of German birth, has distinguished himself in this country beyond all our native astronomers. He has extended the power of telescopes, discovered the Georgium Sidus, examined the fixed stars with peculiar success, and added thousands of stars to the number previously known. Sir Henry Englefield has added to our knowlege of comets and their orbits; and Mr. Vince, professor of experimental philosophy at Cambridge, has illustrated the astronomic science.

Count Rumford may here be introduced as an acute philosopher, and as the founder of a society calculated to "diffuse the knowlege and facilitate the introduction of new and useful mechanical inventions and improvements, and teach, by regular courses of philosophical lectures and experiments, the application of new discoveries in science to the improvement of arts and manufactures." The object was, in fact, the adaptation of philosophy to the purposes of general utility, and a facilitation of the means of procuring the comforts and conveniences of life. Sir Joseph Banks patronised the scheme; and subscriptions for it's accomplishment were easily collected. A charter was granted, in 1800, for a society of this nature; and it was denominated the Royal Institution. The London Institution followed; and the subscriptions for this, and other societies of a similar kind, were quickly completed. A board of agriculture had been long before instituted[2];

2 In the year 1793.

and natural history was promoted, in 1802, by the erection of the Linnæan Society, of which Dr. Shaw is one of the most distinguished members.

Theology boasted of able professors. The prelate Warburton was a man of a strong mind and considerable learning: Hurd was a more elegant scholar. Bishop Watson, besides being an adept in chemistry, came forward as a defender of the religion in which he was educated. Dr. Paley was an acute (but occasionally latitudinarian) moralist, and an able advocate of Christianity. His works are highly popular. The last two bishops of London (Lowth and Porteus) possessed literary ability. One reformed the language of his country, and happily appreciated the beauties of Hebrew poetry: the other prelate interested well-disposed readers by his pleasing and judicious sermons. But the discourses of Dr. Hugh Blair, a Scotish professor, met with more general acceptance than those of English divines. They are elegant rather than energetic, and rational without being profound. Bishop Horsley was a good mathematician, and a formidable champion both of religious and political orthodoxy.

The medical science, and chirurgical art, were in some respects better understood and practised than in former periods. Dr. Hunter had great sagacity and judgement; and his brother was a skilful anatomist, who is said to have discovered the absorbency of the lymphatics; a merit, however, which was claimed by Dr. Alexander Monro. Heberden, Pringle, Pitcairn, and Warren, were experienced and able physicians. Dr. Currie introduced the cool regimen in fevers. Pott and Sharp, the one rough and severe, the other mild in his manners, performed with success a variety of difficult operations, and rendered dangerous accidents less frequently fatal. Many eminent persons have more recently appeared in these departments. Among these we may name Pepys,

Latham, and Babington, as men who have "lengthened life" by judicious prescriptions, and Earle, Blizard, and Cooper, as skilful chirurgical operators.

Dr. Edward Jenner, a provincial physician, who was rewarded by the parliament as a benefactor to the public, claims honorable mention for having discovered the applicability of the cow-pock to the gradual extermination of the small-pox. The vaccine inoculation, thus recommended, has been introduced into most of the countries of Europe. It may fail as a preventive in one out of a thousand cases; but, even where the small-pox may have subsequently appeared, the disease has been very slight, compared with what it usually was before the use of vaccination.

In speaking of eminent professors of the healing art, I deem it necessary to take notice of the theories of Cullen, Brown, and Darwin. The first of these ingenious men, following in some respects the system of Hoffman, a subject of Prussia, derogated from the supposed importance of the circulation of the blood, referred health and disease to the state of the solid moving powers, and represented the brain as the chief organ that influenced the bodily predicament, not only in fevers but in other disorders. Brown founded his system on the principle of excitability, and considered diseases as arising from an *excess* or *deficiency* of that excitement which was producible by the air, the blood, heat, and particular kinds of aliment, or by passion and muscular motion. To allay the former species of indisposition, he recommended such medicines as would lower the tone, and stimulants for the latter. Darwin had recourse to sensorial power for an explanation of the causes of disease, and divided that power into irritation, sensation, volition, and association. He borrowed both from Brown and Cullen, and added, from his own brain, fanciful hints, positions, and conclu-

sions. By his doctrine, man seems to be rendered a mechanical agent, impressed with feelings rather than endowed with reason.

In various branches of literature, a rich harvest was afforded to the studious part of the community. Burke philosophically analysed the sublime and beautiful; sometimes condescended to record, in a periodical work, the events of his own time; and endeavoured to promote a war by the severity of his strictures on the French revolution. He stooped to accept a pension from the hands of a minister whom he had for many years reproached and reviled for his public conduct. Gibbon wrote a florid history of the later times of the Roman government, in which he evinced acuteness and learning, but exposed himself, by his insinuations against Christianity, to the censures of divines. Dr. Gillies produced a history of Greece which will long be read with pleasure and instruction: Ferguson ably narrated the affairs of the Roman republic; and Gilbert Stuart illustrated a remarkable period of the history of Scotland. Lord Lyttelton trod the historic field with manly grace: and the inquiries of Dalrymple and Macpherson threw light on some important reigns in our annals: but a masterly continuation of Hume is yet a *desideratum*. Dr. Johnson preferred biography to general history; and his lives of the poets are in high estimation. His dictionary transcended the merits of former works of the kind; and his Rambler fixed his reputation. Lord Monboddo (as Burnet the Scotish judge was by courtesy called) was a learned writer; but his investigation of the nature of man and society did not procure him the fame of judicious rationality. His countrymen, Adam Smith and Home (or lord Kames), left memorials of their abilities, that promise to be more permanent than his eccentric effusions: the one examined, with a philosophical eye, the wealth of nations, and traced their progress through every stage of society; the other developed

the principles of taste and criticism. Harris, the father of lord Malmesbury the negotiator, analysed grammar by the rules of logic, but was not so well acquainted with the philosophy of language as Horne Tooke. Beattie was a good critic, moralist, and poet. Blackstone concentrated the laws of his country in an elegant compendium; and sir William Jones was not only an able writer on the subject of the law, but a profound orientalist and a general scholar. Professor White, without visiting any eastern country, was, at an early age, conversant in the Arabic and Persian tongues; and his sermons, justly elevating Christianity far above the religion of the Moslems, contributed, by the admiration which they excited, to procure him a station among the dignitaries of the church [3].

No poet of our time can justly be pronounced equal to Pope. The critic who undervalued that admired author was himself a writer of pleasing verse, but did not ascend the heights of Parnassus: I mean Dr. Joseph Warton. His brother, the historian of poetry, was a respectable and laureated bard. Cowper's Task displays an interesting simplicity, not always destitute of strength. His biographer Hayley has produced both vapid verse and vigorous poetry. The effusions of Burns are natural and impressive, and make their way to the heart. Bloomfield, the untaught bard, treads firmly in the steps of Goldsmith. Southey's Joan of Arc reflects credit on his genius; and the veteran Cumberland has not disgraced either himself or the nation by the sacred poem of Calvary.

The genius of Chatterton shone like a meteor—it appeared, and quickly passed away. His forgeries under the name of Rowley deceived the erudite Jacob Bryant, but were detected by Tyrwhit and Thomas Warton.

3 He was assisted in the composition of these discourses by Mr. Badcock, a learned dissenter.

Horace Walpole had perhaps an opportunity of saving the unfortunate youth from suicide: but he was not sufficiently liberal to be a patron of genius.

In the comic drama, Sheridan must be mentioned as pre-eminent. His School for Scandal is the best of modern comedies, if we remove from our consideration some obliquities in point of moral. His Duenna is a lively and pleasing opera: in his Rivals are some well-drawn characters: his Pizarro, though a piece of patch-work, is striking in the representation: and his Critic is an admirable satire on bombastic unnatural tragedies and ordinary authorship. General Burgoyne was also a votary of the comic muse, and produced the Heiress, an elegant and well-written piece. The comedies of Reynolds and O'Keeffe are entertaining, but too farcical: some of Morton's plays are more interesting. The younger Colman excels these three writers, but sometimes adopts their ribaldry. Mrs. Cowley is also entitled to notice for her lively comedies: but those of Mrs. Inchbald are more natural, and leave, in the mind of the spectator or the reader, a stronger impression. Miss Baillie's plays display genius, taste, and feeling.

The British Roscius, Garrick, was succeeded by Henderson, who, like Le Kain, overcame, or at least diminished, by art and study, the disadvantages of nature, and became an able personator of different characters. He certainly was not equal to Garrick; but he shone in some characters which his predecessor did not attempt, particularly that of Falstaff. Kemble followed him, and, by gradual improvement, surpassed his contemporaries as a tragedian; not, however, without sometimes overstepping the modesty of nature and violating the rules of propriety. The admirable talents of his sister, Mrs. Siddons, contributed to the revival of a taste for tragedy, which had for some years declined. That taste seemed to give way, in the sequel, to an inclination for humorous

comedies, splendid *ballets*, and ludicrous pantomimes. *L'Allegro* triumphed over *il Penseroso*.

In easy humor, and natural acting, Edwin excelled; and the younger Bannister pleased, and still pleases, in a greater variety of comic characters. Mrs. Abington and Miss Farren (now countess of Derby) were distinguished in genteel comedy, and Mrs. Jordan figured in the scenes of undisguised nature.

The novelists who succeeded Richardson produced few works of merit, before Miss Burney (now madame d'Arblay) arose, whose novels, without the coarseness of Fielding or the circumstantiality of the author of Grandison, are both amusing and interesting. Charlotte Smith wrote with elegance and feeling. The productions of Mrs. Radcliffe are romantic without extravagance, and display an elevation of character and sentiment. Human nature is well depicted by Dr. Moore, whose novels of Zeluco and Edward may be read with interest, while his views of society and manners in different countries amuse and instruct by a display of real life. The progress and agitations of love are not ill represented by Miss Lee and her sister; and Mrs. West combines sound morality with pleasing narration.

During the presidency of sir Joshua Reynolds over the Academy of Arts founded by his present majesty, some able painters, sculptors, and architects, graced the institution. These were noticed, as well as the new president Mr. West, on a former occasion. It may now be observed, that Wright was a good landscape-painter, and particularly excelled in the representation of fire: Gainsborough and Morland delineated scenes of rural nature with ability: Opie, a self-taught genius, produced some interesting pieces: Hamilton depicted the female figure with elegance; Mortimer and Barry had a spirited pencil. Laurence excels in portraits; Smirke in scenes of humor; Westall in landscape; Flaxman and Westmacott have

great merit as sculptors; Banks also deserves praise in the same branch of art; and Mrs. Damer unites grace with strength in her statues and groupes.

While arts and learning were thus securely cultivated, Godwin, Holcroft, and other writers, endeavoured to propagate a spirit of democratic reform; but they did not make a great number of proselytes. They were hostile to almost every existing institution, and not only censured gross abuses, but seemed disposed to root up the wheat with the tares. They strongly declaimed against war; but there is reason to apprehend that, even if their form of government had been adopted, Mars and Bellona would still find votaries among the directors of the administration. The world, I fear, will never be governed by true wisdom or real humanity. Ambition, folly, passion, prejudice, and want of principle, will perhaps ever prevail among the rulers of nations. The idea of gradual perfectibility is pleasing to the imagination; but no one can confidently predict that it will at any time be realised.

The votaries of reform were more numerous among sectaries, than in the established church; for those who are disgusted with the prevailing religion, are not likely to be perfectly pleased with the ordinary or settled government of the country. But the greater part of the middle class of the community seemed to deprecate all attempts at reform, apprehending that it might lead to the triumph of the rabble, or of ambitious and unprincipled demagogues.

Religion, as well as politics, occasioned various controversies. The Confessional of archdeacon Blackburne produced many replies, some acrimonious, others temperate. The object of that work was to prove that doctrinal subscription was an unjustifiable tie upon the conscience. A contest also arose, partly religious and partly philosophical, on the prevalence of free-will as opposed to necessity. The former doctrine was more strongly

supported than the latter; and it appears to be more rational. Another controversy related to the preference of public worship to private prayer. The prevailing practice was more plausibly defended than the other mode was urged.

Religion, in Great-Britain, was less fervent among the members of the established church than it had formerly been. A lukewarmness and indifference prevailed among the laity; and a great proportion of the clergy seemed to perform their ordinary duties with apathy, as if they had religion in their mouths only, and not in their hearts. This want of zeal tended to swell the number of sectaries, whose apparent earnestness induced the people to believe that they were more impressed with piety and devotion than the orthodox ministers. The methodists, in particular, took advantage of the coolness of the clergy; and a rapid multiplication of the votaries of grace and the depreciators of good works took place throughout the kingdom. In other words, erroneous doctrines, and pretended sanctity, injured the interests of rational religion and sound morality.

The presbyterians maintained their ground in point of influence, and continued to be a more respectable body than the methodists. They gradually became less rigid than they were in the last reign, and less hostile to public amusements or diversions. The society of *friends*, or quakers, also relaxed in their strictness and formality. The catholics lived in a more social manner with the protestants, in a great measure shook off their bigotry, and were less devoted to the authority of the pope.

In the United Provinces, the government tolerated every sect, as both humanity and reason demand; removed some restraints which seemed to have been unnecessarily imposed upon liberty; and, more studiously than before, promoted the general welfare. Trade, though it declined, was still the great object of concern:

but the improvement of the mind was not wholly neglected. Some men of science and literary intellect arose during the sway of the late stadt-holder, and also while the French domineered over the Batavian republic. Natural philosophy was cultivated by Van Marum and others: Nieuwland was a respectable mathematician; and a recollection of the fame of Boerhaave, as well as a regard for the health of the people, produced an attentive study of anatomy and medicine. Even poetry had it's votaries in the heavy atmosphere of Holland: Feith and Hœufft courted the muse with sufficient zeal to merit the approbation of their countrymen.

The Swiss republic being much less attached to commerce than that of Holland, it's fame was greater in science. Among the luminaries of the cantons, Euler was highly distinguished. He resided for the most part in Russia; but his labors and discoveries benefited all Europe. He plausibly accounted for the tides of the sea, improved the construction of ships, contributed to the perfection of the integral calculus, and resolved a variety of problems in geometry, physics, and astronomy. The philosophers de Saussure and de Luc (for Genevans may be reckoned among the Swiss) were respectable geologists; and they also investigated with success the nature and variations of the atmosphere. Bonnet was an able naturalist and experimental philosopher. Haller, of Berne, was remarkable for his general knowlege, and particularly conversant in physiology. By his doctrine of the irritability of fibres, independent of the nerves, he considerably improved medical science; but he did not fully understand the theory of respiration or that of digestion[4]. The younger Saussure and Senebier may also be mentioned among the Swiss votaries of science. In poetry Haller excelled; and Mallet distinguished himself as an historian and antiquary.

[4] Priestley explained the former, and Spalanzani the latter.

The manners of the Swiss peasants were still frank and honest, but less rough and unpolished. The gentry and burghers began to be ashamed of their former simplicity of character, to affect refinement, and to give way to dissipation. The canton in which the ancient manners were most prevalent, was that of Appenzel. The inhabitants of that territory were not only herdsmen but manufacturers, without the laxity of morals too frequently attendant upon people of the latter description. They lived on homely fare, and apparently had no wish for luxuries. Their government was purely democratic; and harmony prevailed between the catholic and protestant members of the state. The success of the French invasion occasioned little alteration in the government of this canton[5].

The general character of the Germans continued to display frankness and integrity, industry and perseverance: but variations of character appeared in the different countries that formed the empire. In the circle of Westphalia, the people were more active and industrious than in Bavaria: in Saxony, behaviour and manners had less roughness than in Westphalia or Suabia. In the catholic principalities, ignorance, irrationality, and superstition, were much more observable than in the protestant territories. In the electorate of Cologne, the people were inferior, in the arts and accommodations of life, to almost every other Germanic community; and the higher ranks were bigoted, proud, indolent, and addicted to coarse pleasures. In the imperial city of Franckfort, civilisation and manners were improved by the great resort of strangers of distinction. Associations for the promotion of the arts and sciences, and for friendly and convivial purposes, were numerous in that town; and freedom of opinion so far gained ground, that the Calvinists, in 1790, were permitted by the Lutheran clergy to enjoy the public exer-

5 Schilderung der Gebirgs-Völker der Schweitz, von J. G. Ebel.

cise of their religion, and the restrictions upon catholics and Jews were at other times diminished. At Hamburg the spirit of toleration was less indulgent than at Franckfort; but the inhabitants were equally hospitable and friendly. Luxury made great progress among them; and it was not infrequently accompanied with taste and elegance. The merchants encouraged science and literature; and their views were promoted by the ability and zeal of the professors Meyer and Lichtenstein. At Bremen the burghers were less polished, and less luxurious. At Hanover some degree of refinement was mingled with comfort. Berlin was the seat of intellectual exertion and of moderate pleasures; while Dresden was the abode of elegant sociality. Weimar was distinguished by a good police, and by the agreeable manners of the inhabitants[6].

The Austrians, in the capital and other great towns, were fond of pleasure, prone to dissipation and debauchery. Pride and stateliness of demeanor, among the higher ranks, were relaxed by the affability of Joseph: but they did not so readily follow his example of temperance. Indulgence was the general wish and the prevailing practice. The Hungarians were less patient under oppression than the Austrians, but not disloyal. They were active in war, but indolent in ordinary life. The northern Bohemians were more civilised, industrious, and orderly, than those of the south, who had more of the warlike spirit among them. In Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, the people were simple in their manners, active, and industrious; and the Tyrolese were a bold and hardy race.

The sciences were pursued with vigor in many parts of Germany. Professor Werner of Freyberg obtained great reputation as a mineralogist. Dissatisfied with Cronstedt's

6 Dr. Render's Tour in Germany.

arrangement, he in 1774 offered to the world a more accurate and scientific classification from external characters. His system was soon adopted not only in Saxony, but in the majority of the German states: and it was also favorably received in Great-Britain. The structure of the globe being diligently examined by Werner, he ably pointed out the nature of rocks, of which it seems in a great measure to be composed, and considerably improved the science of geology. He conjectured, that the earth originally existed in a state of solution, and was entirely covered by the ocean; that this vast volume of water was in the sequel greatly diminished; that the contents of this solution were chemically precipitated, so as to form a class of primitive rocks; that other rocks, partly of chemical formation, and partly of mechanical deposition, followed, during the transition of the globe into a habitable state; that different species of rocks were formed while the water was settling after the deluge; and that alluvial deposits afterwards arose from various masses, worn down by the united influence of air and water. This theory has been strongly recommended and scientifically illustrated by Jameson, a Scotish professor; and, although it is not unobjectionable (for it is not a subject that can admit absolute demonstration, or be brought to a decision universally satisfactory), it gains ground among philosophical observers.

An eminent disciple of Werner was professor Leske, whose celebrated collection of minerals, enlarged by Karsten, the university of Dublin purchased. Other mineralogists of Germany strongly supported Werner's arrangements; and that of Haüy, the French investigator, who classified minerals according to their crystallisation, did not supersede it. Klaproth, Margraaf, and Raspe, may also be classed among skilful observers of fossil productions; and baron Born (though not strictly a German, being properly a Transylvanian) may be mention-

ed as an improver of the mineralogic science, and of the art of metallurgy.

Ingenhousz, the physician, and von Humboldt, applied with success to chemistry and botany: Gartner was particularly conversant in the latter science; Blumenbach was an able naturalist: Bode, Burchhardt, and von Zach, distinguished themselves as astronomers.

The philosophy of the metaphysician Kant must not pass without notice. He ascribes to man a sensitive faculty, or theoretical reason, enabling him to form perceptions of space and time; practical reason, or judgement; and rational faith. On these points the Prussian professor and his disciples have poured forth a series or rather a variety of jargon, obscuring a doubtful subject on pretence of removing it's difficulties. Mr. Dugald Stewart is a preferable metaphysician: yet many readers may plausibly assail his speculations, and a much greater number, perhaps, cannot comprehend their precise import.

In the *belles lettres* the Germans excelled during this period. Besides Klopstock, whom some of his admirers have panegyrised as the Milton of Germany, Gellert, Gleim, Wieland, and Voss, shone as poets: Schiller, Goëthe, and Lessing, distinguished themselves in tragic composition: the two last also courted the comic muse with success: Kotzebue produced plays, novels, and accounts of travels, with a rapid pen: Augustus La-Fontaine was his rival in the second of these branches of writing, and was less inattentive to moral purity than were many of his countrymen. Reiske, Ernesti, Heyne, Wolff, Ruhnken, Brunck, and a numerous body of scholars, illustrated the classics by critical sagacity, and displayed multifarious erudition. Schmidt, Muller, Schiller, and others, appeared with honor in the historic walk: Herder, in criticism and miscellaneous composition, polished his native language, and interested the

public; and Mendelsohn obtained the honor of being styled the Plato of Germany; an appellation which has also been conferred on Herder. Lichtenberg is called, by Matthisson, the most witty of the German writers; and his extraordinary extent of knowlege is mentioned with admiration by the same critic, who thinks that only Lessing excelled him in an union of wit and taste with multifarious attainments. Zimmermann, of Hanover, was an able physician, a worthy man, and an esteemed writer. Meiners improved Gibbon's history by a regular survey of the progressive manners, arts, and institutions of the Romans; and he exercised his pen with skill in varied composition.

Sweden also was not undistinguished in science. In consequence of the suggestions of Linnæus, Wallerius endeavoured to regulate and classify the mineral kingdom. Cronstedt more accurately performed the same task. Sir Torbern Bergman was still more famed as a mineralogist. He united experimental analysis with mathematical reasoning, and became a very able chemist. Scheele was an apothecary; but he soared above the orbit of his profession, and was perhaps the greatest chemical philosopher of the age in which he lived. New acids, airs, earths, and minerals, were discovered by his sagacity: by him the art of analysis was improved, and the boundaries of useful knowlege were greatly extended. Thunberg, Sparrman, Konig, and Retz, excelled as naturalists; Menanderhielm and Wargentin shone as astronomers. Lagerbring wrote history with ability; the count de Creutz was a good poet; and Gustavus III. produced comedies not destitute of merit. In the pictorial art, no men of great eminence appeared; but, in sculpture, a pupil of Archeveque, the French statuary, soared above all his contemporaries in the north. I mean Sergel, whose statues of Gustavus and his son, figure of Venus, and representation of Psyche imploring pardon of Cupid

for having attempted to murder him, are justly admired for spirit, precision, and grace. Gustavus was a patron of the fine arts and of polite literature; and he founded an academy, in 1786, for the cultivation of the Swedish language, eloquence, and poetry.

From the Swedes to a nation of the same origin the transition is easy. The mutual animosity between them and the Danes neither that consideration nor any other circumstances have wholly extinguished: but it declines in keenness and asperity. It is yet cherished, but less strongly; by the vivacity of one nation and the phlegm of the other. Gustavus III. encouraged the social turn of his subjects, by mingling with their parties of entertainment; and his court was less dull than that of Copenhagen. His government, however, tended to repress that energy of character which the Swedes had displayed while the states of the realm were in full power, and which had given them a superiority over the humbled Danes. Both courts encouraged industry: but the Danes, having a better soil and climate, and being more assisted by foreigners, who received greater encouragement among them than in Sweden, prospered more than their neighbours in agriculture and various manufactures. For the encouragement of those pursuits, a society was instituted at Copenhagen in the year 1769, agreeing in it's plan with that of London. When the prince-royal began to act as regent, he particularly provided for the education of the poor, and also promoted general improvement. Under his sway, Bugge and Wurbieg cultivated mathematics and astronomy; Fabricius applied himself to zoology, Vahl to botany; Suhm, Guldberg, and Egger, attended to the claims of history; Ewald and Baggesen courted the muses; Warnsted and Rosenstand, without equaling their predecessor Holberg, gratified the prevailing taste of their countrymen for the drama; and Abelgaard and Hoyer were interesting painters.

Not only the efforts of Peter the Great to civilise the Russians had rather a partial than a general effect, but the less precipitate endeavours of the second Catharine were not altogether so successful as she wished. The bulk of the people remained in a state of gross ignorance: even the majority of the ecclesiastics were illiterate and uninformed: only a small proportion of the number of merchants and tradesmen (about the year 1779) could either read or write[7]; and many of the gentry, in their manners, exhibited a mixture of coarseness and refinement. If the government had been free, the Russians would have been sooner civilised.

Their religion, as it was practised, seemed to be a mass of superstitious ceremonies and observances. The *roskolniks*, or sectaries, also paid a greater attention to form than to substance, while they complained of the corruption of ancient orthodoxy by the modern Greek church. The czarina endeavoured, but with little effect, to remove the prejudices in favour of ceremonies. Such a reform must be the work of time.

Under the sway of that princess, however, many of the Russians directed their attention to the sciences, and cultivated mathematics, astronomy, physics, and natural history, with zeal and success. Kotelnikoff, Rumoffski, Lepekhin, Razumoffski, and Guldenstadt, distinguished themselves among these votaries of science. Pallas may here be mentioned, because he was a professor in the academy of Petersburg, although he was by birth a subject of Prussia. His labors as a naturalist procured him high and extensive reputation. Gmelin was also a German, but he flourished under the czarina's patronage.

Agriculture and the mechanic arts were improved in the same reign. A society for the promotion of the former pursuit was instituted in 1765; and many young

7 They reckoned (says Mr. Coxe) by beads strung upon wires

Russians were sent to England to acquire a practical knowlege of it. Geography and statistics were also studied with eagerness and proficiency.

The composition of history was promoted among the Russians by the zeal of professor Muller. Prince Cherbatoff proved himself to be an able historian: Golikoff, Yelaghin, and Tumanski, also excelled in that branch of literature. In poetry, after the death of the celebrated Lomonosoff, who wrote with originality and spirit, Sumorokoff bore away the palm. The latter particularly shone in the drama: and his pieces derived additional recommendation from the skill of Volkof, the Garrick of Russia. Kniæshnin increased the stock of interesting plays: the comedies of Van-Viesin remind the reader of Moliere. Derschaven, Kheraskoff, and Karamsin, are pleasing poets.

The painters who exercised their skill in Russia, were chiefly Germans: but Kosloff and Levitski were natives; the former of whom excelled in historical pieces, the other in portraits. In sculpture and architecture, Ivanoff and Staroff may be particularised as eminent; but they were surpassed by French and Italian residents. In instrumental music, the Russians were not unskilled; but they did not shine as composers. Maresch, a Bohemian, invented for them a peculiar entertainment, derived from the blowing of twenty (sometimes fifty) horns, of regularly-varied size, with the same tone. This is denominated the Russian hunting music; and complicated airs are thus performed with an accuracy which would hardly be expected, and with impressive and interesting effect.

Poland was formerly more distinguished by general literature than by science. The Latin language, eloquence, and history, were the chief objects of attention to those who wished to be instructed, or to shine: but, under the government of Stanislaus, natural philosophy was cultivated by many of the gentry: medicine was

more eagerly studied: and science was rendered subservient to the improvement of the mechanic arts. The czarina, in those parts of Poland which she seised, more strenuously promoted the same objects. At Kaminiec she endowed a college for the study of various sciences, and erected schools in some other towns. She also gave vigor to the manufactures which had been already introduced, particularly those of lace, silk, and velvet, and brought forward new branches for the employment of her new subjects[s].

The manners of the Turks have been less altered in a long course of years than those of any other European nation. They are still nearly the same ignorant, prejudiced, and bigoted race, the same half-civilised community, that insulted human nature under the sway of an Ibrahim or a Morad. Their late sultans have endeavoured to introduce among them some of the arts and practices of the Christian nations: but such attempts have been almost nugatory in their effects.

Of the illiteracy imputed to the subjects of the grand signor, there is sufficient proof: but it is not so general or so gross as it has been represented. To all the mosques founded by different sultans, academies are annexed, in some of which a great number of students are lodged and supported. Before the conflagration in 1782, the great schools in Constantinople exceeded five hundred; and those in which only reading and writing (besides the principles of religion) were taught, were reckoned at one thousand two hundred and fifty-five. At the same time, thirteen libraries were open to the public in that capital. The books which they contained were not printed; for only one press was then at work, and few productions issued from it.

By the oppression which the Greeks suffer under the

[s] Anéantissement de la Pologne, décrit par M. Sirisa.

Turkish sway, their genius is so restrained, that their faculties have not fair play. The arts which signalised ancient Greece are in a very imperfect state among the modern inhabitants, who might, however, under a just and enlightened government, be soon roused to emulation, and to a spirited exercise of their powers. The fine forms of ancient sculpture are still recognised among their women; and both sexes have a greater quickness of apprehension than the Turks, and a pleasing vivacity of disposition. They are represented as crafty, faithless, and revengeful; but these bad qualities find a palliative in the tyranny to which they are exposed. Their religion is degraded by idle ceremonies and superstitious practices, which the Romanists cannot fairly reprehend, but which a protestant writer may reasonably censure.

Italy, less degenerate than Greece, and less enslaved, did not neglect the sciences or the arts. Beccaria (not the reformer of the penal system) inquired into the nature of air and light, and acutely investigated the electrical philosophy: Volta and Valli also studied this branch, and endeavoured to demonstrate it's connexion with an influence or principle discovered by Galvani, who, by the use of metals, had produced a kind of action in dead animals. Fontana was an able mathematician: Spalanzani studied the physiology of animals and vegetables, and was a sagacious geologist: Fabroni cultivated mineralogy; Piazzi was conversant in astronomy; and Vassalli was not a despicable philosopher. Boscovich, the Ragusan, who, from residing chiefly in Italy, may be classed among the scientific ornaments of that country, was a celebrated mathematician, and an advocate for the corpuscular system, referring the origin of the world to atoms which had not only passive laws of motion, but also active principles, implanted by the great author of nature.

Poets, historians, and artists, at the same time flourish-

ed in Italy. Battoni, the painter, was the rival of Mengs: Tiepolo and Casanova had also considerable merit. Paesiello, Cimarosa, and other composers of elegant music, extended their fame over Europe: but there are many who prefer the music of Gluck the German, Haydn, and Mozart, to that of the Italians.

The manners of the Italians may be supposed to vary, in consequence of the number of different governments. The inhabitants of the Milanese duchy, before the French revolution, were the most social people in Italy; and they still bear the same character. The Piedmontese were bigoted, but cheerful and obliging to strangers. In the Genoese state, the nobles were proud and ignorant, insocial, and meanly parsimonious: the people were deceitful and vindictive, but sober and industrious. The Venetians were particularly fond of amusement and buffoonery; a propensity which the government encouraged from motives of jealousy. In Tuscany, a frankness of manners prevailed; and the ladies of Florence were unaffected in their deportment, lively and affable. Industry was more characteristic of the people of Lucca than of the Italians in general. The inhabitants of the ecclesiastical state were indolent, revengeful, and more religious than moral. Gaming was a fashionable propensity among the Neapolitans; and amorous sensuality degraded their character. To the people of Abruzzo better dispositions are ascribed than to the other provincials; and, on the other hand, the Sicilians are represented as more deceitful and cruel than the occupants of the Neapolitan portion of the Italian peninsula.

Charles III. of Spain was disposed to be an encourager of the arts and sciences; but their progress was retarded by indolence and prejudice. Various branches flourished more, however, under his sway and that of his son, than in the reigns of his father and brother. The medical and chirurgical arts, indeed, made little progress, not-

withstanding the number of professors: they pursued the old *routine* of practice, without a zeal for improvement. Villalba and some others, however, were respectable physicians. Cavanilles was a good botanist; Izquierdo was a more general naturalist. Elhujar was a mineralogist, and Betancourt a mechanist; and Pignatelli distinguished himself by his concern in the canal of Arragon. In the former of these modern reigns, the arts of painting and sculpture were resuscitated from the ashes under which they had been in a manner buried at the commencement of the eighteenth century. Mengs, who was born a subject of Austria, was patronised by the Spanish court, and adorned the churches and palaces with valuable pictures. Vergara, Bayeu, and Maella, produced some admired paintings: Goya pleasingly delineated the provincial *costume* and games; and Estevan and Acuna excelled in portraits. Vergara was an able sculptor, and Capuz and Martinez shone in the same branch of art. Polite literature was, at the same time, cultivated with zeal by some individuals, if not by a great number of votaries. The count de Campomanes, the political œconomist, distinguished himself as an historian; Masdeu, Clavigero, and Munoz, also acquired fame by historic composition [9].

The spirit of catholicism still prevailed among the Spaniards; but their zeal was not so intolerant as it had been. Charles III. manifested superstitious weakness, without the cruelty of a bigot. He repressed the tyranny of the clergy, and put a stop to inquisitorial barbarity [10]. The light which was diffused by Feyjoo removed, from the minds of many of his countrymen, the darkness of prejudice, and rendered the prevalence of error less general, not only in religious points, but in the affairs of political and civil œconomy. The king

9 Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne, par Laborde.

10 He suffered, however, a reputed witch to be burned alive at Seville, in 1780.

was not so far converted by the hints of that judicious writer, as to become an enlightened monarch; but, while he reformed abuses in the state, he also checked some religious absurdities. He suppressed a great number of processions, which only served to draw his people from their useful occupations. He endeavoured to explode the idea, either that the pope had a right to control his subjects in temporal affairs, or that true religion was compatible with clerical profligacy.

Pride and gravity were yet apparent among the features of the Spanish character: slowness in proceeding to action, and indolence, were also very common; but the last habit was not so general as to include the Catalonians or the provincials of Biscay. Pride did not preclude frequent displays of obliging affability, nor did gravity wholly extinguish that gaiety which seemed only to wait for an occasion of showing itself. Jealousy, relinquished by the men, transferred itself to the other sex, and rendered the married ladies particularly anxious to secure the constancy of their *cortejos*, or those gallants who, with the connivance of their husbands, attended them on almost every occasion. That these connexions were then, or are now, always criminal, I am not so censorious as to affirm; but that they very frequently lead to actual guilt, there is no reason to doubt, when the amorous disposition and voluptuous propensities of the Spaniards are taken into consideration.

The prevailing taste for bull-fights (or *bull-feasts*[11]) did not yield to that comparative mildness of manners which occasioned a decline of the horrible practice of private revenge or assassination. Persons of both sexes and all ranks eagerly flocked to behold those scenes: virgins, it has been said, would sometimes even barter their chastity for the means of admission. Charles III., disgusted at such exhibitions, prohibited them

11 *Fiestas dos Toros.*

from being so frequently repeated as they had been: but they were rather encouraged than checked by his son [12].

It has been observed, that gay nations are fond of serious plays, and grave nations of mirthful pieces. The Spaniards seem to prefer the latter: yet they are attentive to good tragedies, and are pleased with those of the modern dramatists, Ayala, Cienfuegos, and Quintano. The tragic productions of the elder Moratin, however, do not please them so much as the comedies of his son.

Extemporaneous poets,—not equal, however, to the *improvisatori* of Italy,—are not uncommon in Spain. The language is not ill adapted to poetry: it admits many variations of form, is sonorous, and not deficient in melody. Among the more regular poets may be reckoned Yriartè, Melandez, and Ariaza. The first is also an historian.

Portugal exhibited some improvements in this period; but, in the arts and sciences, fell beneath the merits of almost every nation in Europe. The populace of that country have been stigmatised as a despicable set: but they have been more severely censured than they deserve. They have been represented as deplorably ignorant, base, cowardly, vindictive, treacherous, and unprincipled. Undoubtedly there are many individuals of that description; but the bulk of the nation, it may be presumed, cannot justly be so characterised. The inhabitants of the northern provinces are, in general, frank, honest, and industrious; and the spirit of jealousy declines among them [13]. In the southern parts of the kingdom, the people do not maintain so good a character: they are more ceremonious than sincere, more indolent

12 They were, however, suppressed by this prince in 1805.

13 There is no country in Europe (says Bourgoing) where fewer jealous husbands can be found. *Il n'est pas de pays en Europe qui compte moins de maris jaloux.*

than active, and more disposed to give way to their passions.

The progress of knowlege was long checked among the Portuguese: but it seems now to be reviving. Many of the gentry, and even some of the clergy, are endeavouring to promote such a reform as may gradually rescue their country from the reproach of ignorance. Superstition and prejudice lose ground; and more rational ideas of religion, government, civil and social œconomy, are beginning to diffuse their light.

Here let me close this survey. I hope, my dear son, that my progressive statements and incidental observations have given you just ideas of the history of our own times. That a fund of varied information has been imparted in this continuatory volume, cannot be denied: but it is not equally certain that you have been highly amused or deeply interested. Leaving those points to your unbiassed judgement, I shall conclude with a general remark. Within the time described in these letters, such have been the improvements in education, in the arts, elegances, and accommodations of life, that if the French revolution had not intervened, and diffused it's venom over Europe, the state of society would have been meliorated, and the happiness of nations augmented, beyond the boasted pretensions of the most favored period recorded in the annals of the world.

THE END.

INDEX

TO

RUSSELL'S

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE,

AND TO

THE CONTINUATION.

A.

Abdarrahman, flourishing reign of, in Spain, i. 28, 61.
Abdul-hamed, the grand signor, vi. 93, 335.
Abercromby, death of sir Ralph, vi. 537.
Aboukir, Nelson's triumph at, vi. 497.
Acre, sieges of, i. 309; vi. 513.
Addington, a pacific minister, vi. 532.
Adolphus, the emperor, deposition of, i. 416.
Adrian IV., pope, remarkable rise of, i. 296.
Agincourt, battle of, ii. 41.
Aiguillon, duke of, unpopular minister, vi. 24.
Air-balloons invented, vi. 581.
Aix-la-Chapelle, treaties of, iv. 31; v. 162; battle near it, vi. 365.
Alberoni, minister of Spain, v. 4.
Albert, the emperor, is killed, i. 421.
Albigenses, a persecuted sect, i. 320.
Alboin, the Lombard, reign of, i. 30.
Albuquerque, the Portuguese hero, ii. 188.
Alexander VI., the Nero of the popedom, ii. 136.
——— czar of Russia, iii. 389; iv. 244, 536.
Alexandria, stormed by the French, vi. 495; taken by the English, 538.
Alexis, the unfortunate czarowitz, iv. 436.

Alfred, the Great, reign of, i. 95 to 104.
Algier, expeditions against, ii. 256; vi. 113, 201.
Ali, Hyder, an enemy to the English, vi. 38, 141.
Allersheim, battle of, vi. 435.
Alliance, the triple, iv. 30; the grand, 260; the quadruple, v. 5; one between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, 190; between Louis XVI. and the revolted North-American colonies, vi. 123; a general one against France, 389.
Al-Mansour, a renowned general, i. 175.
Almanza, battle of, iv. 310.
Alphonso the Great, king of Leon, i. 174; other Spanish princes of the same name, 369, 371, 374.
——— VI. of Portugal, misfortunes of, iv. 32.
Alva, tyranny of the duke of, ii. 434; his success in Portugal, iii. 13.
Amand, St., battle of, vi. 571.
America, discovery of, ii. 196; progress of it's colonisation, 208; iii. 462; revolt of the British colonies, vi. 103; a new state formed, 118, 163; it's subsequent history, 164.
Amiens, treaty of, vi. 538.
Amsterdam, rise of, iii. 19; siege of the town, vi. 191.
Anabaptists, German, ii. 238.
Ancyra, battle of, ii. 101.
Andeli, battle of, i. 246.
Anne, queen, reign of, iv. 267, &c.; her death, 385.
———, the Russian empress, v. 26, 66.
Anson, the circumnavigator, v. 56, 160.
Antwerp, siege of, iii. 19.
Arcolè, battle at, vi. 446.
Armada, Spanish, discomfiture of, iii. 32.
Arragon, free constitution of, i. 177.
Arras, engagement near, iii. 380.
Arts, progress of, ii. 167; iv. 211; v. 390; vi. 580, &c.
Ascalon, battle of, i. 311.
Ass, feast of the, i. 189.
Athelstan's reign, i. 137.
Augsburg, diet of, ii. 158; confession of, 236; recess of, 348; league of, iv. 123.

B.

Bacon, the philosopher, iv. 237.
Bajazet, or Ba-yezid, fate of, ii. 101.
Banier, the Swedish general, iii. 131, 143.
Bannockburn, battle of, i. 405.
Barbarossa, the corsair, ii. 240.
Barcelona, sieges of, iv. 285, 291, 376.
Barnet, battle of, ii. 75.
Bastille, demolition of the, vi. 218.

Bavarian succession, war of the, vi. 132.
Bayard, death of the chevalier, ii. 225.
Bayonne, conspiracy of, ii. 404.
Becket, fate of, i. 286.
Bedford, duke of, regent of France, ii. 47, 53.
Belgrade, battle near, v. 3; siege of, vi. 338.
Belle-isle, reduced by the English, v. 344.
Bender, siege of, vi. 65.
Bergen-op-Zoom, siege of, v. 155.
Berkel, Engelbert van, the ambitious pensionary, vi. 138, 148, 181.
Berne, reduced by the French, vi. 487.
Bernstorff, a Danish minister, vi. 73, 123.
Blake, the admiral, iii. 415, 428.
Blenheim, battle of, iv. 277.
Bohemia, kingdom of, i. 299.
Boleslaus the Great, king of Poland, i. 132.
Bolingbroke, the Tory minister, iv. 384, 388.
Bonaparte, rise of, vi. 387; he is victorious in Italy, 440; and also in Egypt, 496, 515; makes himself, in effect, sovereign of France, 520.
Bosworth, battle of, ii. 86.
Bougainville, voyage of, vi. 543.
Bouvines, battle of, i. 323.
Boyne, battle near the, iv. 173.
Breda, peace of, iv. 24.
Bretigni, peace of, i. 458.
Brienne, an impolitic minister, vi. 199.
Brissot, a factious leader, vi. 247; his death, 385.
Britain abandoned by the Romans, i. 42; its southern inhabitants are subdued by the Saxons, 47; who are enslaved by the Normans, 225. England, Wales, and Scotland, are formed into the kingdom of Great-Britain, iv. 306.
Brunswick, duke of, subdues the republican party in Holland, vi. 192; is appointed generalissimo of an allied army, 256.
Buccaneers, account of, v. 32—44.
Bull called *Unigenitus,* v. 396.
Bunker's-hill, conflict at, vi. 105.
Burgoyne, general, ill success of, vi. 122.
Burgundy, kingdom of, i. 22, 121, 200.
———, different dukes of, ii. 36, 44, 89.
Burke, Edmund, the orator, vi. 139, 591.
Bute, character of the earl of, vi. 36.
Byng, sir George, success of, v. 6.
——, admiral John, punishment of, v. 220.
Byron, voyage of, vi. 541.

C.

Cabal, the arbitrary, iv. 35.
Cadiz, bold attack of, iii. 49.
Cairo surrenders to the French, vi. 496; to the English, 538.
Calais taken by the English, i. 451; recovered by the French, ii. 338.
Calcutta, misfortunes of the English at, v. 206—8.
Calmar, union of, ii. 367.
Calonne, character of, vi. 194.
Cambray, league of, ii. 144; peace of, 234.
Camden, battle near, vi. 142.
Campo-Formio, peace of, vi. 472.
Canada, conquest of, v. 335.
Candia, war of, iv. 34.
Canute, reign of, i. 158.
Cape-Breton reduced by the English, v. 114, 277.
Cape of Good Hope taken, vi. 428.
Capet (Hugh) usurps the French crown, i. 150.
Carlos, don, poisoned by his father, iii. 52.
Carlowitz, treaty of, iv. 205.
Carthagena, besieged by Vernon, v. 52.
Cas, St., misfortune at, v. 274.
Cassano, conflict at, vi. 502.
Cassova, battle of, ii. 99.
Castiglione, battle of, vi. 444.
Castile, kingdom of, i. 368.
Catharine I., reign of, in Russia, iv. 439.
——— II. seizes the crown, v. 369; governs with ability, 52, 59; despoils Poland, 87; suppresses a rebellion, 96; carries on two wars against the Turks, 59, 325; her character, 449.
Catinat, the French general, iv. 190, 199.
Cavendish, the navigator, iii. 28.
Celibacy introduced among the clergy, i. 141.
Ceylon, power of the Dutch in, vi. 99.
Characters of different nations, vi. 579, &c.
Charles I. of England is involved in a civil war, iii. 308; loses his life by violence, 368.
——— II. is defeated by Cromwell, iii. 410; procures the sovereignty, 449; acts without regard to sound policy, iv. 7, 9, &c.
———, surnamed Martel, great power of, i. 24.
——— the Great (Charle-magne), rules France, i. 54; becomes king of Italy, 58; erects the western empire, 68.
——— the Bald, the Fat, and the Simple, reigns of, i. 78, 106, 108.
——— V. of France, a politic prince, i. 460.
——— VI., insanity of, ii. 32.

Charles VII., character of, ii. 47; his success, 56; his regulations, 87.
——— VIII. over-runs Italy, ii. 131.
——— IX., a young bigot, ii. 438.
——— IV., the emperor, enacts the Golden Bull, i. 475.
——— V., of Austria, opposes the Reformation, ii. 215; carries on a vigorous war against the French, 218; oppresses the elector of Saxony, 292; resigns his power, 350; dies in a monastery, 360.
——— VI. contends for the crown of Spain, iv. 273; wages war with the Turks, v. 3.
——— VII. is ruined, v. 85, 97.
——— II. of Spain, feels the effects of French ambition, iv. 29.
——— III. rashly provokes the English, v. 348; is influenced by foreigners, vi. 6; banishes the Jesuits, 9; sends an armament against the Algerines, 113, 201; is involved in a new war with Great-Britain, 135.
——— IV. attacks the French, vi. 376; makes peace with them, 425; declares war against Britain, 463.
——— IX. of Sweden, an usurper, iii. 106.
——— X. conquers Poland, iii. 390.
——— XI., an arbitrary prince, iv. 246.
——— XII. triumphs over the Russians, iv. 261; dethrones Augustus king of Poland, 297; loses an army in the Ukraine, 332; finds an asylum among the Turks, 406; is killed in Norway, 432.
Chateau-Cambresis, treaty of, ii. 363.
Chesmé, engagement in the bay of, vi. 63.
Chivalry, rise of, i. 191; it's good effects, 193; it's ill consequences, 194.
Choczim, several conflicts near, vi. 61, 62; siege of it, 329.
Choiseul, minister to Louis XV., vi. 2; his disgrace, 21.
Christian II., the Danish tyrant, is deposed, ii. 371.
——— III., an able prince, ii. 371.
——— IV., head of the German league, iii. 97.
——— V., an enemy of Sweden, iv. 246.
——— VI., a pacific monarch, v. 67.
——— VII., weakness of, vi. 68.
Christianity embraced by the Romans, i. 8; by the French, 21; by the Spaniards, 25; by the Britons, 44; by the Saxons, 49, 60; by the Russians, 134. It is gradually corrupted, 186.
Christina, queen of Sweden, iii. 384—8.
Church, state of the, i. 185, 376.
Churchill, duke of Marlborough, campaigns of, iv. 269, 272, &c.; his dismission from office, 352.
Cid, exploits of the, i. 668.
Cities, rise of the freedom of, i. 376.
Clairfait, operations of, vi. 365, 371, 374, &c.
Clement VII., pope, captivity of, ii. 232.

Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) suppresses the Jesuitical order, vi. 28.
Clergy, arts and corruption of, i. 187.
Clermont, council of, i. 254.
Clissaw, battle of, iv. 295.
Clive, a self-taught warrior, v. 173, 245.
Closter-seven, convention of, v. 236.
Clotaire I. and II. kings of France, i. 22, 23.
Clovis, reign of, i. 20.
Colbert, the French minister, iv. 119; v. 29.
Coligny, the protestant leader, ii. 429.
Columbus, voyages of, ii. 191—7.
Combats, judicial, i. 120.
Commerce, progress of, i. 376; iii. 449; that of Italy, ii. 165; vi. 573; of Flanders, 166; of Russia, ii. 366; vi. 574; of Spain and Portugal, iii. 453; vi. 570, 573; of Holland, iii. 456; vi. 576; of England, 459; v. 28; vi. 564; of France, iv. 119; v. 29; vi. 569: of the Levant, vi. 574; of Sweden and Denmark, 575; of Germany, 577.
Commons establish their influence, i. 378; origin of the house of commons in England, 357, 390; French commons, 430; vi. 212; their usurpatory violence, 213.
Compact, family, v. 341, 357.
Companies, Dutch and English East-India, rise of, iii. 458, 459; reform of the latter, vi. 300.
Condé, Louis prince of, slain, ii. 430; another hero of the family defeats the Spaniards, iii. 149.
Coni, sieges of, v. 92; vi. 510.
Conrad I., the emperor, turbulent reign of, i. 112; reigns of the second and third, i. 199, 264.
Constance, council of, ii. 20.
Constantinople, decline of the empire of, i. 183; reduction of the city by the crusards, 332; it is recovered by the Greeks, 334; but their government is subverted by the Turks, ii. 107.
Constitutions, modern French, vi. 241, 386, 429, 520.
Cook, James, a celebrated navigator, vi. 544.
Copenhagen, engagement near, vi. 534.
Copernicus and Kepler, discoveries of, iv. 218,
Cordova, Moorish kingdom of, founded, i. 28; dismembered, 176.
———, Gonsalvo de, the Great Captain, ii. 135, 139.
Cornwallis, a warrior, vi. 142.
Corsica ceded by Genoa to France, vi. 15; possessed for a time by the English, 405, 447.
Cortès, or Spanish parliament, i. 177.
Cortez, the Spanish hero, ii. 198.
Covenant in Scotland, iii. 325.
Cracow, remarkable surprisal of, vi. 84.
Cressy, battle of, i. 449.

Crevelt, battle of, v. 261.
Crimea seised by the Russians, vi. 172.
Cromwell, intrigues of, iii. 334, 350; his criminal schemes, 360, 391; he reduces Ireland, 398; defeats the Scots, 407; obtains a signal victory, 410; become sovereign of the nation, 418. His son loses the protectorship, 438.
Crusade, the first, i. 252; the second, 267; the third, 306; others, 329, 331, 335, 363.
Culloden, battle of, v. 134.
Cunersdorff, battle near, v. 289.
Cyprus reduced by the English, i. 309; by the Turks, ii. 447.
Czaslau, battle of, v. 71.

D.

Damien, punishment of, v. 222.
Damietta, siege of, i. 337.
Danes, character of, i. 90; they reduce almost all England, 148; lose their power in the realm, 161.
Danton, a revolutionary leader, vi. 258, 264.
Daun, the Austrian general, v. 231, 293, 323, &c.
Demetrius, the false, iii. 107.
Denmark, early history of, i. 135; it's progress, ii. 29, 367; iii. 109. 150, 390; iv. 246, 422; vi. 68, 203.
Deportation of, a great number of national representatives of France, vi. 470.
Desaix, a French general, vi. 514, 529.
Desiderius the Lombard, reign of, i. 56.
Dettingen, battle of, v. 81.
Diets, Germanic, nature of, i. 88.
Domesday-book, i. 235.
Domingo, St., or Hispaniola, revolution in, vi. 377.
Drake, voyages of, iii. 16, 28.
Dresden, pacification of, v. 103.
Dreux, battle of, ii. 398.
Du-Barri, great influence of, vi. 17; her death, 385.
Duelling, practice of, iv. 210.
Dumblaine, battle of, iv. 401.
Dumouriez, a minister of state, vi. 251; a warrior, 263, 270, 365; a deserter of the French republic, 370.
Dunbar, battle of, iii. 407.
Duncan, admiral, defeats the Dutch, vi. 467.
Dundee, fall of lord, iv. 171.
Dunkirk taken by the English, iii. 382; sold, iv. 9; besieged by the duke of York, vi. 373.
Dunstan, archbishop, arts and influence of, i. 139.
Dupleix, an enterprising French governor, v. 170.
Durham, battle near, i. 450.
Dutch shake off the yoke of Spain, iii. 5.

E.

Edgar, extensive power of, i. 143.
Edge-hill, battle of, iii. 313.
Edington, battle of, i. 98.
Edmund I. and II., murder of, i. 139, 149.
Edred, reign of, i. 139.
Edward the Elder, and the Martyr, reigns of, i. 137, 146.
——— the Confessor, reign of, i. 161.
——— I. conquers Wales, i. 386. His various regulations, 401.
——— II., miserable death of, i. 412.
——— III. makes war upon the Scots, i. 440; attacks the French, 447, 458; his son, the Black Prince, shines in arms, 454, 462; characters of both, 464.
——— IV. prevails over the house of Lancaster, ii. 69, 76.
——— V. is murdered with his brother, ii. 83.
——— VI. promotes the Reformation, ii. 316.
Edwy, misfortunes of, i. 142.
Egbert unites the heptarchy, i. 48; defeats the Danes, 93.
Egypt, Lower, reduced by the French, vi. 496; by the English, 538.
Ekholmen, engagement near, vi. 330.
Elfrida, account of, i. 144.
Elizabeth of Bohemia, story of, i. 421.
———, queen of England, completes the Reformation, ii. 340; supports the rising republic of Holland, iii. 21; baffles the hostilities of Philip of Spain, 31.
——— Petrowna procures the Russian sovereignty, v. 67.
England, rise of the kingdom of, i. 49; it is conquered by the Normans, 171; a civil war rages throughout the kingdom, 272; intestine broils recur, 347, 356, 408; ii. 65; iii. 310; a commonwealth is formed, 373; royalty is re-established, 449. The kingdom of Scotland is united to it, iv. 306; and that of Ireland is incorporated with Great-Britain, vi. 523.
Espierre, battle of, vi. 391.
Essex, earl of, beheaded, iii. 69.
Ethelred I. and II., reigns of, i. 95, 146.
Ethelwolf, reign of, i. 93.
Eudes, king of France, i. 108.
Evesham, battle of, i. 358.
Eugene, prince, routs the Turks, iv. 205; gains the battle of Turin, 291.
Europe, ancient, inhabitants of, i. 2; great change in it's state, 11.
———, modern, æra of the history of, i. 20; new system of policy among it's rulers, ii. 130; shaken by the French revolution, vi. 271, 273, &c.
Eustatius, St., reduced by the English, vi. 149.

F.

Falkland-island, contest, vi. 43.
Famars, action at, vi. 371.
Ferdinand I. II. and III., reigns of the emperors, ii. 443; iii. 89, 132.
——— the Catholic, government of, ii. 111.
——— VI. a pacific prince, v. 168.
———, the archduke, well governs the Milanese, vi. 11.
———, duke of Parma, opposes pope Clement XIII., vi. 12.
———, king of Naples, humbles the pope, vi. 13.
Feudal system, rise of, i. 15; it's defects, *ibid.*; dreadful disorders of feudal anarchy, 190.
Fleurus, two battles near, iv. 190; vi. 392.
Fleury, a French minister, v. 17, 62, 78.
Flodden, battle of, i. 152.
Focksani, battle of, vi. 336.
Fontainbleau, treaty of, v. 85.
Fontenai, battle of, i. 79.
Fontenoy, battle of, v. 101.
Fox, Charles, becomes a minister, vi. 154, 296: account of his India bill, 297: he is discarded, 298.
France, rise of the kingdom of, i. 20; it's aggrandisement, 21; it's sufferings from the Normans, 91; it's government becomes entirely feudal, 150: progress of it's history, 251, 266, 305, &c. ii. 31, 37, &c. iii. 1, 36, &c. iv. 26, &c. v. 62, &c. Commencement of the revolution, vi. 219; formation of a republic, 266: progress of the French in the conquest of other countries, 392, 440, &c.
Francis I. takes Milan, ii. 155; but is afterwards deprived of his Italian conquests, 220; and is made prisoner, 227.
——— II., short reign of, ii. 372.
——— I., of Lorrain, becomes emperor, v. 103; his character, vi. 66.
——— II. engages in a war with the French revolutionists, vi. 252, 359; agrees to a peace, 472; renews hostilities, 500.
Franklin, a zealous promoter of the American revolt, vi. 88.
Frederic Barbarossa, the emperor, contends with the Polanders and Bohemians, i. 299; oppresses the Italians, and attacks the pope, 300; shines as a warrior in Asia, 304.
——— II. triumphs over his rival Otho, i. 335; undertakes a crusade, 340; makes war upon the pope, 342; dies in distress, 344.
——— III. is involved in difficulties, ii. 60.
———, elector Palatine, rashness and misfortunes of, iii. 88.
——— III., king of Denmark, iv. 246.
——— IV. is humbled by the Swedes, iv. 250.
——— V., a patriotic prince, vi. 68.

Frederic the Wise, magnanimity of, ii. 210.
——— I., king of Prussia, iv. 260.
——— II., a politic prince, v. 60.
——— III. conquers Silesia, v. 61; prosecutes hostilities with various success, 96, 210, &c. Flourishing state of his dominions, 392: their calamitous state after the war, vi. 52. He cultivates with zeal the arts of peace, 53; dismembers Poland, 83; makes a masterly retreat from Bohemia, 133; his mode of life, 176; his death, 177; character, 178.
——— William settles by arms the affairs of Holland, vi. 191; joins in the war against France, 256; dismembers Poland, 413, 418; his death, 473; and a sketch of his character, *ibid.*
Freyburg, battle of, iii. 152.
Friburg, commotions at, vi. 160.

G.

Gadebush, battle of, iv. 422.
Gama, Vasco de, opens the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, ii. 185.
Gelnsheim, battle of, i. 417.
Geneva, revolutions at, vi. 158, 159, 488.
Genoa taken by the Austrians, v. 145; recovered, 147. The state is democratised, vi. 465.
George I. subdues the partisans of the house of Stuart, iv. 403; overawes the Spaniards, v. 18.
——— II. favors the Whigs, v. 19; enters into a war with Spain, 47; is obliged to change his ministry, 68; takes up arms against the French, 80; suppresses a rebellion, 134; again attacks the French, 181; is very successful, 277, &c.
——— III. continues the war with spirit, v. 339; but makes a less satisfactory peace than might have been expected, 383; offends the Americans by irregular taxation, vi. 39, 41; endeavours to subdue their opposition by arms, 103; is checked in his views by their courage and zeal, 122; draws upon himself the hostilities of France, 128; and of Spain, 135; finds a new enemy, 148; makes peace, 163; joins in the crusade against France, 365.
Germain, count de St., a ministerial reformer, vi. 116.
Germany, state of, i. 55; rise of it's empire, 68; the influence of the house of Austria is established over it, ii. 25; it is harassed with a thirty-years' war, iii. 87; it's state is altered by the French revolution, vi. 273.
Ghent, pacification of, iii. 8.
Gherai, Crim, Dowlat, and Sahem, three Tartarian princes, vi. 61, 171, 172.
Gibraltar reduced by the English, iv. 280; in vain besieged by the Spaniards, vi. 151, 156.

Glen-coe, massacre at, iv. 180.
Glendour, Owen, rebellion of, ii. 10.
Godolphin, the minister, iv. 267, 358.
Godwin a potent earl, death of, i. 161.
Goertz, the baron de, iv. 423, 430, 433.
Goths, character of, i. 9, 13.
Grafton administration, vi. 41.
Granada, kingdom of, subdued by the Castilians, ii. 113.
Gregory VII. an arrogant and turbulent pontiff, i. 207.
Grenville, George, an English minister, vi. 36, 39.
Grey, lady Jane, death of, ii. 333.
Guadaloupe alternately taken, vi. 427.
Guelphs, a faction opposed to the Ghibelins, i. 264.
Guiscard, Robert's success of, i. 205.
Guise, death of two dukes of, ii. 399; iii. 34.
Gustavus Vasa delivers Sweden from Danish tyranny, ii. 370.
——— II., or Adolphus, acts as a protestant hero, iii. 110; defeats the imperial troops, 112; is repulsed near Nuremberg, 114; falls at Lutzen, 120.
——— III. subverts the Swedish constitution, vi. 79; enters into a war, 330; is assassinated, 360.
——— IV. joins the emperor Paul in support of neutral claims, vi. 530.

H.

Halidown-hill, battle of, i. 440.
Hampden, John, death of, iii. 316.
Hanover, treaty of, v. 18.
Hardi-canute, reign of, i. 161.
Hardy and Horne Tooke, trials of, vi. 412.
Harley, the minister, iv. 345, 360, 380.
Harold I. and II. reigns of, i. 161, 165.
Hastings, battle of, i. 170.
———, Warren, impeachment of, vi. 305; conclusion of his trial, 419.
Havannah, surrender of, v. 376.
Henry the Fowler reigns in Germany, i. 113.
——— the Bavarian becomes king of Lombardy and emperor, i. 129.
——— III. renders the Hungarians tributary, i. 203.
——— IV., the Great, conquers Saxony, i. 206; is deposed by the pope, 209; appoints a new pope, 213; takes Rome by assault, 214; is harassed by the rebellion of his sons, 215; dies in misery, 218.
——— V. dethrones his father, i. 261.
——— VI. subdues the Sicilian kingdom, i. 328.
——— VII. reduces the Italian states to obedience, i. 424.
——— the Lion, adventures of, i. 302.

Henry I. seises the English crown, i. 243.
——— II. has a long contest with Becket the primate, i. 279; defends himself with spirit both against foreign and domestic enemies, 289; enacts wise laws, 291.
——— III., imprudence and misfortunes of, i. 351.
——— IV. usurps the throne, ii. 9; quells a revolt, 12.
——— V. invades France, ii. 39; acts as regent of that country, 45.
——— VI. is dethroned, ii. 69; re-instated, 74; dies in prison, 76.
——— VII. establishes an uncontrolled power, ii. 128: his death and policy, 130.
——— VIII. shakes off the papal yoke, ii. 267; remarks on his tyranny, 283.
———, prince, death of, iii. 186.
——— I., of France, is obliged to relinquish the crown, i. 154; re-instates himself, *ibid.*
——— II. makes war upon Charles V., ii. 311; upon the English, 323, 338; and upon Philip of Spain, 354.
——— III. kills his chief adversary, iii. 34; is murdered, 35.
——— IV. defeats the catholics, iii. 37; embraces popery, 42; is reduced to great distress, 47; but surmounts all difficulties, 48; forms grand schemes, 82; loses his life by violence, 83.
——— IV. of Castile, dethronement of, ii. 109.
——— prince, the Portuguese navigator, ii. 184.
Heptarchy, Saxon, i. 48: it is absorbed in a monarchy, 49.
Hochkirchen, action at, v. 267.
Hohenlinden, defeat of the Austrians at, vi. 530.
Hogue, Cape la, engagement near, iv. 182.
Holland, revolutions in, v. 152; vi. 193, 409: it is invaded without effect by an allied army, 518.
Homeldon, battle of, ii. 11.
Howe, a gallant admiral, vi. 404.
Hugh, the abbot, extraordinary influence of, i. 116.
Hungary, kingdom of, i. 336; revolution in, ii. 254; it becomes, with Bohemia, a branch of the Austrian dominions, 308.
Huniades, the Hungarian hero, ii. 61.
Huss, John, the reformer, ii. 21.
Hyde, earl of Clarendon, unmerited exile of, iv. 26.

I.

Jacobins, an infamous club, vi. 229, 240.
Jagellon unites Lithuania with Poland, ii. 28.
James I., of Scotland, assassination of, ii. 48; reigns of James II. III. IV. and V., 71, 119, 125, 277.
—— VI. becomes king of the whole island of Britain, iii. 168; makes peace with Spain, 179; enacts very useful regulations for Ireland, 184.

James II. of England oppresses the nation, iv. 132; and is deposed by general consent, 161.
Jansenists, persecution of, v. 396.
Java, the chief seat of the Dutch power in India, iii. 459.
Jervis, a naval hero, vi. 466.
Jerusalem, taken by the Christians, i. 258.
Jesuits, institution of, iv. 220; their banishment from Portugal, v. 360; dissolution of the order in France, 401; expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits, vi. 9; annihilation of the whole fraternity by pope Clement XIV., 28.
Image-worship, contest respecting, i. 33.
Independents, a fanatical sect, iii. 333.
India, various parts of, colonised by Europeans, ii. 187; v. 201; great extension of the British power in that part of the globe, 249; vi. 517.
Indies, discovery of the West, ii. 193.
Innocent III., arbitrary proceedings of, i. 318.
Investiture, right of, disputed, i. 208; decided, 221.
Joan, pope, remarkable story of, i. 84.
—— queen of Naples, i. 472; ii. 16.
John, XII., pope, deposition of, i. 123.
—— XXII., a bold priest, i. 467.
——, king of England, murders his nephew, i. 317; signs Magna Charta, 324; dies amidst civil broils, 348.
—— king of France, captivity of, i. 455.
—— of Austria defeats the navy of Selim, ii. 448; takes Tunis, 450.
—— Basilowitz aggrandises the Russian empire, ii. 365. His grandson is still more successful, 366.
—— Casimir, king of Poland, iii. 389.
Joseph I., the emperor, iv. 284, 302, 348.
—— II. begins his reign with promising appearances, vi. 150; supersedes the Dutch barrier, 151; accommodates a dispute with the states, 175: occasions by his tyranny a Belgic revolt, 341; makes concessions on his death-bed, 343. Sketch of his character, 344.
Joseph, king of Portugal, is assailed by a conspiracy, v. 360; endangered by war, 361; suffers the marquis de Pombal to govern him, vi. 8.
Jourdan, a French general, vi. 392, 423, 434.
Ireland nominally conquered by the English, i. 288; more fully reduced, iii. 70; rebellions in it, 285; vi. 498; it is united in point of legislature with Great-Britain, 526.
Irene, ambition of, i. 68.
Isabella, queen of Castile, ii. 111.
Ismael, siege of, vi. 347.
Italy, Ostro-Gothic conquest of, i. 29; it's re-union with the Greek empire, 30; it is formed into a new kingdom by Charlemagne, 58; dismembered, 121. Some of it's states are revolutionised by the French, vi. 443, 463, 465.

Ivan, a Russian prince, death of, vi. 55.
Julius II., pope, schemes of, ii. 142.
Ivri, battle of, iii. 37.

K.

Kentzingen, battle of, vi. 439.
Killicranky, battle of, iv. 170.
Knights, mode of creating, i. 192; account of various orders, 327; knights errant, 368.
Knox, the reformer, ii. 377.
Kolin, battle of, v. 231.
Kornach, battle of, vi. 436.
Kosciuszko, a Polish patriot, vi. 357, 414.

L.

Ladislaus V. and VI., reigns of, in Poland, ii. 103; iii. 389.
Laffeldt, or Val, battle of, v. 153.
Lagos, sea-fight near, v. 314.
Lally, an unfortunate general, v. 311, 335; vi. 5.
Landen, battle of, iv. 197.
Landrecy, siege of, vi. 390.
Landshut, conflict near, v. 322.
Laudohn, a celebrated general, v. 288, 322.
Law, the financial adventurer, v. 7.
Laws, Russian code of, vi. 124; Tuscan code, 201; Austrian legislation, 202.
League, the Hanseatic, i. 345.
———, the holy, in France, iii. 3, 32, 48; a similar one in Germany, 81: a political one in the same country, vi. 174.
Learning, revival of, i. 189; ii. 168.
Leicester, fall of the earl of, i. 358.
Leipsic, battles near, iii. 112, 146.
Leo, the Isaurian, reign of, i. 33.
—— V., inhumanity of, i. 180.
—— X., pope, reputation of, ii. 149.
Leon, kingdom of, i. 174.
Leopold I., the emperor, opposes the Turks and the French, iv. 187; forms the grand alliance, 260.
——— II. governs Tuscany with high fame, vi. 14; acts with policy when sovereign of Austria, 345, 350; dies, 359.
Lepanto, engagement near, ii. 448.
Lerida, siege of, iii. 162.
Lewes, battle of, i. 356.
Lexington, a scene of intestine hostilities, vi. 104.
Leyden, siege of, iii. 6.
Liberty, English, charter of, i. 324, 354.
Lignitz, battle of, v. 326.
Lincelles, engagement at, vi. 373.

Lincoln, conflict at, i. 272.
Lisbon, earthquake at, v. 187.
Lisle, siege of, iv. 319.
Lissa, battle near, v. 254.
Lodi, battle of, vi. 442.
Lollards, conspiracy of, ii. 39.
London becomes the capital of England, i. 102; it is a scene of alarming riots, vi. 140.
London-Derry, siege of, iv. 172.
Lothaire, the emperor, reign of, i. 78.
——— II., a brave and active prince, i. 262.
——— king of France, i. 117.
Lovat, lord, extraordinary character of, v. 127.
Louis I., the Debonnaire, succeeds Charle-magne as emperor and king of France, i. 72; is deposed by his sons, 75; restored, 77.
—— II., the emperor, reign of, i. 81, 86.
—— the German, i. 80, 82.
—— V. defeats his Austrian competitor, i. 466.
—— II. of France, reign of, i. 104.
—— III., account of, i. 105.
—— IV. and V., reigns of, i. 117.
—— VI. proves one of the best kings of France, i. 261.
——VII. enters into a holy war, i. 267; returns with disgrace, 269.
—— VIII. invades England, i. 348.
—— IX. is defeated in Egypt, i. 364; acts with justice, 365; dies in a new crusade, 367.
—— X., a rapacious despot, i. 434.
—— XI. is imprisoned by the duke of Burgundy, ii. 90; extends his kingdom, 91; dies in extreme horror, 92.
—— XII. reduces the Milanese, ii. 139; loses that duchy, 149; rescues himself from great danger, 151.
—— XIII. is ruled by Luines, iii. 94; by Richelieu, 96.
—— XIV. is involved both in foreign and civil war, iii. 374; concludes peace with Spain, 382; assists the Dutch, iv. 13; sends troops to reduce the Netherlands, 29; nearly conquers Holland, 48; subdues Franche-Comté, 60; compels his adversaries to accept his terms, 76; renews hostilities, 117; treats the protestants with great cruelty, 121; suffers by the valor and exertions of the allies, 278, 287, 291, &c.; sues for peace, 302, 323; obtains it, 372: favorable sketch of his character by the duke of Berwick, 391.
—— XV. makes war upon the king of Spain, v. 6; upon the emperor, 24; is embroiled with the queen of Hungary, 63; and with the king of Great-Britain, 87; concludes peace, 162. He risques a new war, 178; draws the Spanish court into an union, 341; has a contest with some of his parliaments, 397; banishes the Jesuits, 401; is again at variance with the magistracy, vi. 2; neglects the duties of his station, 3; loses his

son, 4; is governed by the duke de Choiseul, 5; subdues Corsica, 17; changes his ministry, 21; acts arbitrarily, 22; dies miserably, 33.
Louis XVI. espouses Marie Antoinette of Austria, vi. 19; re-establishes the different parliaments, 110; is persuaded to enter into a war with Great-Britain, 122; convokes the states of the realm, 208; is driven from his palace, 259; deposed, 266; tried by the national convention, 275; condemned to death, 288; beheaded, 292. His character, 293.
—— XVII., premature death of, vi. 424.
—— XVIII., merely a titular king, *ibid.*
Lowositz, battle of, v. 212.
Lucerne, battle near the lake of, vi. 490.
Luitprand, reign of, in Italy, i. 33.
Luneville, peace of, vi. 530.
Luther, the reformer, ii. 161, 215.
Luxembourg, duke of, defeats king William, iv. 69, 198.
Lyons, siege of, vi. 382.

M.

Macartney's ambassadorial voyage, vi. 560.
Macbeth, story of, i. 162.
Maestricht, sieges of, v. 161; vi. 408.
Magellan, voyage of, iii. 450.
Malplaquet, battle of, iv. 325.
Malta, attempt upon, ii. 445: it falls into the hands of the French, vi. 494: is reduced by the English, 531.
Manilla, reduction of, v. 378.
Mantua, siege of, vi. 444.
Marengo, battle of, vi. 528.
Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar, obtains the three Scandinavian crowns, ii. 31, 367.
———— of Anjou, governs Henry VI., ii. 55.
Maria Theresa is attacked by the king of Prussia, v. 60; and by the French, 64; but is assisted by George II., 70; makes peace with Frederic, 72, 103; with Louis, 163; participates of the spoils of Poland, vi. 83; her death and character, 146.
———, queen of Portugal, dismisses Pombal, vi. 120.
Marie Antoinette, sacrifice of, vi. 384.
Mariendal, battle of, iii. 157.
Marignan, defeat of the Swiss at, ii. 155.
Marsaglia, action at, iv. 199.
Marston-moor, battle of, iii. 329.
Martinesti, battle near, vi. 337.
Martinique taken by the English, v. 372; vi. 427.
Mary I. restores popery, ii. 329.
—— II., death of, iv. 184.
——, queen of Scotland, calamitous fate of, iii. 25,

Massoura, battle of, i. 364.
Matchevitz, engagement at, vi. 416.
Matilda, a powerful Italian princess, i. 211.
———, the empress dowager, contends with Stephen for the crown of England, i. 271.
———, queen of Denmark, misfortunes and death of, vi. 71, 73.
Matthias, the emperor, reign of, iii. 80, 86.
Maupeou, the French chancellor, vi. 18.
Maurepas, a French minister, vi. 108, 162.
Maurice, the Saxon, heads a league against Charles V., ii. 305.
——— prince, military career of, iii. 45, 55, &c.
Maximilian I. defeats the French, ii. 62; joins in the league against Venice, 144; enacts new regulations, 163.
——— II. contends with the Turks, ii. 445.
Mayors of the palace, in France, great power of, i. 23.
Mazarine, cardinal, governs France, iii. 164, 375; his character, 383.
Menin, siege of, vi. 373.
Mersburg, battle of, i. 213.
Methodists, sect of, v. 437.
Mexico, conquest of, ii. 203.
Michael, sovereign of Russia, iii. 109.
Milan, duchy of, seised by Charles V., ii. 244; conquered by Bonaparte, vi. 443; republicanised, 446, 466.
Minden, battle of, v. 285.
Minorca, different reductions of, iv. 321; v. 195; vi. 151.
Mirabeau, an intriguing politician, vi. 216, 222, 233.
Missionary voyage, vi. 503.
Missisippi scheme, v. 7.
Mohammed the Great subdues the Greeks, ii. 107.
Mohammedan power, rise of, i. 26.
Molwitz, battle of, v. 61.
Monasteries, multiplication of, i. 195; their suppression in England, ii. 272; their diminution in the Austrian dominions, vi. 151; their extinction in France, 225.
Monk, general, restores monarchy in Britain, iii. 446.
Monks and nuns, extravagant absurdity of, i. 196; their licentiousness, 197.
Monmouth, decapitation of the duke of, iv. 130.
Montcalm, fate of, v. 300.
Monte-bello, battle at, vi. 528.
Montecuculi, the great commander, iv. 63.
Monte-lezino, battle of, vi. 441.
Montfort, the heroic countess of, i. 416.
Montmorency, the constable de, ii. 395.
Montrose, adventures of the marquis of, iii. 340, 346, 400.
Moors subdue the greater part of Spain, i. 27.
Moreau, a distinguished general, vi. 407, 434; his retreat, 438.

Musselburgh, battle of, ii. 320.
Mustapha III., character of, vi. 60.
Mutiny at the Nore, vi. 450.
Mysore, partition of, vi. 517.

N.

Namur, sieges of, iv. 194, 202; v. 140; vi. 271.
Nanci, commotions at, vi. 230.
Nantes, promulgation of the edict of, iii. 49; it is revoked, iv. 120.
Naples reduced by the Spaniards, ii. 140; by the French, 501.
Narva, battle of, iv. 261.
Naseby, defeat of the first Charles at, iii. 343.
Navarre, kingdom of, i. 174; ii. 148.
Necker's administration, vi. 161, 208, 220.
Necklace, story of the, vi. 195.
Nelson, a naval hero, vi. 466, 497, 534.
Netherlands, French conquest of the, vi. 271.
Neutrality, armed, vi. 145, 531.
Newbury, battles near, iii. 323, 332.
Nicholas I., pope, spirit of, i. 84.
——— II., famous decree of, i. 205.
Nicopolis, battle of, ii. 100.
Nieuport, engagement at, iii. 55.
Nimeguen, peace of, iv. 76: reduction of the place by the French, vi. 408.
Noailles, character of the duke de, v. 82.
Nootka, contest for, vi. 313.
Nordlingen, battles near, iii. 124, 158.
Normans, depredations of, i. 70; their character, 90; they erect a ducal sovereignty in France, 109; and conquer England, 171.
North, lord, a minister of Great-Britain, vi. 43, 296.
Northampton, battle of, ii. 66.
Northumberland, the potent duke of, ii. 325.
Norway, kingdom of, i. 135; it is united to Denmark, ii. 30.
Notables, two convocations of, vi. 198, 208.
Novi, battle of, vi. 507.
Nystadt, treaty of, iv. 434.

O.

Oczakoff, sieges of, v. 26; vi. 332.
Oliva, treaty of, iii. 391.
Olivarez, minister of Spain, iii. 90.
Opera, the Italian, v. 393.
Orleans, cruel fate of the maid of, ii. 54.
———, the regent duke of, iv. 392; v. 2, 16; the revolutionary duke, vi. 210, 385.

Ostend, siege of, iii. 56.
Otho the Great triumphs in Bohemia, i. 119; in Bavaria, 120; and in Italy, 121—5.
—— II. suppresses a revolt in Italy, i. 127.
—— III. reigns with reputation, i. 128.
—— IV. is ruined by the Suabian party, i. 335.
Oudenarde, battle of, iv. 318.

P.

Painting, revival of, ii. 167.
Palatinate, horrible devastation of the, iv. 188.
Palermo, engagement near, iv. 67.
Panama taken by the Buccaneers, v. 42.
Paris, sieges of, i. 106; iii. 38.
——, peace of, v. 384.
——, massacre at, ii. 438; revolutionary commotions in that city, vi. 210, 216, 220, &c.; revolt of the sections, 429.
Parliament of England, increasing importance of, i. 357; war between the king and that assembly, iii. 310.
Parliaments of France, i. 428; contest between that of Paris and the court, iii. 376; farther dissensions, v. 397; vi. 2, 20: those bodies are suppressed, 225.
Parma, exploits of the duke of, iii. 10, 14; his death, 41.
Passarowitz, peace of, v. 8.
Passau, treaty of, ii. 313.
Pavia, battle of, ii. 227: massacre at, vi. 443.
Paul III., pope, schemes and death of, ii. 299.
—— IV., a restless pontiff, ii. 349.
——, sovereign of the Russian empire, joins in a league against the French, vi. 499; testifies his animosity against Britain, 531; is murdered, 534.
Pedro, or Peter the Cruel, i. 461.
Pelagius erects the kingdom of Asturias, i. 27.
Pepin, d'Heristal, governs France, i. 23; his grandson deposes Childeric, and seises the throne, 38.
Pérouse, M. de la, voyage of, vi. 550.
Peru, reduction of, ii. 205.
Pestilence, one of extraordinary malignity, i. 452.
Peter, the czar, forms splendid schemes, iv. 247; receives a signal defeat, 261; routs the Swedes, 332; extends his empire, 405, 425; is in danger of ruin, 413; rescues himself, 415. A poetical tribute to his fame, 440.
—— II., a short-lived czar, v. 26.
—— III. is dethroned and murdered, v. 369.
—— the Hermit, i. 254.
Peterwaradin, battle of, v. 3.
Pfortzheim, conflict near, vi. 435.
Philip, the emperor, is assassinated, i. 334.

Philip, king of France, is excommunicated by the pope, i. 252; is unable to maintain order among his subjects, 259.
——— II. joins in a crusade, i. 305; conquers Normandy and Anjou, 318; defeats a numerous army in Flanders, 323.
——— III. dies of grief, i. 427.
——— IV. has a contest with the pope, i. 429; persecutes the Templars, 432; favors the commons, 434.
——— V. or the Long, i. 435.
——— VI. is unfortunate in war, i. 449.
——— I. of Spain, ii. 128, 142.
——— II. persecutes the protestants with atrocious cruelty, ii. 394; tyrannises over his Netherland subjects, 433; who revolt, iii. 5. He gains possession of Portugal, 13; but fails in the long-meditated invasion of England, 32.
——— III. banishes the Morescoes, iii. 60.
——— IV. loses Portugal, iii. 139.
——— V. secures the crown after a long contest, iv. 372; is swayed by women, v. 3, 144.
Philosophers, English and foreign, iv. 218, 237; French, v. 402; of various nations, vi. 581, &c.
Pichegru, an eminent French general, vi. 389, 407.
Picts, origin of, i. 43.
Pilnitz, conference at, vi. 359.
Pitt, William, an able and popular minister, v. 217, 239; his resignation, 352; he forms a new administration, vi. 41; his character, 127.
———, the younger, guides the helm, vi. 298.
Pius VI., pope, character of, vi. 168; he is persecuted by the French, 443; deposed, 480.
Pizarro achievements of, ii. 204.
Plassy, battle of, v. 247.
Plot, the gunpowder, iii. 180; the popish plot, iv. 78.
Poets, character of the Italian, ii. 173; of the French, iv. 211; of the English, iv. 233; v. 408.
Poictiers, battle of, i. 454.
Poland, kingdom of, i. 132. It is dismembered, vi. 83; a revolution takes place, 352; the independence of the realm is annihilated, 418.
Pombal, marquis de, domineers over Portugal, vi. 8.
Pondicherry, siege of, v. 335.
Portland administration, vi. 296.
Portlock and Dixon, voyages of, vi. 549.
Porto-Bello, reduction of, v. 39, 48.
Portugal, kingdom of, i. 372; ii. 183; rise of it's foreign power, 184; the realm is saved from ruin by British aid, v. 364.
Potemkin, prince, extraordinary character of, vi. 353.
Praga, massacre at, vi. 417.
Prague, Jerome of, the reformer, ii. 22.
———, treaty of, iii. 125; blockade of, v. 73; remarkable re-

treat of the French from it, 74; battle near it, 227; siege of the town, 230.
Presbyterians, sect of, iii. 195, 325, 333.
Preston-pans, battle of, v. 117.
Protestants, first appearance of, ii. 236.
Provinces, United, rise of, iii. 11.
Prussia, erection of the kingdom of, iv. 260.
Pultowa, siege and battle of, iv. 331.
Puritans, account of, iii. 173.
Pyrenean treaty, iii. 382.

Q.

Quakers, origin of, iv. 229.
Quebec, battle of, v. 307; assault of the town by the American revolters, vi. 106.
Quesnoi, Le, sieges of, vi. 373, 393.
Quiberon, engagement near, v. 316; descent upon that peninsula, vi. 425.
Quintin, St., battle of, ii. 354.

R.

Ragotski, the Transylvanian prince, iii. 153.
Raleigh, unhappy fate of sir Walter, iii. 204.
Ramillies, battle of, iv. 287.
Rastadt, treaty of, iv. 375; congress at, vi. 472.
Rathmines, battle of, iii. 396.
Ravenna, exarchate of, given to the pope, i. 41.
——— battle of, ii. 149.
Reformation, religious, ii. 158; it's progress in Switzerland, 216; in Germany, 235; in England, 316, 321; in Scandinavia, 371; in Scotland, 374.
Reichenbach, convention of, vi. 346.
Republic, the French, vi. 266; the Cis-Alpine, 466.
Retz, the cardinal de, iii. 374.
Revolution in England, iv. 163; in France, vi. 215; in Holland, 409; in Poland, 352; in Venice, 464; in Switzerland, 484.
Richard I., king of England, distinguishes his zeal and courage in a holy war, i. 309; his death, 316.
——— II. deposition and murder of, ii. 9.
——— III., the usurper, ii. 79.
Richelieu, cardinal, projects of, iii. 96; his tyranny, 126.
Riga, battle near, iv. 262.
Robert, duke, becomes king of France, i. 115.
——— II. an amiable prince, i. 152.
———, duke of Normandy, is imprisoned by his brother Henry, i. 215.

Robespierre, a Jacobin leader, and a flagitious tyrant, vi. 261, 264, 275, 379, &c.; account of the various enormities which disgraced his sway, 394; his fall, 401.
Rochelle, siege of, iii. 160.
Rockingham, administration of the marquis of, vi. 40, 154.
Rocroi, battle of, iii. 149.
Rodney, a victorious admiral, vi. 144, 155.
Rodolph, king of France, i. 116.
——— duke of Suabia, i. 212.
——— of Hapsburg, the emperor, i. 415.
——— II., pacific reign of, iii. 80.
Rollo, the Norman, account of, i. 109.
Roman empire, subversion of, i. 2; causes of that revolution, 4—10.
——— republic, vi. 482.
Romanzoff, an able Russian general, vi. 65.
Rome, bishop of, obtains temporal power, i. 36.
Rosbach, battle at, v. 252.
Rouvoux, battle of, v. 141.
Rupert or Robert, the emperor, ii. 18.
Russian state, rise of, i. 133; progress of it's history, ii. 28, 365; iii. 389; iv. 244, 297, 328; v. 26, 224; vi. 51, 145, 324, &c.
Ruyter, admiral de, defeat of, iv. 16.
Rymna, battle near the, vi. 337.
Ryswick, peace of, iv. 204.

S.

Saladin, death of, i. 312.
Sanction, Pragmatic, v. 23, 58.
San-Giovanni, battle of, vi. 505.
Saracens subdue Spain, i. 27; conquest of their last kingdom in that country by the Christians, ii. 113.
Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, king of, a respectable prince, vi. 10; Victor succeeds him, 33; is severely harassed by the French, 441.
Savoy, duke of, becomes king of Sicily, iv. 372.
——, French, conquest of, vi. 272.
Saxe, count, success of, v. 100, 139, 154.
Saxe-Cobourg, prince of, an able general, vi. 336, 371.
Saxons, character of, i. 45; they conquer South-Britain, 47; are overpowered by the Normans, 171.
Scanderbeg, fame of, ii. 105.
Schism, the great, ii. 15, 19, 23.
Science, state of, vi. 581, &c.
Scots, origin of, i. 43; rise of the kingdom, 387; it is united to that of England, iv. 305.
Sebastian, king of Portugal, death of, iii. 12.
Seminaries, Romish, iii. 17.

Seneffe, battle of, iv. 61.
Seringapatam, reduction of, vi. 516.
Seville, peace of, v. 18.
Shelburne, earl of, prime minister, vi. 155.
Shrewsbury, battle of, ii. 12.
Sicilies, the Two, conquered by the Normans, i. 206; the French obtain the crown, 367; the Spaniards subdue the realm, v. 25.
Sieg, battle near the river, vi. 434.
Sierra-Morena, battle of, i. 373.
Sigeth, siege of, ii. 446.
Sigismund, the emperor, reign of, ii. 20—25.
——— III. of Poland, loses the Swedish crown, iii. 106.
Silistria, battle near, vi. 92.
Simancas, battle of, i. 175.
Siverhausen, battle of, ii. 345.
Smalcalde, league of, ii. 236.
Sobieski, king of Poland, defeats the Turks, iv. 116.
Solyman the Magnificent, success of, ii. 221; his death, 446.
South-Sea scheme, v. 11.
Southwold-bay, conflict near, iv. 45.
Souvoroff, a Russian warrior, vi. 171, 337, 416.
Spain, Visi-Gothic kingdom in, i. 25; it's subjection to the Saracens, 27; full of petty states or principalities, 176; it becomes a great monarchy, ii. 156; ultimately injured by it's foreign possessions, 206; continuation of it's history, 218, 250, 355; iii. 4, 49, 79, 147, 379; iv. 28, 117, 190, 241; v. 4, 46, 75, 167, 340; vi. 6, 134, 199, 376, &c.
Spanish succession, war of the, iv. 257.
Spire, diet of, ii. 235; seizure of the city by the French, vi. 272.
Standard, battle of the, i. 271.
Stanislaus, king of Poland, is thwarted by faction, vi. 57; deposed, 418.
States-general of France, vi. 211.
Steinkirk, engagement at, iv. 194.
Stephen usurps the English royalty, i. 270; is taken in battle, 272; agrees to a treaty with Henry Plantagenet, 273.
——— Bathori, king of Poland, iii. 105.
Stockholm, massacre at, ii. 369.
Strafford, attainder of the earl of, iii. 276.
Stralsund, siege of, iv. 427.
Struensee, minister of Denmark, power of, vi. 69; his fate, 73.
Sully, duke of, minister of Henry the Great, iii. 47, 76.
Surinam, revolt in, vi. 100.
Sweden, early history of, i. 134; it becomes a province of Denmark, ii. 368; the people revolt with success, 370.
Sweyn, the Dane, acts as sovereign of England, i. 148.
Switzerland formed into a republic, i. 420; character of the Swiss, v. 392; the cantons are revolutionised by the French, vi. 484.
Szistova, peace of, vi. 358.

T.

Telegraphs, introduction of, vi. 581.
Tell, William, story of, i. 419.
Teschen, treaty of, vi. 134.
Tewkesbury, battle of, ii. 76.
Texel, engagement near the, iv. 12.
Thabor, battle near, iii. 155.
Theodore, Charles, Palatine and Bavarian elector, vi. 131, 167.
Tilly, count, defeat of, iii. 112; his death, 113.
Timour, victories of, ii. 102.
Tippoo, catastrophe of, vi. 516.
Toledo, siege of, i. 369.
Torgau, battle of, v. 329.
Torstenson, a Swedish conqueror, iii. 145, 151, 155.
Toulon, naval engagement near, v. 88; a revolt of the inhabitants, vi. 382, 387.
Tours, battle near, i. 24, 28.
Towton, battle of, ii. 70.
Trent, council of, ii. 285, 304, 444.
Tromp, Martin van, success of, iii. 415.
Troubadours, account of, ii. 172.
Troyes, treaty of, ii. 44.
Tunis, taken by Charles V., ii. 241.
Turenne, great efforts of, iii. 159, 380; iv. 62.
Turgot, a French minister, vi. 115.
Turin, siege of, iv. 288.
Turks, overturn the Greek empire, ii. 107.
Tyler, Wat, the insurgent, ii. 3.
Tyrone the Irish rebel, iii. 65.

V.

Valenciennes, sieges of, iii. 381; vi. 371.
Vancouver's voyage, vi. 554.
Vander-Mersch and Vander-Noodt, leaders of an insurrection in Belgium, vi. 341.
Varna, battle near, ii. 104.
Vendée, La, war of, vi. 382, 424.
Venice, government of, ii. 143: league against it, 144; conspiracy for it's ruin, iii. 89; subversion of the state, vi. 464.
Vergennes, a French statesman, vi. 25, 108, 197.
Verneuil, battle of, ii. 48.
Versailles, treaties signed at, vi. 163.
Vervins, peace of, iii. 50.
Vespers, Sicilian, i. 426.
Vicogne, battle of, vi. 371.
Vienna, siege of, iv. 116; treaties of, v. 17, 23.
Vigo, Rooke's success at, iv. 270.

Villa-Viciosa, battle of, iv. 337.
Villiers, duke of Buckingham, is murdered, iii. 237.
Voyages, Spanish, vi. 540, 554; Russian, 540; British, 541, &c.
Union, the Evangelical, iii. 81.
Utrecht, union of, iii. 11; treaties of, iv. 372; spirit of reform in the province, vi. 182.

W.

Wakefield, battle of, ii. 68.
Wales, reduced by the English, i. 386.
——, New South, is colonised by British convicts, vi. 553.
Wallace, the Scotish hero, i. 395.
Wallestein, defeats Gustavus Adolphus, iii. 119; is assassinated, 123.
Wallis and Carteret, voyages of, vi. 542.
Walpole, the British premier, v. 17, 20, 50.
Wandewash, battle of, v. 311.
Warbeck, story of Perkin, ii. 121.
Warwick, the king-making earl of, ii. 66, 69, 74.
Washington, the Trans-Atlantic hero, vi. 106; his character, 165.
Weimar, death of the duke of, iii. 135.
Wenceslaus, the emperor, is deposed, ii. 17.
Westphalia, peace of, iii. 164.
Wilkes, John, case of, vi. 36.
William, duke of Normandy, achieves the conquest of England, i. 171, 224; his arbitrary regulations, 231.
——— II. oppresses the people, i. 238; augments his dominions, 240.
——— I. prince of Orange, frames the great confederacy of the Dutch provinces, iii. 11; is killed by an enthusiast, 18.
——— II., death of, iii. 413.
——— III. is defeated by the French, iv. 69; invades England, 149; is gratified with the sovereignty, 162; becomes a leading member of the confederacy against France, 170; enters into a new alliance against Louis XIV., 260.
——— IV. gives vigor to the Dutch interest, v. 152.
——— V., character of, vi. 98; his triumph, 193; his flight, 409.
Windham's Quiberon scheme, vi. 424.
Wislok, battle of, iii. 131.
Wit, John de, the pensionary, iv. 11, 50.
Witikind, the Saxon hero, i. 60.
Wolfe, general, death of, v. 309.
Wolodimir the great, a Russian prince, i. 134.
Wolsey, advancement of, ii. 212; his fall, 265.
Women, rise of, in the scale of society, ii. 170; their extraordinary influence in France, iv. 208.
Worcester, battle of, iii. 410.

Worms, diet at, ii. 215; treaty of, v. 84.
Wurtzburg, battle near, vi. 436.

X.

Xeres, battle of, i. 27.
Ximenes, cardinal, an able minister, ii. 156.

Y.

Yassi, treaty of, vi. 355.
York, Richard duke of, defeats king Henry, ii. 65; is slain, 68.
——, Frederic duke of, acts against the French, vi. 371, 519.
York-Town, siege of, vi. 153.

Z.

Zenta, battle of, iv. 205.
Ziska, the Hussite general, ii. 24.
Zizim, story of, ii. 132.
Zoë, a Greek empress, ambitious and cruel, i. 182.
Zorndorff, battle of, v. 265.
Zurich, the works of, are stormed, vi. 506.

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